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THE
HARVARD
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XIII



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The *Harvard Theological Review* has been partially endowed by a bequest of the late Miss Mildred Everett, "for the establishment and maintenance of an undenominational theological review, to be edited under the direction of the Faculty of the Divinity School of Harvard University. . . . I make this provision in order to carry out a plan suggested by my late father, the Rev. Charles Carroll Everett." During the continuance of *The New World*, Dr. Everett was on its editorial board, and many of his essays, now collected in the volume entitled *Essays, Theological and Literary*, appeared first in its pages. Sharing his belief in the value of such a theological review, and in devotion to his honored memory, the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, of which he was a member from 1869, and its Dean from 1878 until his death in 1900, has accepted the trust, and will strive to make the *Review* a worthy memorial of his comprehensive thought and catholic spirit.

The *Review* is edited by a committee of the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, consisting of Professors William W. Fenn and Henry W. Foote and Dr. Frederic Palmer.

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HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XIII

JANUARY, 1920

NUMBER 1

CRAWFORD HOWELL TOY

DAVID G. LYON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"The earliest trace of the Toy family is found in England in the person of Robert Toy, bookseller in Saint Paul's Churchyard in 1640. Members of the family came to America about 1720, and settled first in New Jersey and then in Baltimore, whence Professor Toy's grandfather moved to Virginia about the beginning of this century" [19th]. This grandfather died in 1814 leaving an infant son, Thomas Dallam Toy, 1814-1879.

Thomas Dallam's childhood was spent with his mother at Ferry's Point. At the age of fourteen his school days closed, and he was apprenticed to a druggist in Norfolk. But this was not the end of his intellectual growth. His evenings were devoted to study, and he became a man of unusual attainments and high standing in the community. He had special talent for languages, and was able to act as interpreter when foreign ships came into port. He even began the study of Hebrew, and cultivated the taste for good reading in his family. He was a member of the firm of King & Toy, wholesale and retail druggists of Norfolk. The firm did an extensive business before the Civil War, and was subsequently carried on under the name of Thomas D. Toy & Sons.

Mr. Toy was one of the constituent members of the Freemason Street Baptist Church of Norfolk, founded in 1848, its first treasurer, first Sunday School superintendent, a member of the first group of deacons, and leader of the choir. When the church edifice was built he gave liberally of his means and time, and in order to reduce the costs he cut with his own hands all the glass for the windows. He had a wide and accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, and it was his custom to read from the Bible with his family at breakfast and at supper. At noon he spent an hour in prayer and meditation. Such was the father of Crawford Howell Toy.¹

Crawford's mother, Amelia Ann Rogers, was the granddaughter of a Revolutionary officer, named Stanhope. The Stanhope family are said to have settled in Virginia about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Crawford Howell Toy, the first of nine children, four sons and five daughters, was born at Norfolk on the 23d of March, 1836, and died in Cambridge, Mass., on the 12th of May, 1919. He came, as we have seen, of excellent stock, was inheritor of the best traditions in regard to learning, enjoyed rare opportunities for education, and was endowed with the ability and the will to make the most of these. Like his father, he was slight of figure, but not frail, as appears from his fondness for mountain climbing and from his power to endure long and arduous study.

Crawford received his elementary training at the Norfolk Academy, which at the time was organized on the military basis. He was captain of one of the companies. On his graduation he received from the school a copy of the works of Shakespeare "for excellence." In 1852, at the age of sixteen, he entered the University of Virginia,

¹ For the foregoing details I am indebted mainly to *The University of Virginia, its History, Influence, etc.*, II, 50, N. Y., 1904, and to *the History of the Freemason Street Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va.*, by Ella M. Thomas, Norfolk, 1917.

the most illustrious of educational institutions in the South. Among his teachers were such eminent men as Gessner Harrison, J. Lawrence Smith, and William B. Rogers. Besides the ordinary subjects attractive to students Mr. Toy took a course in constitutional and international law, and devoted some attention to the study of medicine. His attainments in music, which was one of his lifelong interests, led to his selection as leader of a student choir.

Graduating from the university with the degree A.M. in 1856, Toy spent the next three years in teaching English in the Albemarle Female Institute, which had recently been established at Charlottesville. It may seem strange that he did not at once proceed to special study for his professional career. He may have been in doubt what to choose, he was so young, and had so many aptitudes and interests. In 1859 was founded another school which was to have most important relations to young Toy's future. This was the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, at Greenville, South Carolina, now one of the greatest of American schools. It was the first fully equipped divinity school among southern Baptists, and was intended to provide not only for men of college training, but also for those who in the South enter the ministry in large numbers without such training. One of the requirements of all teachers is a declaration of doctrine embracing the essential tenets of the faith.

The founder and president of the Seminary was James P. Boyce (1827-1888). The most eminent scholar in the new faculty was John Albert Broadus (1827-1895), who was settled at Charlottesville during all of Toy's residence there, first as pastor of the Baptist church (1851-55) and assistant professor of Latin and Greek in the university (1851-53), then chaplain to the university (1855-57), and finally pastor again (1857-59). When Dr. Broadus was considering a call to the new institution at Greenville,

Toy was one of the signers of a protest against his acceptance, the ground being that another man might be found to supply the place at Greenville, whereas no other could fill his important position as pastor at Charlottesville. A yet stronger illustration is seen in the words of another correspondent,² who wrote to Dr. Broadus that it would be better to choose as theological professors men "who cannot hold out in preaching." "To take valuable ministers," he continues, "from prominent positions to teach twenty or thirty young men to become preachers, many of whom are made worse by it, and none benefited, . . . is too great a sacrifice. . . . Then here is a female institute, which in my humble opinion will do more good than all the theological schools in the United States."

Toy certainly did not share this extreme view, for he was one of the twenty-six students in attendance at the opening session, of whom ten were from his native state. He completed in one year about three-fourths of the entire three years' course of study. A letter from Professor Broadus, dated March 28, 1860, mentions Brother Toy's purpose to go to Japan (as missionary), and adds, "Toy is among the foremost scholars I have ever known of his years, and an uncommonly conscientious and devoted man."³ He was then just twenty-four. The decision to become a missionary may have been reached during this year at Greenville, for the Seminary has from its beginning always devoted great attention to fostering the missionary spirit. One day in each month is set apart for the meetings of the Society of Missionary Inquiry, and on this day no other exercises are held.

At Charlottesville in June, 1860, Toy and three of his friends were ordained to the ministry. The "charge"

² A. T. Robertson, *Life and Letters of John Albert Broadus*, Philadelphia, 1901. P. 148.

³ *Ibid.* P. 173.

to the young men was delivered by Professor Broadus. The first half of 1860-61 he spent at home, probably engaged in study preparatory to his missionary work. During the second half he was professor of Greek at Richmond College. On December 17, 1860, J. William Jones in a letter to Dr. Broadus says that the Board have decided not to send out any missionaries for the present, and adds: "Toy talks of going out anyway and taking the chances."⁴ The outbreak of war in 1861 interfered with the plan of becoming a missionary.

That Toy should have a part in the war was under all the circumstances inevitable. In October, 1861, he entered the Confederate service with the Norfolk Light Artillery Blues. He declined the request that he should stand for election to a captaincy, and he served first as private in artillery and later as chaplain in infantry in General Lee's army. The strenuousness of the service could not dampen the ardor of the student. There is a tradition that spare moments were given to the Arabic language. In March, 1863, a friend wrote of him: "I saw Toy ten days ago. He is chaplain in the 53d Georgia regiment Is looking very well and seems to be enjoying himself. His Syriac books are in Norfolk and he has, therefore, been compelled to fall back on German for amusement."⁵

On July 4th, 1863, he was captured at Gettysburg. The conditions at Fort McHenry, where he was imprisoned, were rigorous in the extreme. The tedium of this confinement was relieved by the glee club, the daily mock dress parade with tin pans for drums, and the class in Italian, organized and taught by him. In December he was exchanged, joined the army again, and remained in service till the middle of 1864, when, quite without expectation on his part, he was appointed professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Alabama, at the time a military training-school of the Confederacy.

⁴ Robertson, *Life*. P. 180.

⁵ *Ibid.* P. 197.

Here he remained teaching applied mathematics till the close of the war in 1865. In the Federal cavalry raid which burned the University buildings all of his books were destroyed.

In 1865-66 he was again with his Alma Mater teaching Greek, with the title "licentiate." Two years were then spent in Berlin, where he studied theology with Dorner, Sanskrit with Weber, and Semitic with Roediger and Dieterici. Among his anecdotes from the Berlin period is one about the professor who said of the royal family, "Die Allerhöchsten sind in die Kirche gegangen, um den Höchsten anzubeten."

In January, 1869, Toy was chosen professor of Greek in Furman University at Greenville, South Carolina, and in the following May he was elected professor of Old Testament Interpretation and Oriental Languages in the Seminary where he had been a student ten years before. This position he held for ten years, two of them at Louisville, Kentucky, whither the Seminary was removed in 1877. After two years the words "Oriental Languages" were dropped from the name of the professorship, which was thus restored to its original form. During his connection with the Seminary Professor Toy was known to his colleagues, the student body, and wider circles as the most learned member of the faculty, and indeed as a man of extraordinary learning.

My acquaintance with Dr. Toy dates from the autumn of 1876, when I became a student at the Seminary, though I had been familiar with the report of his omnivorous reading and prodigious knowledge. I soon learned that the report was no exaggeration. In the class room he seemed to know everything about the subjects which he taught. He criticized the text-book with freedom, and sought not to fill the mind of the students with facts, though he never minimized the value of fact, but to stir up the mind to the exercise of its own powers.

In his course on the English Bible many a student heard views expressed which were both novel and disturbing; as when the lecturer told him that the word "day" in the first chapter of Genesis means a day of twenty-four hours, whereas we know that the world was not made in six such days but is the result of ages of evolution; or when he said that the author of the book of Daniel was not a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar but lived in the second century B.C. These commonplaces in the teaching of today were startling to many minds in the South four decades ago. Dr. Toy never demanded that his views on any subject should be accepted without question. With transparent fairness he gave the arguments pro and con on any disputed question that came up, and stated his own preference or conviction, but preferred that the student in the presence of all the facts should form his own judgment. And it was ever his method to set the student at work gathering facts for himself, and thus acquiring at first hand the materials for reaching conclusions. While his opinions were based on careful study and were firmly held, no man was ever more ready to revise them in the light of additional knowledge. Needless to say, he exercised a profound influence on the thinking of his students.

While every utterance of Dr. Toy regarding the Scriptures was reverent and considerate, his classes became aware of a difference between him and his colleagues, and as time went on he found it increasingly difficult not to give expression to his most mature thought on Biblical questions. This leads to one of the most important episodes in his life, which is entitled to be presented with some fulness.

When Dr. Toy began his teaching in the Seminary his orthodoxy seems to have been above all ground of suspicion. The subject of his inaugural lecture in 1869 was "The Claims of Biblical Interpretation on Baptists."

Baptists, he says, must "cling close to the word of God as our sole guide. . . . A fundamental principle of our hermeneutics must be that the Bible, its real assertions being known, is in every iota of its substance absolutely and infallibly true."⁶ He certainly held no such view ten years later. What had taken place in the interval?

In the *Memoir* just cited Dr. Broadus informs us that Dr. Toy had entered on his Seminary career with the idea that it was important to harmonize Scripture references to physical phenomena with the results of physical science, and had tried various methods, but without satisfactory results. In Greenville under the influence of Darwin's work he gave a popular lecture on the origin of man. He had also become profoundly interested in the Biblical researches of Kuenen and Wellhausen. "Near the end of the first session at Louisville it became known to his colleagues that Dr. Toy was teaching views in conflict with the full inspiration and accuracy of the Old Testament writings. By inquiry of him it was learned that he had gone very far in the adoption and varied application of the evolutionary theories above indicated. Dr. Boyce was not only himself opposed, most squarely and strongly, to all such views, but he well knew that nothing of that kind could be taught in the Seminary without doing violence to its aims and objects, and giving the gravest offence to its supporters in general" (*Memoir*, p. 261). At the request of President Boyce, Dr. Broadus tried to persuade Dr. Toy to let "theoretical questions alone, and teach the students what they needed," that is, instruction in "the Old Testament history as it stands." Dr. Broadus reports that Dr. Toy promised to do this, and that he tried faithfully the next season to keep the promise. But "as the session went on, he frankly stated that he found it impossible to leave out those inquiries, or abstain from teaching the opinions he held." Dr. Toy

⁶ John A. Broadus, *Memoir of James Petigru Boyce*, New York, 1893. P. 211.

decided to lay a statement of his views before the Seminary trustees' meeting at Atlanta in May, 1879 (in connection with the annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention), and "in order to relieve the Board from restraints of delicacy, he tendered his resignation."⁷

The resignation was almost unanimously accepted, but "the regret at this necessity was universal and profound," because "Dr. Toy had shown himself not only a remarkable scholar and a most honorable and lovable gentleman, but also a very able and inspiring teacher, and a colleague with whom, as to all personal relations, it was delightful to be associated." Elsewhere Broadus wrote on May 10: "The mournful deed is done. . . . Toy's resignation is accepted. . . . We have lost our jewel of learning, our beloved and noble brother, the pride of the Seminary."⁸ As evidence of the high character of all concerned in this painful affair, it may be stated that the personal relations continued to be warm and friendly to the end of life. Dr. Toy accepted the decision without

⁷ It seems not unlikely that the episode of the Sunday School Times had something to do with Dr. Toy's resignation. Though not mentioned by Dr. Broadus, this episode must have made him and Dr. Boyce anxious lest the Seminary should become involved in suspicion of heterodoxy, a suspicion which, for a variety of reasons, they would be loth to have it bear. In the light of subsequent events it is now evident that this anxiety was not without foundation. But to the incident itself: In the first half of 1878 and 1879 the Sunday School lessons were based on selected portions of the Old Testament, and Dr. Toy furnished weekly to the Sunday School Times an article under the title "Critical Notes." In 1879 the lessons published in the issues of April 12 and 19 were based on Isaiah 42 1-10 and 53 1-12. In the first of these passages Dr. Toy held that "servant" of verse 1 means, as elsewhere in the book, Israel. In regard to Isaiah 53 he held that the subject is still the same. "The reference is throughout to Israel immediately, with a final complete fulfilment in the Messiah." The Christian Intelligencer, an organ of the Reformed Church in America, scented danger in these articles, and on April 24, denounced Dr. Toy and the Sunday School Times in unmeasured terms. The Sunday School Times in an editorial on May 10, for the benefit of those of its readers "who may have been misled by the hasty and erroneous statements of the Christian Intelligencer," shows that Dr. Toy's interpretation of Isaiah 53 is not heretical but is held by other reputable Biblical scholars. Dr. Toy's last "Critical Note" was in the issue of May 24. For two or three weeks after that date the critical articles appear with no name attached. The selections then passed from the Old Testament to the New.

⁸ Robertson, Life. P. 313.

reproaches or bitterness, supported by the consciousness of rectitude, and by that catholic, philosophic spirit which never failed him in any crisis.

When it became known that the resignation had been accepted by the trustees, some of the delegates to the Convention, former students of Dr. Toy, urged him to lay the matter before the Convention, assuring him of their cordial support. But he politely declined to enter into any controversy. Referring to this incident, one of the members of that Convention has recently written of Dr. Toy as follows: "The spirit of Dr. Toy was always pacific. In him was more light than heat. He relied upon the sweet reasonableness of his statements of belief, and disdained the arts of the rhetorician or the debater. Not a word of unkindness did he speak of his adversaries, who sometimes, swayed by the *odium theologicum*, forgot the amenities of discussion. Dr. Toy was central peace at the heart of universal agitation. Nothing disturbed his splendid poise. Calmly he faced withdrawal from the tenderest associations and friendships of his life, sustained by the strength of his trust in God. He went out like Abraham, not knowing whither he went, but assured of divine leadership."

In the letter of resignation (published in the *Religious Herald*, Richmond, Va., Dec. 11, 1879) Dr. Toy affirms his unequivocal acceptance of the Seminary doctrine, that the Scriptures were given by inspiration. But as to the method, he says, we must examine the writings themselves. We may hold to no *a priori* theory. In science, in history, in prophecy, there are obvious errors in the Scripture. These, however, concern the shell, not the kernel, of religious truth. The Bible is wholly divine and wholly human. The Biblical writers received divine truth into their souls, which they then expressed in a natural, human way. Dr. Toy considers this view not only lawful to teach in the Seminary but "one that will

bring aid and firm standing ground to many a perplexed mind, and establish the truth of God on a firm foundation."

For a couple of years after the resignation there was not a little excitement throughout the South. Dr. Toy was the theme of much discussion in the denominational press. The *Religious Herald* published at least eight editorials on the subject of Inspiration. Dr. Toy contributed to this paper and to the *Baptist Courier* of South Carolina several articles in elucidation of the views expressed in his letter of resignation. Needless to say, these were all objective, expressed with the calm and confidence of one who knows.

Dr. Toy's work at the Seminary was not limited to his formal teaching. I have noted that it was his delight to guide his students to independent reading and research. He led them likewise into charming and instructive by-ways, as in a course of lectures on the fine arts, among which he included dancing. In commenting some days later on the death of John the Baptist, Dr. Broadus remarked to his class, "See what the dance of a silly girl led to." One of the students interrupted the speaker with, "But, Dr. Broadus, Dr. Toy told us the other day that dancing is a fine art." The lecturer replied, "Brother Toy may, but I don't."

From the Seminary period date several elaborate contributions to the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, on Hebrew and on Yoruban philology. The translation and enlargement of the Lange commentary on Samuel (in collaboration with Dr. Broadus) likewise belongs to this period.

Dr. Toy was for three years my favorite teacher in the Seminary, and I had intended remaining a fourth year for study with him. The summer following his resignation, and as a result of it, I went to Germany to continue there the pursuit of those studies which I had begun with him. Through letters he continued his kindly office of

guide and adviser. I am venturing to quote from some of these letters because they show his mind on a variety of topics, and make several references to the Seminary experience and to the doctrine of the Inspiration of the Scriptures.

First from a letter written before my going abroad:

"With a critical knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, ability to read German and French fluently, and habits of scientific investigation, you can doubtless work out theology for yourself. In so far as theology is the statement of Biblical teaching, it is absolutely dependent on exegesis, and in so far as it leaves exegesis, it depends on other sciences. . . . We may be sure that no harm will come from upholding truth, and I am quite sure that the O. T. hermeneutical principles that I have taught are true, and will make their way" (Norfolk, June 14, 1879).

To learn German he advises to keep aloof from those who speak English and to associate as much as possible with Germans. Dash

"boldly at talk, careless of mistakes and inadequacies; timidity in talking is the great obstacle to learning a strange language." Regarding music: "If possible, get instruction in music, the principles of harmony and the practice of vocalization; and after a while get a short history of music, learn the names and lives of composers and the character of their works and the history of the development of the science." When he wrote, he had been about two weeks in New York. "I have no official engagements, but shall do such work as offers itself in the line of Shemitic languages and Biblical exegesis. I have not yet got under way, and cannot say that I have any definite plan, but something will no doubt work itself out" (New York, October 18, 1879).

"Franz Delitzsch is ultra conservative, and his spirit and method are not good. He is afraid of the Bible and afraid of science. Some of his commentary work . . . is excellent. But when he gets into theology or, what is worse, pseudo religious philosophy (as the psychology of the Bible) that bizarre, resultless jumble of religion and science, he is weak and misleading. . . . At present I am living very quietly, writing an occasional article for a newspaper, and doing a little work for the *Independent* of this city. Some of the younger men of the South are pushing their inquiries into the Inspiration of

the Scriptures. There is . . . a spirit of inquiry among our people. The trouble is that they have not the necessary knowledge of the facts, and the knowledge cannot be acquired except by steady and long-continued work" (New York, Feb. 23, 1880).

"This question of Inspiration is a broad and deep one, and it will do you no harm to ponder it quietly for some time, before you commit yourself definitely and go into the heat of the conflict. And, about the conflict itself. I am unfriendly to controversy, as it is usually carried on. Though a man may be honest and true, it puts him into a frame of mind unfavorable to the pursuit of pure truth. My advice to you is to keep out of it, if possible — to be categorical or dogmatic rather than controversial. When you get back to America, there will be plenty of opportunity to speak out, and it may require determination and skill, and above all, quiet conviction, intellectual and spiritual repose, to keep out of sharp controversy. But I would take the liberty to urge two things on you: first, do not put yourself into a position where you will be gagged — that will destroy your mental symmetry and your satisfaction in life; prefer to starve rather than take a place where you must stifle or conceal your honest convictions; and then, in announcing and enforcing your opinions, choose the method of positive, categorical exhibition, such a method as you would use with a child to whom you wished to explain. Of course this may not always be possible, but it will in nine cases out of ten. Have your scheme well worked out, and expound it in the spirit of a philosopher, a lover of truth, without attacking other people's opinions. The surest way of destroying error is to teach truth, and that is the only way to reach the people, who as a rule don't understand arguments. Teach after the manner of the Sermon on the Mount. . . . I suppose I shall be in this city for several months to come. I am still writing for the *Independent* newspaper, and have other matters in hand. At a recent meeting of the Oriental Society in Boston, I read a short paper on Noun-inflection in Sabeian (Himyaritic), and I shall probably read something at the meeting of the American Philological Association at Philadelphia next July" (New York, May 29, 1880).

Before the next letter Dr. Toy had accepted a call to Harvard University as Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages and Dexter Lecturer on Biblical Literature. Referring to this position he wrote from Cambridge, September 30, 1880, "I begin work tomorrow

under fairly favorable circumstances." In the same letter he says of an article by Rev. Dr. Bartlett, which had been submitted to me as a test of my own views, "I don't wonder that you couldn't subscribe to Bartlett's views; they not only defy exegesis, but muzzle thought."

In connection with Dr. Toy's election to Harvard, Dr. Broadus wrote "a most cordial recommendation, with the explanation that Dr. Toy's leaving the Seminary was due to nothing whatever but his holding views like those of Kuenen and Wellhausen."⁹ Writing from New Jersey to me on August 3, 1880, Dr. Broadus says, "I hope to see Toy before the week closes. You know he has been appointed Professor of Hebrew and other Shemitic Languages at Harvard. I had the great satisfaction of laying myself out on a letter to the appointers. I am persuaded he will do great things there for Shemitic Philology." Dr. Toy held the Lectureship till 1903, and the Professorship till 1909, when he became Professor Emeritus. After his resignation he continued the work of research with his wonted enthusiasm, and produced one of his most noteworthy books.

When Dr. Toy came to Harvard, a Semitic Department did not exist. Of Semitic languages only Hebrew was offered. In his first year he added Aramaic, and gave a course of "evening readings" on the Arabic Poets. The next year he gave similar readings on the Book of Job. The addition of a new member to the Department in 1882 made a division of labor and an increase of the Semitic offerings possible. There followed a succession of assistants, and, for longer or shorter periods, of other instructors, with the result that for many years Harvard has offered elementary and advanced instruction in all the leading Semitic tongues, and courses on the history, literature, and religion of the more important Semitic peoples. Dr. Toy gave instruction in Hebrew, Aramaic,

⁹ Broadus, Memoir. P. 204.

Arabic, Ethiopic, the Talmud, general Semitic grammar, history of Israel, religion of Israel, Old Testament introduction, quotations from the Old Testament, criticism of the Pentateuch and of Chronicles, constitution of Genesis, the Spanish califate, and the Bagdad califate. "From the nature of his material his class room attracted thoughtful and earnest students, but never considerable numbers. His instruction was characterized by fulness and accuracy of learning, orderly arrangement, comprehensiveness and lucidity of statement. His aim was always, however, less to impart knowledge than to quicken the mind of his pupils, to indicate sources and methods, to guide into the ways of research and productivity."

As lecturer Dr. Toy's utterance was measured and easy, always compact with thought, always choice in expression. He inclined to the conversational style, and encouraged the asking of questions. His manner towards students was deferential and considerate, almost paternal. He never put one of them to shame by irony or rebuke, however strong the temptation may have been. The urbanity of the well-bred gentleman never forsook him. Such considerateness he manifested indeed towards all men, especially to such as were in need. What endless hours he gave to those who submitted their manuscripts to him for criticism! How many in theological or ecclesiastical difficulty brought their troubles to him, and found relief in his sympathy and advice! It was his view that a man should not necessarily change ecclesiastical connections because of difference of opinion. He remained a member of the Baptist Church for nearly eight years after coming to Cambridge. Then he withdrew and joined the Unitarian Church. But he was never an ecclesiastical partisan in the old relation or the new. Nor was he an iconoclast. For this his temper was too judicial, and he was able to see a subject in too many of its bearings.

On coming to Harvard Dr. Toy's great learning was promptly recognized by his colleagues. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that they regarded him as the most widely informed member of the Faculty. His acquisitiveness for languages was insatiable. It led him to take up Sanskrit, which he taught to one of his Greenville associates, Persian, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Russian. He was profoundly versed in literatures, ancient and modern, and found time to keep informed on the stream of works constantly issuing from the press. The only criticism I ever heard as to his knowledge came from his laundress, who once said: "Dr. Toy don't know nothing. He don't know how to sew on a button." In the use of tools and machinery he was singularly inexpert.

Dr. Toy was the first scholar not a Unitarian to become professor in the Harvard Divinity School. His appointment was but a first step of many which have resulted in making that school the centre of a group of affiliated Seminaries, including Andover, which more than a century ago was founded as a protest against "Harvard theology." He was not only teacher but served in other capacities. He was a member of the Harvard Library Council and of the administrative board of the Graduate School. Outside the University he held office in various learned societies. He served on the editorial staff of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and as president of the American Oriental Society and the American Philological Association. But no man ever set less value on honors of this class than did he, as one may see from the meagre account of him in *Who's Who in America*. The same remark applies to the degrees received from institutions of learning — D.D. from Wake Forest College, LL.D. from Howard College, University of North Carolina, and Harvard University.

For my first six years in Cambridge it was my good fortune to live with Dr. Toy, and to have the friendship

of earlier years ripen into intimacy, which I prize among my most precious memories. In conversation his plans for work and publication were a favorite topic, and he was always interested to hear of the intellectual work of others. But regarding his experiences, achievements, honors, he was singularly uncommunicative. This reticence was due to a self-abnegating quality of soul, as beautiful as it is rare. He was regular and methodical in his daily routine, went but little into society, worked late at night, slept well, and ate well, but could go all day without food if he could but have his pipe.

Dr. Toy spent three sabbatical years abroad, the first in 1887-88. At the end of this year he was married at Norfolk, on May 24, 1888, to Nancy Saunders, daughter of Rev. Dr. Robert Milton Saunders.

Dr. Toy was the prime mover in the founding of the Conversation Club in Louisville, and at Harvard he founded three organizations for intellectual ends. The first of these is the Biblical Club. Early in 1881, not long after his arrival on the scene, he invited a small group of scholars to meet at his room in Wadsworth House, and there was formed the Harvard Semitic Club, which had for its object the study of the Old Testament in the original tongues and in the versions. Not long after, the name was changed to the Harvard Biblical Club, and the New Testament was included as an object of study. Dr. Toy was the first and only president, except in his sabbatical years abroad, when a substitute was temporarily chosen. This election year after year was in recognition of his learning and fairmindedness. The club has always included most of the Biblical teachers in the Protestant theological schools in and about Boston.

A year or two later he founded the club of graduate students and undergraduates known at first as the Semitic Seminar, then as the Semitic Seminary, and finally as the Semitic Conference. In the selection of subjects to be in-

vestigated and presented to the club, Dr. Toy was always inspiration and guide.

The Harvard Club for the Study of the History of Religions came into being in Dr. Toy's study in the autumn of 1891. This Club comprises a small group of Harvard instructors and an occasional member from the outside. Dr. Toy's chief interest during the later years of his life was the broad field of religion, and he was rarely happier than in the monthly meetings of this group of congenial friends. The Club has no elected officers, but Dr. Toy kept the record as long as he was able to attend the meetings, and by unanimous consent he was always looked up to as the president. When he completed twenty-five years of service at Harvard this Club celebrated the event by a dinner and the presentation of a handsome silver cigar case engraved with the initials of the members. In 1912, in connection with several of his friends and former pupils, the Club published in his honor a volume, *Studies in the History of Religions*, as a belated commemoration of his seventy-fifth birthday (March 23, 1911).

The space allotted to this article is already so nearly exhausted that only the briefest account of Professor Toy's publications can be given. Before coming to Harvard he published a life of Rev. Dr. R. B. C. Howell, and as we have seen, an American edition of the Lange commentary on the Books of Samuel. In 1882 appeared the *History of the Religion of Israel, an Old Testament Primer*. This is a clear and concise presentation of the leading facts from the modern point of view, with such account of the political history and of the literature as the nature of the subject required. *Quotations in the New Testament*, 1884, is intended to show how the expounders of the new religious movement deal with the sacred books of their nation, what is their method of interpretation, how they understand the instructions, exhortations, and predic-

tions of the past, how they fit the old order of things into the new. The discussion of hermeneutical principles (pp. xxi ff.) is reverent but plain-spoken. It points out that the New Testament writers, while in many respects superior to their contemporaries, were yet, in the ordinary processes of thinking, men of their times. The rabbis, though profoundly reverent, pursued "an unhistorical, unscientific mode of studying" the Scripture. Historical criticism and exegesis were sciences not yet born. A passage was taken literally or allegorically according to the need of the interpreter. So with the New Testament writers, whose method is in general that of the Talmud, only "more cautious and reserved."

Perhaps Dr. Toy's most important book is *Judaism and Christianity, a Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament* (1890). The Introduction discusses in a comprehensive, philosophic way the general laws of advance from national to universal religions. The eight chapters of the work deal successively with the literature, the doctrine of God, subordinate supernatural beings, man, ethics, the kingdom of God, eschatology, and the relation of Jesus to Christianity. In regard to Jesus, Dr. Toy sees in the New Testament several diverse views: the Jewish, in the Synoptic Gospels; the Pauline, in the writings of the Apostle; and the Alexandrian, resulting from the union of Greek philosophical speculation with Jewish theology, in the Fourth Gospel. But in spite of this diversity and of all subsequent changes, the person of Jesus has been central in religious life. "Whatever the particular construction of theology, whether he be regarded as substantially divine or only as a profoundly inspired man, whether Church or Bible be accepted as infallible guide, he is ever the leader and model of religious experience." "The fundamental truths which he announced are as new as they were in his time." The great themes of this remarkable volume are treated in

Dr. Toy's best manner, with fulness of learning, careful discriminations, sympathy, spiritual poise, elevation of thought, and in a style simple, clear, and eloquent. The story is told with so much life and so convincingly that the reader feels himself to be actually contemporary with the events recorded. Only a profound student and thinker could produce such a work.

Introduction to the History of Religions (1913) is Dr. Toy's last book, and shows him at his best in the range of the inquiry, the accuracy and minuteness of the research. The object of the book is "to describe the principal customs and ideas that underlie all public religion." While the work is devoted to primitive religions, "references to the higher religions are introduced for the purpose of illustrating lines of progress." The thought is clear but condensed. No useless word is allowed, and fact crowds relentlessly on fact. The vast mass of material, bewildering in its complexity, is reduced to order, and the common bond that underlies widely diverse custom and ceremonial is brought to light.

Dr. Toy published three critical exegetical books on the Old Testament, all in 1899. They are: *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes*; *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. A New English Translation, with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations*; and *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*. For the production of such works Dr. Toy had in an eminent degree the necessary qualifications, fulness of learning, patience, poise, sanity of judgment, a keen critical faculty, a clear and logical mind, the power to grasp and state the essential thought, brevity of statement, and felicity of expression.

Doubtless there would be many more volumes to the credit of Dr. Toy, had he not devoted so much attention to editorial work and to contributions published in encyclopædias, magazines, and journals. A partial list,

prepared by Dr. Harry A. Wolfson, is given in *Studies in the History of Religions*, mentioned above. From the foundation of *The New World* he was one of the editors (1892-1900). Besides his editorial labors he contributed to this magazine six learned articles and seventy-four book reviews. He was a member of the editorial board of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901-1906), contributing to all of the twelve volumes, and having charge of the departments of Hebrew Philology and Hellenistic Literature. He contributed to about twenty journals, both technical and literary, to some of them many times. To the *Harvard Theological Review* he contributed two elaborate articles, one on Pan-Babylonianism, and one on the Islam of the Koran. If space allowed, it would be rewarding to examine some of these contributions. One at least may be mentioned — the Dudleian Lecture for 1899, published in the *Christian Register* for January 18, 1900. The subject, Pope Leo XIII, lies in a controverted field, but is handled with such breadth, wealth of learning, and conclusiveness, that the positions taken by the lecturer are incontrovertible.

This is but an imperfect sketch of Dr. Toy's life and work. Those who knew him well will not fail, I hope, to recognize the sketch as true, so far as it goes. But beyond and above these life-incidents was the man himself. To characterize him as man I venture to quote from the minute prepared by three of his colleagues who had been his pupils, and published in the *Harvard University Gazette* for June 14, 1919.

"Dr. Toy was a cultivated gentleman of the old Southern type, courtly, considerate, deferential, sympathetic. His wide reading and his many-sided learning, in archaeology, history, language, literature, theology, religion, music, politics, and philosophy, made him a centre in any group, and notably in circles of scholars of kindred interests.

"He had a boundless passion for learning, great industry in the pursuit of it, the power of severe and sustained application. Through

a retentive memory he had always at command the great stores of learning which he had gathered by wide reading in many languages. Not less marked were his courage, both physical and moral, his imperturbable poise, his complete freedom from self-seeking, his catholicity of spirit, his geniality of speech and manner, his quiet and inoffensive humor. His temper was judicial, his discriminations keen, his judgments sane. In criticism he was kindly and just, in statement clear, in expression felicitous. He was always interested in younger scholars, and to this interest age brought no abatement.

“Dr. Toy was essentially an investigator and pioneer. His studies in Biblical Science and in Religions and his frankness of utterance mark the beginning of a new epoch in American scholarship. Yet he seemed altogether unconscious of his own greatness. With all his learning and honors he was at heart as simple and guileless as a child. He belongs in the class of the sages of olden time. He followed after wisdom, and received the fulfilment of her promise, ‘Length of days, and years of life, and peace.’”

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN ETHIOPIA

GEORGE A. REISNER

HARVARD CAMP, GIZA PYRAMIDS, EGYPT

Ethiopia or Cush extends from the upper end of the First Cataract in the Nile southwards to somewhere near the junction of the White and the Blue Niles at Khartum. Strictly speaking, the name "Cush" was applied by the ancient Egyptians to that part of the valley which lies between the Second and the Fourth Cataracts while the name "Wawat" was given to that between the First and Second Cataracts. More general names were "Ta-set" (or perhaps "Ta-Khent"), "Khenthennefer," and "Ta-nehsi" (= Land of the Negroes), and a still more general name was "The Southern Lands," applied to all the southland including Wawat, Cush, Punt and the tribal districts along the Red Sea and in the eastern and the western deserts. The people of Ethiopia are usually called *nehsi* which is translated inaccurately "negro;" and *nehsi* are represented in the monuments as typical woolly-haired black men. But it is clear from the pictures of men from Ethiopia and from the skeletons found in the ancient cemeteries that Ethiopia was inhabited by a race, dark-skinned it is true, but easily distinguished from the true negro. Thus it is probable that the proverb in Jeremiah 13 23 ("Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?") was founded on the Egyptian tradition rather than on a first-hand knowledge of the Ethiopians.

The land of Ethiopia is the most barren part of the Nile valley, almost the only part which might be called poverty-stricken. Through the greater length of the country, the only cultivable fields are little patches of dark soil laid down in the mouths of the side ravines

which have been cut by the rare rain-fed desert torrents. A hundred miles of the valley above Halfa is so desolate that it is now called "the Belly of the Rock." Even in the most fruitful stretches, which are in southern Cush or Dongola Province, the cornland is rarely more than a few hundred yards across from desert to river bank. It is one of the seeming paradoxes of history that so unfertile a country should have been an object of desire to one great empire after another, and a still greater paradox that a royal family, grown great on such soil, should have mastered the whole of the Nile valley from Khartum to the sea. But the material resources of Ethiopia lay, not in fields, grazing lands, and in forests, but in the control of roads and water. The river is the only ample source of water as well as a great traffic way, and all the roads from Egypt to the south return to its banks. The communications with the ancient gold mines in the eastern desert depended on short roads which debouched into the valley. The great caravan routes from the north were three in number — the first along the eastern bank, the second along the western bank, and the third through the chain of oases which runs parallel to the valley in the western desert. The river itself and all these roads were at the mercy of him who held the control of Ethiopia. There is a fourth way — by ship through the Red Sea; but the harbors of this route on the western shore of the sea were also under Ethiopian control. From the region of Berber, caravan roads strike out east and west and south, to the Red Sea, to Darfur, to Abyssinia, and the headwaters of the Atbára, the Dinder, the Blue and the White Nile. Along all these roads, commanded by rulers of Ethiopia, caravans went northwards bearing ivory, leopard skins, ostrich eggs and feathers, resins, myrrh, incense, various plant products, gold, and black slaves, and southwards caravans bearing the products of Egypt — cloth, amulets and ornaments, alabaster vases of per-

fume, bronze tools and weapons. In all times the material resources of the governing power in Ethiopia have consisted of the income derived from taxing in one way or other this great trade and in exploiting the gold mines. The agricultural produce has barely supported a meagre population, and no industries were initiated except under Egyptian influence.

In addition to the information contained in a large number of inscriptions found in Egyptian tombs and on the rocks of Nubia, the material for the ancient history of Ethiopia has been enriched in recent years by the excavations of the Nubian Archæological Survey¹ between Assuan and Dakka, and by those of the Harvard-Boston expedition at Kerma² and at Napata.³ The excavations at Napata — Gebel Barkal, Nuri, and el-Kurruw — have yielded among other results the tombs of all the independent kings of Ethiopia, twenty-five in number, from 750 to about 300 B.C., and what is much more important, the chronological order of these kings. Thus the foundation is now laid for a history of Ethiopia including that part where it touches the history of Palestine. But to make clear the character of the Ethiopian monarchy of the time of Hezekiah and Isaiah it is necessary to review briefly the earlier history of the land and its people.

The history of Ethiopia falls into three great periods previous to 1000 B.C.⁴ — (a) that of the Egyptian trading caravans, from before the Fourth Dynasty (2900 B.C.) to the Middle Empire (2000 B.C.); (b) that of the Egyptian occupation, from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Hyksos period (2000 to 1600 B.C.); and (c) that of the Egyptian Viceroyalty, from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth

¹ Reisner, Nubian Archæological Survey, Bulletins Nos. 1-4; Report, 1907-1908; Firth, Nubian Archæological Survey, Bulletins Nos. 5-7; Reports, 1908-1910.

² Reisner, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Nos. 69, 80.

³ Ibid., Nos. 89, 97; Journal of Egyptian Archæology, IV, 218-227; V, 99-112.

⁴ Reisner, Sudan Notes and Records, I, 3-17, 57-79, 217-237; II, 35-67.

Dynasties (1550 to 1100 B.C.). In all these periods Egypt was the determining factor in the life of Ethiopia, and the interest of Egypt lay largely in the trade with the south, but in the third period in the exploitation of the gold mines as well. During the first of these periods the deeds of the great caravan leaders — Kharkhuf, Pepynekht, Sebni, and Thety — are fairly well known from their tomb inscriptions. The remains of one of their trading stations dated by inscriptions was excavated by our expedition at Kerma; and the desolated character of the No Man's Land of Lower Nubia has been revealed by the Nubian Archæological Survey. During the second period, Cush was permanently occupied by an Egyptian force under a governor and accompanied by craftsmen and officials. The fortified administrative center, part of the town, two of the mortuary temples, and the great cemetery were excavated by the Harvard-Boston expedition at Kerma. This town was in fact an Egyptian colony settled at the upper end of the Third Cataract and commanding the most important part of Cush. That it was a real colony is shown by the fact that a curious Egypto-Nubian set of crafts and customs was initiated and ran a course of development which can be traced for over four centuries.

After the reconquest of Ethiopia by Ahmose I and Amenophis I, the third period was opened about 1550 B.C. by the establishment of an Egyptian Viceroyalty, the first holder of which was the titular "king's son" Thure, appointed by Amenophis I. The communications with Egypt were now chiefly by water and were kept permanently open, so that the Egyptian administration in Ethiopia lost its isolated colonial character. King's messengers and inspectors of the central bureaus of Thebes passed to and fro, and yearly the tribute fleet went down to Thebes, probably during the inundation. We have a list, perhaps complete, of twenty-three successive Egyp-

tian viceroys in Ethiopia, extending from about 1548 to about 1080 B.C., from Thure of the Eighteenth Dynasty to Paiankh of the Twenty-first. Temples were built at Napata, Gematon (Kawa), Delgo, Soleb, Semneh, Buhen (Halfa) in Cush proper, as well as the well known great series between Halfa and Assuan. Many of the forts built to safeguard the roads in the Middle Empire were still held. At each temple and fort there was an Egyptian community of officials, soldiers, and priests, while the cemeteries prove that other Egyptian communities were settled in almost every cultivable area in Lower Nubia and probably southwards of that. Some remnant of the older negroid population must have remained; but it was culturally Egyptianized, and by the end of this long period of four and a half centuries Ethiopia was a part of Egypt in administration, religion, and crafts, although the racial mixture was not purely Egyptian. A second great center of the religion of Amon-Ra was established at Napata (temple B 500, excavated by the Harvard-Boston expedition), and it may be taken as certain that the priesthood of Amon in Napata walked in the ways of the priesthood of Amon in Karnak.

For the period from 1000 to 250 B.C. the material for a historical reconstruction has hitherto been wanting, except for the brief period of about half a century (715-663 B.C.), when the kings of Ethiopia — Shabaka, Shabataka, and Tirhakah — ruled Egypt as an Ethiopian province. But in 1916, the Harvard-Boston expedition discovered the great royal cemetery begun by Tirhakah at Nuri, and in 1919 the old family cemetery begun by the founder of the Ethiopian royal family at el-Kurruw. Both of these cemeteries are within a ten-mile radius of Gebel Barkal, the religious center of Napata, the capital of Ethiopia. It has fortunately been possible by means of the archæological material to arrange all these tombs in a chronological order, which is certain except for two

minor details toward the end of the list. Thus the basis has now been won for beginning a connected history of the first independent kingdom of Ethiopia, that whose capital was at Napata from about 900 B.C. to about 300 B.C.

The remarkable fact appears from the graves of the six generations of ancestors found at el-Kurruw that the royal family of Ethiopia was Libyan in origin, and from a stela of a wife of Piankhy that they were of the southern Libyans, the Temehu. The chief of the first generation had among his grave-furniture flint and chalcedony arrow-points of well known Libyan types, but also such an amount of gold and of first-rate Egyptian faïences and alabasters that he must have been in control of part if not the whole of the resources of Ethiopia. His date I estimate at about 900 B.C. plus or minus 20 years. It would thus appear that the movement of the northern Libyan tribes into the Delta was accompanied, or followed, by a movement of the southern Libyans into Ethiopia. The obvious road for the penetration of Ethiopia by the southern Libyans would be through the Selîma Oasis road, used from the earliest times to the present day. About 900 B.C. the chief of the Libyan invaders was settled at el-Kurruw, and here was the seat of the family certainly until the reign of Tirhakah. The graves of the first three generations show a progressive increase in the size and magnificence of the tombs; the next three generations were practically at a standstill, but the chief of the last of them was undoubtedly Kashta, who held the title of "king." The chiefs of these — the fourth to sixth — generations probably all called themselves "kings of Cush," and the chief of the seventh generation was Piankhy, the conqueror of Egypt, who assumed the fivefold titulary of a king of Egypt. Then follow, at el-Kurruw the tombs of Shabaka and Shabataka, at Nuri the tomb of Tirhakah, and, returning to

el-Kurruw, the tomb of Tanutaman beside the pyramid of his father Shabaka.

Now it must be remembered that Ethiopia was as completely a cultural part of Egypt as the Delta; and the Temehuw Libyans of Ethiopia became as thoroughly Egyptianized as the Meshwesh Libyans of the Delta. The Meshwesh, coming earlier and into a richer part of the Nile Valley, were the first to gain political power, and ruled Egypt as the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties for two centuries. But the growth of the feudal character of their government led in the early part of the eighth century to a disintegration of the kingdom into more or less independent provincial principalities, of which Ethiopia was without doubt the most powerful, probably the first to attain complete independence. It is certain that about 750, Kashta, king of Ethiopia, already held Thebes and had forced the adoption of his daughter, Amenirdis I, as heir to the high-priesthood of Amon-Ra by Shepenwepet I, the daughter of Osorkon III. Piankhy, when he set out to defend his territory against the rising power of Tefnekht, a prince of Libyan origin who had gained control of Memphis and the Delta, counted himself over-lord of Middle Egypt as far as Heracleopolis. With the submission of Tefnekht, the whole of Lower Egypt came under the sovereignty of Piankhy; but Tefnekht remained prince of that region as the representative of the Ethiopian king. Thus the feudal system of government was applied by Piankhy to Lower Egypt and was still in existence in the time of Tirhakah and Assurbanipal. But Piankhy and his successors maintained a standing army and military agents in Egypt whose duty it was to preserve order and collect the tribute of the vassal princes.

Thus at the time when the kings of Assyria were conquering Palestine, the Egyptianized Libyan kings of Ethiopia were forcing their supremacy over Egypt and

transferring the political capital of the whole kingdom to Napata. As I mentioned above, the Ethiopians were not negroes, and their royal family, Libyan in origin, shows in their portrait-statues no trace of negro blood. We have now portraits of Tirhakah, Tanutaman, Atlanersa, Senkamanseken, Anlaman, and Aspalta (the fourth generation after Tirhakah), and the negro head given to Tirhakah by the sculptor of Esarhaddon on the Senjirli stela simply represents the prevailing idea of Ethiopians as "*neh̄si*," spread no doubt by the Egyptians. The ruling class in Ethiopia was Egyptian in culture, and indeed the royal family considered itself as peculiarly the favored people of Amon-Ra, the national god of Egypt.

Some historians have distinguished two Kashtas and as many as four Piankhys.⁵ That confusion is now swept away by the excavations at Napata, and the list may be set forth with certainty as to the order of the names but not as to all the dates. Starting with 525 B.C. as the date of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, the maximum known reigns of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty⁶ give us 663 (with a possible error of a few months) for the end of the reign of Tirhakah. The reign of Tirhakah is known from one of the Serapeum inscriptions to have lasted twenty-six years and a few months. But beyond that the reigns are uncertain. For Shabataka the only date in the monuments is the third year, although Manetho gives him twelve or fourteen (Africanus) years. From the reign of Shabaka, a date in his twelfth year is preserved and one in his fifteenth (Dr. Budge), while Manetho again reports twelve years. Finally, the Conquest stela of Piankhy is dated in his twenty-first year, and the strip of linen in the British Museum purchased by Greene gives a period which is more than twenty and pos-

⁵ Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 279; Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Egypte*, IV, 2, 24, 50, 51.

⁶ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 47; IV, 518, 519.

sibly more than forty years. With this material it is only possible to set out a series of dates which show a cumulative limit of error as the date recedes from 663 B.C. backwards (Kashta is numbered six, allowing five numbers for the ancestral chiefs found in the tombs, el-Kurruw, Tumulus I and XIX, Mastabas IX, XI, and XXIII):

	King of	Max.	Min.	Probable
6. KASHTA,	Ethiopia
	Ethiopia and Thebes	-743
7. PIANKHY,	Ethiopia and Thebes	755-734	733-712	743-722
son of 6.	Ethiopia and Egypt	734-715	712-704	722-714
8. SHABAKA,	Ethiopia and Egypt	715-701	704-692	714-700
son of 6.				
9. SHABATAKA,	Ethiopia and Egypt	701-689	692-688	700-689
son of 8.				
10. TIRHAKAH,	Ethiopia and Egypt	689-663	688-663	689-663
son of 7.				
11. TANUTAMAN,	Ethiopia and Egypt	663-661	663-661	663-661
son of 8.	Ethiopia and Thebes	661-655	661-655	661-655
	Ethiopia	655-653	655-653(?)	655-653(?)

In the probable dates I take Piankhy's reign at about twenty-nine years, based on the date in the hieratic inscription on linen, and Shabataka's at twelve years, based on Manetho and the archæological evidence at el-Kurruw.

The history of the relations between the kings of Ethiopia on the one hand and those of Assyria and Palestine on the other depends entirely on the Biblical and the cuneiform documents. It is true that Tanutaman in the Dream stela⁷ gives an account of his campaign to recover Egypt in 663, but he speaks of the Assyrian appointees merely as rebels and gives no hint of the conflict with Assurbanipal. For some time false conclusions were drawn from the Assyrian and the Hebrew materials owing to the confusion between "Cush" in Arabia and Cush-Ethiopia, and that between "Musri" in Arabia and the Semitic name for Egypt. That difficulty was

⁷ Breasted, *loc. cit.*, IV, 468 f.

definitely cleared away by Professor Winckler;⁸ and it may now be accepted that the Assyrian annals of this period do not refer to Egypt before the reign of Esarhaddon, and that the only Biblical reference to Ethiopia of possible historical value is that to Tirhakah in II Kings 18, 19 (Is. 36, 37). The identification of So, king of Muṣri (in Arabia), in II Kings 17 4 (minimum date, 724), with Shabaka, king of Egypt (maximum date, 715), is obviously a mistake, while the Muṣri, which with Milukhkha attempted to relieve Ekron in Sennacherib's campaign of 701, was certainly the Arabian Muṣri, not Egypt. The reference in II Chron. 14 9-15 to Zerah the Cushite and his war with Asa of Judah, does not relate to Cush-Ethiopia but to the Arabian Cush (cf. II Chron. 21 16).

The utilization of the cuneiform material as far as it concerns Egypt under the Ethiopian dynasty is fairly easy. The chief events may be summarized as follows:⁹

- 705. Sargon killed in battle. Sennacherib came to the throne and was confronted by widespread resistance.
- 704-3. Campaign against Merodach-baladan and pacification of Babylonia.
- 702. Against the Kassites.
- 701. Campaign against Phœnicia, Philistia, and Judah. Attempt of the Arabian Muṣri and Milukhkha to relieve Ekron; their defeat at Eltekeh. Hezekiah pays tribute, but Jerusalem is not taken.
- 700-681. Sennacherib occupied in the East; Syria and Palestine apparently quietly tributary.
- 681. Sennacherib assassinated. Esarhaddon became king.
- 676-5. Abdimilkuti of Sidon, having revolted, was conquered and beheaded, together with his ally, Sanduarri of Kundi and Sizu.
- 674. Invasion of Arabia.

⁸ Winckler, *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiat. Ges.*, III (1898), Nos. 1, 4; XI (1906), 102-116; to Cush, p. 106; *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 24-41.

⁹ See for example, Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, pp. 248 ff.; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 410-415, 525.

673. Invasion of Egypt and defeat of the Assyrians in Egypt (Knudtzon).
- 672-1. Campaign against Rurisa; perhaps also other eastern campaigns; perhaps beginning of internal troubles.
670. Invasion of Egypt. Defeat of Tirhakah at Iskhupri on third Tammuz; pursuit of Egyptian army to Memphis; Memphis taken on twelfth Tammuz; further battles (south of Memphis?) on sixteenth and eighteenth of Tammuz. Submission of Egyptian vassals of Tirhakah as far as Thebes: their appointment as vassals of Esarhaddon. Tirhakah resumes his over-lordship apparently immediately after the departure of the Assyrian army.
669. Internal strife in Assyria between Esarhaddon and the officials and officers; many executions; solution found in appointment of Assurbanipal to be crown prince of Assyria, Shamashshumukin of Babylonia.
668. Esarhaddon marches again to Egypt and dies on the road. Assurbanipal continues the campaign and describes it as his own. Battle at Karbaniti; capture of Memphis; flight of Tirhakah [one month and ten days later, Thebes taken and plundered (K 2675)]. The twenty-two dynasts reëstablished as Assyrian vassals; Assyrian garrison left in Egypt.
- 668-663. Intrigues between Tirhakah and the dynasts of Sais, Mendes, and Tanis (Delta alone in Assyrian control). Assyrian commanders quell the revolt and send the three kings to Nineveh. Necho of Sais pardoned and restored as king in Sais. Tirhakah dies and is followed by Tanutaman, son of Shabaka.
- 663-2. Tanutaman retakes Memphis, and Assurbanipal makes his second campaign to Egypt (according to Tanutaman's Dream stela, Tanutaman took Memphis and received the submission of the Delta dynasts). Memphis taken without a battle; Thebes, after a march of one month and ten days, taken and plundered; Tanutaman flies to Kipkip (unknown place in the south). Thereafter the only mention in the annals of Assurbanipal is that referring to the alliance between Gyges and Psammetik I, in which the latter is said to have thrown off the Assyrian yoke.

These are the chief events; but there was also the revolt of Baal of Tyre, which Professor Winckler¹⁰ has reconstructed, with so much insight into the history of the times, somewhat as follows: Baal, disappointed at not regaining his territory on the mainland, made an alliance with Tirhakah and revolted in 673. Esarhaddon besieged Tyre and attacked Tirhakah, but was defeated by the latter. The siege of Tyre continued, and in 670 after the victory of Iskhupri Baal offered submission. But on the return of Tirhakah to Memphis Baal withdrew his submission, and therefore the Senjirli stela, on which Baal is represented behind Tirhakah, makes no mention of Baal. The siege lasted until Assurbanipal defeated Tirhakah in 688, when Baal gave up, thus having resisted for five years as related by Menander (Josephus). The final taking of Tyre is recorded as Assurbanipal's "third campaign." The first half of this reconstruction, it must be confessed, has little material support, (a) from the annals of Esarhaddon,¹¹ where the names of Baal and Tarku are both restorations by Winckler on the basis of the sign *ri* taken as the end of Sur-ri (Tyre); (b) a treaty between Baal of Tyre and Esarhaddon,¹² the date of which is impossible to determine (I question any date after 674); and (c) Assurbanipal.¹³ Thus there is no evidence against the following reconstruction: submission of Baal and treaty at the beginning of the reign of Esarhaddon; defeat of Esarhaddon in Egypt in 673; consequent revolt of Baal without any instigation by or alliance with Tirhakah; and later events as given by Winckler.

The character of the kings of the Ethiopian dynasty of Egypt as drawn from their inscriptions, their monu-

¹⁰ Winckler, *loc. cit.*, I, 524-526; II, 10-16.

¹¹ K 2671 (see Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 524).

¹² K 3500+4444+10235 (*loc. cit.*, II, 10f.; and Peiser, *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiat. Ges.*, III, No. 6, pp. 1-14.)

¹³ Rassam Cyl., II, 49-66.

ments, and their burial customs, was proud and boastful, but at the same time bold and devoid of fear. Against the foes they had met previous to the coming of the Assyrians, they had been universally successful. They believed themselves the favorites of Amon-Ra and were confident in his power. Piankhy, Shabaka, and Shabataka appear to have spent little time in Egypt, and Tirhakah was the first to reside there. He had come down from Napata when a young man of twenty (Tanis stela ¹⁴), and had been crowned in Egypt. His predecessors, living at Napata, could hardly have taken any interest in affairs beyond their borders. Fragments of one tablet (or two) with the impression of the seal of Shabaka were found at Nineveh,¹⁵ but this tablet (or these tablets) may have contained only formal greetings. The Ethiopian kings could conceive of no land so rich and desirable as Egypt — their own land — of no ruler so powerful as themselves, of no god the equal of Amon-Ra. As far as we know, they never indulged in foreign adventures, and even the battles fought by Tirhakah against the Assyrians were in every case fought on Egyptian soil. For of course the conquest of Egypt by the Egyptian province, Ethiopia, was not a foreign war. Thus it is unlikely that Tirhakah played anything more than a passive part in Palestine and Syria. Information was brought to him no doubt, and probably messengers, perhaps even from Baal of Tyre, were received with hospitality; but why should Tirhakah seek to make trouble for Assyria? And why, if he had made trouble, did he make no effort to utilize the situation?

The news of the defeat of Assyria in Egypt in 673 must have sent a quiver through the whole of western Asia, and was duly noted in the dry record of the Babylonian chronicle. Yet the only consequence was the revolt of

¹⁴ Petrie, Tanis, II, pl. IX, No. 163; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 456.

¹⁵ Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, II, 30.

Baal of Tyre. Palestine continued quietly paying tribute, and neither the hieroglyphic nor the Assyrian inscriptions preserved to us contain any hint that Tirhakah attempted to advance beyond his own borders either then or at any other time. On the other hand, the part of agitator in Palestine and Syria, assigned to Tirhakah, is contrary to the character and the general conduct of that king, as far as is known. I imagine that the victory of 673 only made Tirhakah more confident of his power and of his impregnable position. Nor do we need to assume an alliance between Baal and Tirhakah to find a motive for Esarhaddon's invasion of Egypt in that year. Egypt was the richest land left un plundered by the Assyrians, a land capable of an enormous annual tribute; while to the army which had penetrated Arabia in 674, the crossing of the desert between Palestine and Egypt was not a matter of too great difficulty. Both before and since then, other armies have made the trip with comparative ease, time and time again. Thus I come to the conclusion that Baal did not revolt before the Assyrian defeat of 673 at the instigation of Tirhakah, but afterwards, encouraged thereto by that defeat and trusting to the strength of Tirhakah only in the sense that they had a common enemy — Assyria.

As for the subsequent struggle between the Assyrians and Tirhakah, the one point in doubt is whether Assurbanipal took Thebes in 668 as well as in 663. Winckler¹⁶ believed that the account in K 2675 resulted from a confusion of the two campaigns by a scribe. Professor Breasted¹⁷ has pointed out that the large restorations carried out at Thebes for Tirhakah by Mentuemhat (one of the vassals in the list of Assyrian appointees) could only have been made during the period previous to 663, that they were probably made between 668 and

¹⁶ Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 478 f.

¹⁷ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 460.

663 and indicate that Thebes had been looted in 668. But that conclusion is by no means certain and the question must remain in doubt. However this may be, the chief point is that Tirhakah had no difficulty in reëstablishing himself after his defeat in 670, and that he recovered Upper Egypt after the fall of Thebes in 668. He was bold and obstinate in his stand against Assyria, as befitted a great king fighting on his own soil for his own country.

Assyria attempted to hold Lower Egypt on the same feudatory system as that already in use by the Egyptians and with the same princes; but Assyria was too far away to exercise an efficient control over this form of administration even when under the watchful eyes of Assyrian officers. The vassal princes of Egypt must have been galled by the oversight of foreign soldiers and preferred the lighter yoke of their own kinsmen. Assurbanipal confesses his constant difficulties, and finally appears to have adopted the expedient of setting up Necho at Sais and Memphis as a rival of Tirhakah. At this point a contemporary document, the Dream stela of Tanutaman,¹⁸ informs us that Tanutaman in his first year (663 B.C.) saw in a dream two serpents, which was interpreted to mean that he would be king over both the southland and the northland. He was then crowned in Napata, and went downstream stopping at all the principal temples to make offerings until he came against the "rebels" at Memphis. That is, Upper Egypt down to, but not including Memphis, had passed to him at the coronation in Napata. He took Memphis by assault and advanced without resistance into the Delta. After Tanutaman's return to Memphis the Delta princes came in and submitted. As this must have been in 663, the last campaign of Assurbanipal could not have been before that year and may indeed have been a year or two later. As late as

¹⁸ Breasted, *loc. cit.*, IV, 468 f.

656-55, a stela found at Thebes¹⁹ is dated in the ninth year of Tanutaman. Psammetik I, the son of Assurbanipal's favorite, Necho, counted his reign from 663 B.C., but he did not obtain Thebes until his tenth year. It is clear that Tanutaman lived and held Thebes until 655, when he either died or was forced to withdraw to Ethiopia. We have no further evidence of Ethiopian activity in Egypt, unless it be the fragment of a faïence plaque bearing the name of Senkamanseken (second king after Tanutaman), recorded from Memphis by M. Daressy.

With this outline of the relations between Assyria and Egypt in the Ethiopian period in hand, the passage in II Kings 18, 19, Isaiah 36, 37, may now be examined. Stade's division of the text into three parts has been generally accepted — (a) II Kings 18 14-16, (b) 18 13, 17-37, and 19 1-9, (c) 19 10-37.²⁰ Winckler and others raise a question as to whether 18 13 belongs to (a) or (b), and whether 19 9 belongs wholly or in part to (b) or (c). It is not a vital matter from my standpoint whether the Tirhakah verse belongs to (b) or (c), but I agree with Winckler in concluding that it is the introduction of (c). As it is admitted that Tirhakah could not have been "king of Ethiopia" in 701, two explanations have been favored — (1) that Tirhakah was commander of an army belonging to Shabaka (or Shabataka), and was either regent of Egypt or was given a title which he acquired later; (2) that Sennacherib made a later campaign and a siege of Jerusalem at a time when he, Hezekiah, and Tirhakah were, all three, kings of their respective countries.

It may be observed in the first place that Tirhakah in the hieroglyphic inscriptions bears one or more of the five traditional titles of the king of Egypt. These five titles have usually different names attached to them, but

¹⁹ Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Egypte*, IV, 43, 68.

²⁰ Stade, *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 173 f.; Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 31; *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiat. Ges.*, III, No. 1, p. 33; Prasek, *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiat. Ges.*, VIII, No. 4.

the Ethiopian kings of this period were fond of using the same name with the first two or three titles. The name by which each one is now called is that attached to the title "son of Ra," and thus Tirhakah was "the son of Ra, Tirhakah;" but the Ethiopians sometimes used the personal name with the title "king of Upper and Lower Egypt." It is only on his funerary vases and figures, found in his tomb at Nuri, that Tirhakah is called simply "the Osiris, the king, Tirhakah." In the cuneiform inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, Tirhakah is called "king of Egypt and Ethiopia," except in one case, where *after the capture of Thebes in 668* he is called "king of Ethiopia."²¹ After 668, an Assyrian or a friend of Assyria might have referred to Tirhakah as "king of Ethiopia," and after 655, when Egypt and Ethiopia were divided into separate kingdoms, any writer might have given one of the Ethiopian kings of Egypt the title "king of Ethiopia," although it was inexact. But it is extremely improbable that any document of the time of Sennacherib could have described Tirhakah as "king of Ethiopia."

It is now quite clear that in 701, Tirhakah was neither king nor regent, and not even crown prince. The curious succession of the kings of Ethiopia (see above) excludes a law of direct inheritance from father to son, and rather implies that the succession fell to the eldest, or perhaps the most capable, member of the family. In 701, in the reign of Shabaka, the heir-apparent must have been Shabataka, who became king on the death of Shabaka. Tirhakah was passed over, although he was the son of Piankhy, the predecessor of Shabaka. He was neither old enough nor politically strong enough to take precedence of Shabataka; but when Shabataka died, he did take precedence of Shabaka's other son Tanutaman.²²

²¹ Rassam Cyl. C, I, line 123.

²² At el-Kurruw, Tirhakah buried Shabataka in the same state as Shabataka had buried Shabaka, and the queens of Shabataka he buried in tombs and with furniture like those of his own queens at Nuri.

According to the stela found at Tanis²³ which celebrates the visit to Egypt of Queen Aqlaqa, mother of Tirhakah and presumably a queen of Piankhy's, to see the glory of her son *after he had been crowned in Egypt*, Tirhakah left Napata when a youth of twenty and had not seen his mother since. The inference is that it was a long time, but the mutilated inscription gives no evidence by which the date of his coming to Egypt might be reckoned. Even if his coming was before 701, it could not have been much before, and Tirhakah must have been too young to have had the chief command in Egypt before the reign of Shabataka. Moreover the danger of having a member of the royal family so close to the succession in a position of such power would have been obvious to an old Oriental like Shabaka. It is not only impossible for me to accept the conclusion that Tirhakah led an army against Sennacherib for Shabaka, but even the conclusion that any Egyptian army crossed the frontiers of Egypt in 701. That conclusion would be contrary to the whole character of the Ethiopian kings and their settled foreign policy, as I judge it to have been and as it appears even in Tirhakah's wars with the Assyrians. Indeed it is quite clear that the power to which Hezekiah trusted and of which Isaiah must have spoken was Muṣri in Arabia, not the Egypt of the Ethiopian kings. Sennacherib relates that "the kings of Mu-ṣu-ri" summoned the forces of the king of Milukhkha and attempted to relieve Ekron. The relief of Ekron meant the defeat of the Assyrians and the relief of Jerusalem and all Palestine.

As for the second explanation whereby II Kings 19 9-37 is taken to be a record of a second expedition to Palestine and a second siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, the chronological conclusions appear to be against it. According to the most reasonable conclusions on Judæan

²³ Petrie, Tanis, II, pl. IX, No. 163; Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, IV, 456.

chronology, Hezekiah ceased to reign in 691, while the Egyptian material shows that Tirhakah could not have come to the throne before 689. The annals of Sennacherib for the latter part of his reign are wanting, and the evidence for a later campaign to Palestine is based on the observation of Professor Winckler that Esarhaddon in Cyl. A, II, lines 55 ff. says that his father Sennacherib had captured Adumu the stronghold of Aribi-land. This expedition, which is not recorded in the known annals, must have taken place in the second half of the reign of Sennacherib, and proves, provided Adumu lies south of Palestine, that Sennacherib in later years passed by Jerusalem with an army. But in addition to the fact that the location of Adumu is unknown except that it was in territory inhabited by Arabs, the evidence is a long way from permitting the deduction that Sennacherib besieged Jerusalem between 691 and 681. The distinction which Dr. Prasek²⁴ makes between the military operations of Sennacherib at Jerusalem in 701 and a "siege," is unconvincing. The suggestion of a second siege depends in fact on nothing except the passage which it was invented to explain. And finally, the character of Tirhakah's foreign policy makes against the supposition of a foreign campaign in 691-681 as much as in 701. In 673, 670, and 688, Tirhakah met the Assyrians on Egyptian soil, and even after his victory of 673 did not interfere in Palestine. He was neither afraid of invasion nor covetous of so undesirable an addition to his territory as Palestine.

Considering then the reference to Tirhakah in II Kings 19 9 in the light of the above examination, the whole of part (c) of the passage presents a combination of Sennacherib, Hezekiah, and Tirhakah "king of Ethiopia"

²⁴ Stade, *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 173 f.; Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 31; *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiat. Ges.*, III, No. 1, p. 33; Prasek, *Mitteilungen d. vorderasiat. Ges.*, VIII, No. 4.

which is a historical impossibility. So far I was bound to go in my examinations of all possible materials for the history of Ethiopia. I may add that as a consequence I come to the conclusion that the editor of II Kings, having a late version of the prophetic utterances of Isaiah which he wished to incorporate with part (b), provided an introduction from his general knowledge of history to distinguish it from part (b). It is of course possible that he believed part (c) to have been another occasion, or that he found part (c) with its introduction already in existence dressed up by some former editor. The composer of part (c) in its present form appears to have had a confused knowledge of Tirhakah's wars with Esarhad-don and Assurbanipal, and possibly of the relief expedition from Mušri, which he naturally confused with Egypt.²⁵

To sum up, the royal family of Ethiopia, to which belonged the kings of the Egyptian Twenty-fifth Dynasty, took its origin from a Libyan chief who settled at Napata about 900 B.C. Ethiopia was then as always the land of the southern roads, and thus the material resources on which this chief and his descendants founded the family fortunes came from the control of the trade routes and the gold mines. The normal population supported by the agricultural areas of Ethiopia is small, but with a large income from the traffic the rulers of Ethiopia were able to draw levies from the negro and the desert tribes. Individually men of courage and successful in the military occupation of Ethiopia, favored by the political disintegration of Egypt, these Libyan chiefs gained the headship of the Nile valley, held it for about eighty years, and then went down to defeat before the invading Assyrians. Their losses in men, accumulated wealth, and pres-

²⁵ The origin of the story of Sethon, Sennacherib, and the field mice, related by Herodotus (*see* Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 5-12), is a legitimate subject for investigation; but the statements contained in the story cannot at present be utilized for the examination of the question in hand.

tige in their ill-fated struggles with the Assyrians, perhaps also a degeneration of character in Tanutaman and Atlanersa, reduced them to inferiority to the king of Sais, Psammetik I, and they withdrew to Ethiopia, which Psammetik was not able to include in his kingdom. Thus Ethiopia, for centuries a province of Egypt and for eighty years the dominant province, was separated from the mother country under independent kings descended, at least at first, from those who had ruled Egypt. Tanutaman was succeeded by a king named Atlanersa, probably a son of Tirhakah.²⁶ He began a temple to Amon at Gebel Barkal, which we excavated in 1916, but he must have died unexpectedly. Only one room was completed and a beautiful granite altar set up in it; but the reliefs in that room and the front part of the temple were unfinished. Neither of the great granite statues intended to stand before the outer pylon was ever completed; one was found on its side in the debris before the temple, and the other is still lying in the quarry at Tombos. He was buried in a small tomb at Nuri (Pyr. XX), the second king's pyramid in that cemetery. It was his successor, Senkamanseken, who appears to have revived the fortunes of the family. He finished the temple of Atlanersa at Barkal, and placed at least three fine granite statues of himself in the Great Temple there (found by us in 1916). At Nuri he built the first of the large three-room stairway-pyramids (28 m. square), and his burial was carried out with great ostentation. His reign was marked by an accumulation of wealth and by the fact that his craftsmen participated in the development of the Egyptian renaissance. I refrain from giving the list of subsequent kings down to 300 B.C. or beyond, which we have recovered, inasmuch as the

²⁶ The pronunciation of these names of Ethiopian kings after Tanutaman is conjectural. The writing gives only the consonants. The forms I adopted in 1917 are merely pronounceable ones in which the original hieroglyphic forms may be recognized. My justification in rejecting forms based on the Meroitic now appears in the fact that the names are for the greater part of Libyan origin.

names would be meaningless to any one but a specialist in Egyptian history. Suffice it to say that Senkamanseken was followed by five kings whose scribes and craftsmen clung closely to the Egyptian traditions; but the fortunes of the last two of the five gradually declined. The next two dynasties, also buried at Nuri and therefore probably claiming descent from Tirhakah (by marriage?), present a progressive departure from the Egyptian traditions, and about 350–300 B.C. the degeneration had produced a curious Egypto-Ethiopian culture closely resembling the Meroitic. Long before 300 B.C. the Ethiopian kings, cut off from Egypt, had turned their attention to the South and had developed the country about Baru'a (supposed to be Meroë). In the time of Nastasan, the last king buried at Nuri, the political seat was at Baru'a, but Napata remained the religious capital, the place of coronation and burial. After Nastasan's death, the royal cemetery was opened at Meroë (Kabushiyah), and at that time the political capital probably became the seat of the chief temple and of the priestly hierarchy. In the first century B.C. either Napata became again the capital of Meroitic Ethiopia, or it was the seat of an independent kingdom of Napata, detached from the kingdom of Meroë. For during this century pyramids were again built at Napata, this time at Gebel Barkal (excavated by us in 1916), the Great Temple of Amon and that built by Atlanersa-Senkamanseken were restored, and numerous buildings, administrative and religious, were constructed for the first time. The Ethiopia or Cush known to the Greeks and Romans was that of the Meroitic kingdom, and the name "Ethiopia" was first given to Cush by them. In spite of the long accounts of the classical writers, the history of the Meroitic Kingdom is still in obscurity, and it is the hope of the Harvard-Boston expedition to continue its researches in Ethiopia by excavating the royal cemetery of Meroë.

PSYCHIC RESEARCH

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Psychic Research, "not to put too fine a point upon it," means for the most part thus far a careful and systematic investigation of the phenomena of spiritualism. A more elegant and reputable camouflage might be devised for it, and of course the name can be legitimately used to designate the study of many things with which spiritualism has nothing to do. But words have to be taken in the sense which common usage gives to them, and practically psychic research is the study of spiritualism. It used to be said by almost everybody, except the spiritualists, that the matter was not worth investigation; it was all an unwholesome mass of fraud, imposture, and delusion, to which no reasonable person would think for a moment of giving serious attention. Very likely a good many people are saying that still; but not if they have enough knowledge of the facts to serve as the basis of intelligent judgment. Whatever frauds may be practiced in the name of spiritualism, there are plenty of occurrences which no sane mind, having real knowledge of them, will attribute to that source.

It is more common now to hear these occurrences ascribed to telepathy, which is perhaps correct; though where that conclusion is most confidently stated there is probably least right to hold it. Of telepathy very little is yet known, and what has been proved would seem to indicate that it is a faculty of quite limited range and power. It cannot be invoked to explain the facts which spiritualism presents without extending its capacity enormously, far beyond anything that is known of it elsewhere. Possibly it has this greater gift; but that is something

which requires to be shown, not merely taken for granted. One can only jump to the conclusion that it has the gift; and this jump is often made, one must say, less for the sake of getting at the truth than for the purpose of getting rid of spiritualism. However, the investigation has now proceeded far enough so that we may intelligently state the issue to be, "spirits *versus* telepathy." Either there is some limited communication with personalities which have survived the change of death, or telepathy is a power of the mind possessing hitherto undreamed-of capacity.

The purpose of the present paper is abundantly fulfilled if it can be shown that this is the issue to which psychic research has brought us, and that however unable we may now be to demonstrate in favor of spirits, we are quite as far from being able to give the case to telepathy. Whether or not this is a matter which no one can ever find out, remains to be seen. At present not many have the means at hand for making a decision of that question. Some minds of first-rate ability in close contact with the investigation have given their verdict strongly and unhesitatingly in favor of spirits. The general public may be in a better, or worse, position for exercising a dispassionate judgment; but it has no right to deliver an opinion which would close the case. As the matter now stands, with what it now knows or what can be shown to it, this public cannot be fairly asked to accept the views, say of Sir Oliver Lodge. But neither has it any good right to say that he is altogether deluded and mistaken. So far as it has any right to judge, the case for telepathy is quite as dubious as that for spirits.

The heart of the problem which psychic research has attacked is the attempt to decide the real value of what purports to be evidence of the survival of personality after death. Its main task is the study of what is offered as proof of personal identity from a source beyond our

sight. Is one disqualified for that study when he admits the possibility of such survival? No more, certainly, than when he starts with a denial of such possibility. In truth, whatever may be its prepossessions, a candid mind ought to be able to deal fairly with what it finds. The demand on it in this case is that it shall concentrate its attention on this question of the sufficiency of the evidence for personal survival.

It is often said that the chief interest lies elsewhere. One hears people declare, for instance, that they will listen to what psychic research has to tell them when it can disclose something worth while about the nature and character of a future life, and not till then. But the first question is, Do spirits exist? Surely if an effort were made on the other side to communicate with us here, the first endeavor would be not to describe conditions there but to say, "This is So-and-so, whom you have formerly known. By such and such memories which we share in common you may know that I am speaking." In point of fact this is mostly the character which the spontaneous communications take. The first thing to do is to find out, if possible, whether this appearance of actual communication is true or false.

It may be said that if they who are, by hypothesis, trying to give assurance of their continued existence can furnish this, they ought to go on and satisfy our curiosity about many other things, and that their apparent inability to do this throws fatal discredit upon the whole manifestation. But that is a too hasty and superficial judgment. The means of transmission might suffice for the one thing and not for the other. If we consider presently what such a line of transmission may possibly be, this should be quite evident. Just here it cannot be said with too much emphasis that if there is anything of this sort to investigate, it is, first of all, the question of personal survival and personal identity. Do the supposed

communicators give sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that they are real persons, and is the assertion that they are such more reasonable or more credible than other explanations of the origin of the communications ?

Probably all who have looked into this for themselves will agree that it is not a case for snap judgment, for or against. Questions of personal identity are generally apt to need rather careful handling. Everybody must know something of the way they are treated in our courts of law. What a long time it took, and what almost endless discussion, to dispose of the Tichborne case in England! Do such and such things prove, or do they not, that the claimant at bar is Roger Tichborne or Arthur Orton ? How this debate went on for days and weeks, and on what "trivialities" it mostly turned! The question in the case of psychic research is not unlike that.

First and last there is a very considerable amount of evidence in the literature of psychic research that is worth serious study. Unhappily, thus far it lies embedded in a mass of irrelevant matter, so that the search for it is like the quest for Gratiano's "two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff." And when it is found everyone has to be his own lawyer in dealing with it. No one can doubt when he hits upon some of the more striking incidents in this literature that they do constitute evidence of something. But just what it is that they prove is likely to be, to the mind unskilled in the handling of such evidence, one of the most baffling questions it could take up. It is difficult to make any theory cover all the facts in the case. There is great need that someone should make a selection of what really has evidential value, and examine it with that critical skill which a good lawyer or a good judge brings to bear upon the evidence presented to a jury in court. A little of that has been done, but not very much; and if the investigation is to go on, it is a job that some competent person ought soon to tackle.

Suppose we glance for a moment at the method pursued in gathering this evidence, and at some of the difficulties of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion with regard to its meaning. Most investigations now make use of automatic writing, which is found on the whole to yield better results. This has the advantage of making an exact record of the alleged communications, and also it stops an immense amount of merely inconsequent talk; thus reducing the labor of separating from the flood of verbiage anything that seems to deserve further study. Now it is easy enough for anyone to write whatever comes into his head and call it "automatic." But whoever cares to look into the matter can soon satisfy himself that there is plenty of such writing in which the person who does it is not consciously responsible for what is written. Automatic writing, however it is to be explained, is an undoubted fact.

Mostly, when left to itself, that is to say when it is not guided by leading questions, this writing takes the form of an attempt to reveal and establish personal identity. It pretends to come from some person, no longer living in this world, who seeks to convey to those who are still in the flesh an assurance of his continued existence. Now and again what comes in this way is remarkably convincing. It really seems as if the person in question were close at hand, dictating the words that are being spoken or written. We are told, and no doubt with truth, that the best of this evidence does not get into print. It is too intimately personal to submit to public inspection. However, what is printed, if one will have the patience to fish for it in somewhat extensive seas of vapid talk, is often very good. But it comes only as it were in brief snatches, and is never long sustained. After a kind of sunburst of startling impersonation which fairly takes one's breath away, so realistic does it seem, the communications trail off into a sort of dream-like drivel, or even into mere stupid misstatement and gross fabrication.

Why is it then that these attempted impersonations are by fits and snatches so remarkably lifelike, and for the rest so wretchedly ineffective? If they are the mere masquerade of secondary personality, why this curious unevenness of quality, and where does the information come from on which the impersonation is based? Does it come from other adjacent minds through some process of telepathy? Perhaps so. But the telepathy which can get into the mind of an utter stranger and, with little delay, select out of a great store of memories covering many years a group of pertinent incidents connected with one single personality, is a somewhat staggering thing to think of. To go by the record, we are required to suppose that this telepathic faculty sometimes ignores altogether what is in the foreground of the consciousness it is exploring, and brings forth what turn out to be facts from a depth which conscious memory does not reach. Moreover, it has to be a telepathy that can work upon occasion across hundreds of miles of space. The writing has been known to use information that could not have been derived from any living person without going that far afield. No one is in position to say that this cannot be done; but really it sounds quite as incredible as any other hypothesis that can be offered.

Meanwhile, if we look a little closer at what assumes to be a line of communication between the living and the dead, though we may be unable to make a wholly satisfactory explanation on the supposition that this is real, we can get a little start toward some possible explanation. The common spiritualistic assumption has been that a spirit gets into or takes possession of a physical organism conveniently loaned for the purpose, and proceeds to write or talk through that organism in place of its real owner. No long or profound study is required to lead to the conclusion that this is not what generally takes place. Whatever comes from another world, provided anything

does come from that source, the spirit remains in some sense quite apart, and only sends what it can through what might be described as two different layers of consciousness, both of them, it would seem, in an abnormal and irresponsible state. The line of transmission, if such there be, lies through two independent mental strata, either of which is liable at any moment to begin talking on its own account.

First of all, we are dealing with the subconscious mind of the so-called medium. To all intents and purposes that is in a state of sleep, and not under the control of a conscious will. Most likely it is having a dream of its own, and anyone wanting to use it to transmit a message would have to get the message into and through that dream. And behind this subconscious mind there is very constantly, seemingly a vital part of the manifestation, what is called a "control." This purports to be a spirit in charge of the line of communication; and it so frequently intervenes with comment or explanation as to make us know that it is always there. We are given to understand that it takes from some communicator what he desires to send, and transfers this to the medium, who then delivers it to the person to whom it is addressed. Now this "control," almost certainly, is also more or less irresponsible, like the subconscious mind of the medium. If both are forms of secondary personality, they are alike incapable of distinguishing truth from fiction. If the control is a real spirit, very probably it has to put itself, in order to make a line through, into a condition like the medium's trance; which means that it also is in a somewhat dreamlike state.

Imagine then an intelligence like our own on the "other side" wishing to send some message through a channel like this. Obviously a task of no small size confronts it. Its one chance of success is so to get the attention of these two separate "streams of consciousness" that they will

suspend, or partially suspend, their own dreaming operations to repeat parrot-like what they are told to say. The message is nothing that concerns them, and they are apt to take no more than a languid interest in it. Even though they went to sleep with the fixed purpose of lending themselves to such a transfer of intelligence through them, being once asleep they might not much respect that purpose. They might listen carefully and report faithfully, or again they might not. In the latter case they would probably take up with and expound their own silly dream instead.

The conjecture that some such process as this is involved in the communications furnished by automatic writing is not here offered as answering to all the facts in the case; but it goes as far in that direction as one reader of this literature can get. It has to be acknowledged that, as thus described, it is an exceedingly fragile and uncertain line of transmission. Perhaps it is even less trustworthy than what has been already said would make it out to be. For there is reason to think that what comes is largely in the form of symbolic pictures, and that what is delivered is such an interpretation of these pictures as the subconscious mind of the medium can make. If the message were in words, names ought to come as easily as other parts of speech. But as a rule they do not; they occasion great difficulty; though curiously enough they are sometimes given with great ease, and again for no apparent reason cannot be had at all. But the dream-mind which assumes to be delivering the message always spends much time in describing what it sees; a kind of panoramic vision that is passing before its sight. It is possible that some communications which have been received with much ridicule, like that about the cigar factory in Sir Oliver Lodge's book, are due to the attempt to tell something, nobody knows just what, in this pictographic way.

It should be said also that though we have spoken of three separate entities, or quasi-entities, that enter into the manifestations—the communicator, the control, and the medium—the three often appear to be fused together in some inexplicable way, and it is all but impossible to tell which is for the moment on top. Altogether nobody can be much blamed for saying that it is sheer waste of time to fool with what is offered as a possible link between two worlds, if this is the best account of it that can be given. One can imagine that it might be genuine enough, as far as it goes, and that spirits might exist most plentifully at the other end, but would pay little attention to the means of communication because of the extreme uncertainty of being able to use it in any satisfactory way.

And yet a good many of us, as we go over the record, are again and again impressed with the strong probability that, wavering and unreliable as it may be, there is a fitful connection here and that something does get across. It would be foolish to expect very much. Of predictions about the future, for example, we could never be very sure just where they came from or what they were worth. Though we were entirely satisfied about their source, there is no reason to think that spirits with which we are likely to come into contact have much greater knowledge of coming events than we possess. Whatever descriptions may be attempted of the manner of life hereafter, there is no possible way by which we can check them up to determine their accuracy.

The one thing that we can hope to get from the connection, if it really exists, is some new ground for assurance of personal survival after death. This must come from the conviction that good evidence of personal identity has been submitted through the communications. Is there hope of getting evidence of that kind which would satisfy the majority of reasonable minds, and what would it be worth if we had it? One does not see that

the hope is extravagant or absurd. Poor as the instrument is with which psychic research works, it perhaps suffices as well as did the earliest devices for the transmission of sounds by means of electricity. Possibly with further experiment this instrument may be improved.

Those who are closest to the investigation are just as sure that the possibility of intelligent communication has been established as were the men who worked so long on the invention of the telegraph and the telephone. They may be entirely mistaken; but, on the other hand, the people who are sure that there is "nothing in it" appear to base their certainty on *a priori* grounds, which in like case have often proved untenable. Many a quest has been ardently followed with less promise of ultimate success to support it; and it is not probable that the scornful indifference of "orthodox" science will be able to smother this.

If it should turn out that evidence which compels the world's attention and assent can be thus gathered, what would that be worth? At this moment we are much in the mood to say that materialism is not a good word to conjure with. We are not disposed to place reliance on the fruits of a purely materialistic civilization. But can we get what we want out of an idealism which, when all is said and done, is a kind of sunset effect, a painting of attractive possibilities on mists and clouds? Does it not all come down at last to the question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" With the assurance that our personal existence is to be carried forward into another state of being, we seem to have a hold upon idealism and a defense against materialism that can be gained in no other way.

Probably in any event there is not much reason to fear actual extinction of the belief in immortality. But can those who cherish that belief afford to neglect or despise any means of strengthening assurance in the common mind? If psychic research can ever do for the many

what it has done for a few, it has a very important part to play in building up the higher life of the future. This appears to be so plain that one must think the prejudice against it is based, more than anything else, on the fear of its failure. No poverty is quite so bad as that which follows the break-down of plans for the sudden acquisition of great wealth.

This risk certainly has to be reckoned with. Yet the prejudice might be moderated to a reasonable caution. It is not as if we were staking our whole fortune on this one cast. May we not profitably remember the proverb, "Nothing venture, nothing win?" When we consider the changes which the increase of scientific training and the growth of a scientific temper are likely to make in the minds of men, it is evident that there would be much advantage in the possession of something like scientific evidence of the reality of the future life. The promoters of psychic research are quite confident that such evidence, good enough for anybody, is attainable. They may be too sanguine about this; promoters often are. But then again some of us may wonder in days to come why we did not make an earlier investment in an undertaking whose promise we were too slow to see. It is not quite clear yet who the fools in this case really are, and it is as well perhaps to be a little frugal in the use of that epithet.

TWO CONTRASTING ATTITUDES TOWARDS EVIL

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The problem of evil is nearly as old as philosophy itself. At present, however, it is occupying a very prominent place in philosophic thought, perhaps because the horrors of the great war and the unsettled social conditions have brought home to us with added emphasis the evil in the world, and have upset some of our theories of the even tenor and progress of mankind.

Leaving aside the theological question as to how evil can be reconciled with a benevolent Deity, the problem is this: We find our world a mixture of good and evil. This evil appears in various forms. According to the classification used by Professor Hocking there is, first, physical evil: pain, accident, misfortune; secondly, the quasi-physical: inequality, limitation, and the result of the evil of others; thirdly, the reflective evils: cynicism, and alienation from the world; fourthly, moral evil, or sin; and finally, death — of our plans and aspirations, as well as of the body.

Now can we look forward with the hope that the good may sometime triumph and the evil be eradicated, or is evil an eternal element and an indispensable one in the constitution of the universe? As one idealist has stated it, the question is, "Whether the arduous and heroic life with the conditions, that is, the pain and the evil which evoke heroism, is worth while, enduringly and for its own sake, or whether morality is worth while only on the prospect of the final eradication of evil and therefore the abolition of morality itself."¹ These two ways of looking at

¹ R. F. A. Hoernlé, *Neo-Realism and Religion*, *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XI, April, 1918.

evil are represented in philosophy by the two opposing views, respectively, of realism and idealism.

I

As a matter of fact, the name "*Idealism*" is misleading, since we associate that term with the possession of ideals. The theory called "idealism," however, is no more idealistic in this sense than realism — the names being more appropriate to the epistemological side of the theories than to their moral spheres. For in the realm of morality, as has been quite rightly pointed out, it is realism which is idealistic, and idealism which is realistic.²

Idealism has been, and still is, to a large extent, the dominant philosophy in the universities of America and Great Britain, and has a strong popular hold from the fact that it stands as the champion of religion, opposed to naturalism. It traces back its lineage to Kant, Fichte, and Hegel; it was transferred to Great Britain in the last century, and there represented by such men as T. H. Green, the Cairds, F. H. Bradley, and Bosanquet, and in this country by Royce.

There is a quite natural antipathy, at present, to things German, and idealism has been looked upon with disfavor because of its origin — "*Timeo Danaos . . . !*" At the same time, we ought to remember the value of idealism and its important place in the history of thought. And whatever we think of it as a theory, let us judge it on its merits alone, and not on its pedigree.

Idealism is the theory which believes the universe to be spiritual — "the actual embodiment of the highest values, as witnessed by the spiritual forms of experience." There are two forms of idealism: first, personal idealism, which means by mind the *individual* mind, and which regards God as a greater Mind; a Moral Power, but limited.

² R. F. A. Hoernlé, Neo-Realism and Religion, Harvard Theological Review, Vol. XI, April, 1918.

In other words, personal idealism is willing to sacrifice the omnipotence of God to His benevolence, and with its emphasis on the latter, is very near to pragmatism and realism, in the moral and religious sphere. The question in regard to personal idealism is whether this attitude is consistent with its idealism, which is a problem beyond the scope of this paper.

Secondly, there is absolute, or objective, idealism, which holds that the source of nature is one great Mind, the absolute, of which the universe is the expression. Man is the microcosm of the absolute, and through the knowledge of the individual soul the absolute reproduces itself:

“It would seem that the attainment of the knowledge [of the system of related facts] is only explicable as a reproduction of itself in the human soul by the consciousness for which the cosmos of related facts exists — a reproduction of itself, in which it uses the sentient life of the soul as its organ.”³

Man, through rational thought — when he can say, as one idealist has it, “Not I that think but the universe that thinks in me” — comes into touch with the absolute. Or again, through religious experience, the individual can be united with the absolute Spirit. From such a standpoint he can see the world as it really is — the reality instead of mere appearances. He finds that as a whole, the universe is perfect, despite, or rather, through the instrumentality of, the parts, which in their severality appear imperfect; he sees that what has seemed evil is, after all, good, or has a value, and therefore is a necessary and permanent element in the constitution of the whole.

Religion, for idealism, *transcends* morality; not in the sense that it omits it; it includes it. But it is a higher standpoint than that of “mere morality.” Through religion the idealist sees the necessity for, and the value of, morality in the world of experience.

³ T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Book I, Chap. II, § 71.

The cardinal principle, therefore, of absolute idealism in regard to the problem of evil is *Perfectionism*: that the universe is perfect as it is, since the evil is necessary for morality; and that the evil, therefore, cannot be eradicated.

In examining the arguments which idealism uses to prove this, we find that they fall into four classes: the psychological, ethical, metaphysical, and theological.

First, as to the psychological argument, some idealists find that there is, as they put it, a "craving for pain;" that such a thing as the "enjoyment of pain" may exist. Now outside of some pathological institution it would seem totally impossible to find anyone who really *craves* pain. Those who have ever had any experience with suffering realize the absurdity of such a suggestion. A person in agony with sciatica, neuritis, or even that common woe, toothache, will hardly say that he is enjoying it.

However, Professor Hocking notes that early man "knew how the frenzy of religious ecstasy made mutilation not only endurable but even necessary to give grist to the exhilaration that stormed within him. . . . Inhabitants of Greenland and Labrador do not leave their difficult countries, though they might; and seamen return to the hardships of the sea with an unbreakable attachment which is no mere habit."⁴ He refers to James's essay, "Is Life Worth Living?" in which James shows that "sufferings do not . . . abate the love of life; they seem to give it a keener zest."⁵ It has been suggested also that children seem to delight in certain painful acts, such as running pins into themselves. Moreover, most of us have met that strange variety of invalid who "enjoys poor health."

⁴ W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 220.

⁵ William James, *The Will to Believe*, p. 47.

How then can we explain these cases except by the assumption of a craving for pain? I think Professor Hocking puts us on the right track when he says that we long for "reality" and we find this in pain. This shows that it is not the pain which we crave, but that the pain is only a means to an end. In other words, pain is not valuable in itself. Early man considered mutilation a necessary part of religion, just as certain primitive sects, as, for instance, the Druids, thought human sacrifice necessary. The point is not that they themselves enjoyed the suffering, but that they thought such action pleasing to their gods.

As to the Labradorians and the Greenlanders, there seem to be several elements in their case. First of all, there is the tremendous tie of one's native land, the country where one was born and one's ancestors have lived. Secondly, although, as we have seen, Professor Hocking says this attachment is "no mere habit,"⁶ habit seems to play an important part. The Greenlanders always have lived there; any other country would seem strange and uncomfortable, just as visiting in a palace is uncomfortable to some of us, because it is unaccustomed. It is not that anyone prefers hardships, but rather that what are luxuries to some, to others, particularly to those to whom they are new, are actually discomforts. This applies also to the seamen. In a terrific storm at sea a certain sailor said to his comrade, "Say, Bill, ain't we lucky not to be on shore. Think how the shingles must be flying on a night like this!"

Finally, for all these cases there is the love of the atmosphere of adventure and of excitement. This is by no means the same as the enjoyment of pain. When we analyze it, we find it to be quite the opposite. The lover of danger hopes that in the course of his wanderings or his difficulties he will have some thrilling experience, that

⁶ See above, p. 59.

romance is lying in wait for him, with a rôle for him to play, perhaps that of hero.

With children it is not the self-inflicted pain which they enjoy; it is the pride in their own bravery and self-control which they like. So with the invalid who delights in being ill. It is the gifts, the sympathy, particularly, the attention of his friends, that he craves.

All these examples, therefore, show that there are values which are so dear to us that we are willing to endure pain to get them, perhaps even to sacrifice life itself for them, and these ends can range from devotion to a cause, like that of the Waldensians, whom James cites, to the admiration or attention craved by the plain egoist. Whether one can join all these values together under the name of "reality" and say that is what we crave, is a very different question, and one which would involve much metaphysical discussion.

The question would yet remain, whether pain would still be necessary in the world as a *means*. This brings us to what might be called the ethical argument and the one which is perhaps the most popular. According to this, pain and also the other forms of evil are necessary in the constitution of the universe, since without them we could not become virtuous. We need to struggle, and hence we must have something which resists us to provide a hostile environment. This we find to be evil, and we see that evil comes to have a value, since it is indispensable to morality, to prevent moral atrophy. Also, we are told that we get a certain solidarity from fighting evil. The common burden binds men together, as we see in any time of calamity, as, for instance, the Halifax disaster or the wreck of the Titanic. Eradicate evil as a force which must be fought and you will at the same time destroy the very good which you are trying to bring to victory. For virtue and evil are indissolubly joined together, in that it is only in the fight against evil that virtue exists.

But why does the idealist anticipate moral atrophy if evil were finally eradicated and therefore the struggle? We do not say that a man who has no craving for drink is "morally atrophied" or is devoid of morality in comparison to the man who has to fight to overcome his natural desires. We may admire the latter's will power, but we should hesitate to say that he is more highly developed mentally and spiritually.

In this war we have found among the gallant men and women of the Allies and from our own country that certain virtues have been heightened — courage, chivalry, high-mindedness, self-sacrifice, and a host of others. Shall we hope for a perpetuation of war on this account? No; because the qualities which we admire in these men and women spring not from war, which is in itself evil, but from the very fact that they are fighting against war for the purpose of bettering the world.

The fact that good may, and often does, come out of evil at the present state of world development does not prove that evil is therefore a necessary element in the universe for all time. As Professor Perry says, "Circumstances that press life forward will be left behind, if these circumstances are not themselves good."⁷

This argument is really derived from the more important Hegelian doctrine of the perfection of the whole, which forms the metaphysical argument. The universe, as we have seen, is a totality and is *perfect as it is*. This does not mean that it is a Utopia, but that it is perfect because of the evil in it. Destroy evil — not the individual evils, but evil itself — and you would have an imperfect universe, because you would lose all positive values as well. As we look at facts in their severality, we see misery and wickedness, but when we take the attitude of the whole, the "beyond-good-and-evil standpoint," we no longer see these facts blindly, but with an

⁷ R. B. Perry, *The Moral Economy*, p. 26.

understanding of their value and their meaning in relation to the whole. "Hence," says Royce, "the deepest assertion of idealism is not that above all the evil powers in the world there is at work some good power mightier than they, but rather that through all the powers, good and evil, and in them all, dwells the higher spirit that does not so much create as constitute them what they are, and so include them all." ⁸

This is the religious attitude, but it is an attitude which prevents "morality from being meaningless," since it includes the latter with its struggle as essential. Evil, therefore, becomes an incident in the whole, and the individual who has taken the attitude of the whole is able to "transmute it."

Of course, the obvious objection to this is that the result of an evil-plus-good mixture, as this transmutation would have to be, cannot be called *good*, in our use of the term, without equivocation, ⁹ any more than a cat which is part Persian and part plain cat can be classed as a Persian cat.

But there is another side to this theory of evil as an incident. "Memory," says one idealist, "puts a frame about evil and changes it" — "*Hæc olim meminisse juvabit*" — but as one of the poets quaintly remarks, "Perhaps it may not be pleasant a bit." Memory has not put a frame about the Spanish Inquisition, or the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and changed them. There are things in the history of the world which stand out as simple horrors over which men will always shudder as they recall them.

The trouble is that the idealist, in looking at the history of the world, because of his premise of the absolute unity, has to attempt a justification of such deeds. As Professor Hocking puts it, "One must even be able to look

⁸ Josiah Royce, *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, p. 335.

⁹ R. B. Perry, *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, pp. 180-183.

backward without a shudder.”¹⁰ In other words, he must find not only a scientific explanation of the facts, but a purpose behind these facts.

This brings us to the theological arguments: We are told that there are two kinds of evil in the world, that which we can help and therefore which we must fight — “our job” — and that which we cannot help, which is “God’s job.” This would seem to be an aid to us in looking at history and also in facing life, until we reflect that the whole point hinges on the nice line of distinction between “our job” and “God’s job.” How are we to decide between the two varieties? This would soon prove a dangerous way of shifting responsibility.

Evil in the last resort, we are told, drives the mind to God. It is the “weapon which God uses to drive us to Himself;” because God understands evil, and if we come to see evil through the mind of God, we find it changes its character. To the ordinary theist, to say nothing of the philosophers of other schools, such a statement appears little short of blasphemous. What a conception of God that leaves in one’s mind! One is involuntarily reminded of that delightful sailor minister, Father Taylor, who said to a certain preacher, “Your God is my Devil.” “If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him” does not tally with the conception of a God who invented the agonies of the world as a particularly clever instrument of torture to drive human beings to Him.

Again, how about the terrible suffering among dumb animals? How is that to be explained?

Let us hope that Xenophanes is not right in his explanation of the derivation of the conception of God.

¹⁰ W. E. Hocking, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

II

Realism is a comparative stranger in the philosophic world and cannot boast of so famous a lineage as idealism. We have been told by some that realism is the direct descendant of English empiricism; but in this country, at least, it is more closely connected on the metaphysical and epistemological sides with the radical empiricism urged by William James. To give an adequate presentation of its technical doctrines or of the differences between the English and American realists would be impossible for us, since we must spend our time on its moral and religious side; but we should remember that realism, in contrast to the monism of idealism, believes the universe is pluralistic, and that it is plastic and hence "perfectible," rather than the ordered externalizing of the absolute Mind which is perfect.

Realists, unlike idealists, have as yet given little of their attention to the problems of the spirit, with the exception in America of R. B. Perry. They have confined themselves to a "scientific review of the universe." As a matter of fact, Professor Perry's moral and religious philosophy seems a direct descendant of William James's pragmatism. We find the same burning dissatisfaction with things as they are, the sympathy for the tragedy in the world, and the optimistic faith and enthusiastic determination that the universe can be bettered through human action.

For the realist religion is not a different point of view from that of morality. It is the consummation of the latter; it is a religion for the "tough-minded," as James would say, not a panacea to lull one to rest, or a stoical resignation to fate, but a call to the pioneering spirit to action. Perhaps it is this very characteristic of neo-realism which makes it so alluring to the younger students, especially to the youth of such a time as the present.

The cardinal moral doctrine of realism, as we have seen, is meliorism, or the theory that the world can be made better; that the evil can be eliminated. How then does realism seek to prove that this is possible?

What would seem to be realism's most important argument is derived, as is that of idealism, from its metaphysics. It is a pluralistic theory of the universe; we are not dealing with a "block universe;" hence, not all the elements or parts are valuable. Evil is not the condition of virtue; it does not partake of the same essence. It is possible, therefore, to eliminate the parts which are valueless without completely destroying our scheme, as would happen to monism. We can quite ruthlessly set to work to destroy the evil in the universe without feeling that we are interfering with the Absolute or upsetting the universe.

Secondly, realism insists that evil is not indispensable to virtue; that we must distinguish carefully between good and evil and not confuse the two and make good equivocal. As we have said, the realist admits that under present conditions good may come out of evil, but he emphatically denies that this fact in any way changes the character of evil, or that the two are therefore necessarily indissoluble. "It would be as reasonable . . . to argue that because a man may be lifted from the mire, therefore mire is essentially that from which a man may be lifted, and hence, a condition of the higher life."¹¹

Again, the realist has said that we must separate the two forms of knowledge—theory and belief—in order that they may work amicably together. "Theory should enlighten belief and belief strengthen theory."¹² Faith, he tells us, is the especial domain of religion. Now the realist finds that this faith in the perfection of the universe is necessary as a working hypothesis. It is necessary for life.

¹¹ R. B. Perry, *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, p. 247.

¹² R. B. Perry, *op. cit.*

This is strengthened by psychological facts. Can you ever make an army fight by trying to convince the men that they never can win? It is psychologically impossible. Our army officials knew this and they begged the people at home to write more encouraging letters. Virgil knew this: "*Possunt quia posse videntur.*"

Again, it is impossible to fight adequately if one takes too friendly an attitude toward one's opponent. After all, the fight against evil is not a tennis game, which merely gives us exercise and in which we are grateful to have a friend who will play opposite us. It is a grim business, in which we are fighting not a fellow human being, but a deadly force.

The realist feels that the only justification of his fight is that he is trying to make conditions better for those who come after, that is, helping to better the world. As Professor Dickinson Miller says of the heroes in the war, "They are not facing agony for the sake of facing it, but solely in order that other lives may be spared the agony that they bear."¹³

Again, the realist has infinite faith in the plasticity of his environment. The "cosmological proof [of moral idealism] lies in the moral fruitfulness and plasticity of nature."¹⁴ It believes, with pragmatism, that "through the knowledge that is power, and guided by his desire and hope of better things, man may conquer nature and subdue the insurrection of evil."¹⁵

But does the realist find any justification for this faith that nature may be transformed? I think that he can point to scientific and moral progress. No one, I think, would deny the importance of the scientific achievements, especially in the past one hundred years. But we are told by certain of the idealists that there really is no such

¹³ Dickinson Miller, *The Problem of Evil in the Present State of the World*, Anglican Theological Review, Vol. I, No. 1.

¹⁴ R. B. Perry, *The Moral Economy*, p. 252.

¹⁵ R. B. Perry, *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, p. 268.

thing as progress. Life has simply become more complicated. The cave-man lived up to his ideals just as well, since they were easier, as we do to ours. The standards have changed, but not mankind. Even granting this much, however, if the same percentage, or a smaller, even approximated the higher ideals, the world would be just so much the better. It is true that few persons live up to the highest ideals of today; but few belong to the cave-man age, and the average is obviously better. A hundred years ago a boy was hanged in London for breaking into a candy shop, and another boy was hanged in the square at Aberdeen, by order of the Duke, for stealing a sheep.

Again, who makes the standards? Are they arbitrary rules imposed from without? Has the individual nothing to do with the shaping of these standards? To the realist it seems that these standards belong to the individual, are just as much a part of his evolution as is his ability to stand erect. The very fact that he has better standards to which he is trying to live up shows his improvement.

During the war the pessimists were all most eager to point out that civilization was "going under" and that we had "slipped back." But was there ever a greater example of moral force than when nations joined together to destroy the idea that ruthless strength is the greatest aim, that the weak should be exterminated, and that war is a necessary and desirable thing? When men have given their lives not for gain or conquest but that the ideals of freedom, democracy, and humanity might live, I think we can safely say that we have progressed somewhat.

But the idealist objects to all this in that it is quantitative. The realist, he argues, thinks that evil is something at which we can keep nibbling until finally it is all gone; whereas, it is a quality; it is of the essence of the universe, and can never be eliminated, especially in this piecemeal fashion.

Now it is quite true that the realist does look at evil quantitatively. He is saved from the qualitative dilemma by his pluralistic universe. He has no trouble in getting rid of the evil, because it is not of the same essence as good. When he has finally succeeded in conquering an individual evil, he has eliminated just that much evil from the world. He does not have to reflect with Bosanquet, that "the stuff of which evil is made is one with the stuff of which good is made;"¹⁶ that he really has not touched the roots of the matter, and that it will manifest itself again.

But there is another objection to realism's attitude: "Why so hot, little man?" we are asked. Religion is something other than grubbing. We must turn away from the "gospel of service," from mere morality, which Bosanquet tells us is "fashionless," and look at the world *sub specie æternitatis*. This attitude of realism keeps us tied down to the fight; it prevents us from becoming serene. Now there is just a grain of truth in this criticism, namely, that service must not become mechanical, if it is to be valuable; but I think the realist would agree to this quite as readily as the idealist.

Professor Hocking tells us the act of giving a cup of cold water is not in itself religious. It is only when the cup of cold water is given "in His name." In this connection it is interesting to note that in Matthew 25, in the description of the Last Judgment, the King says to the blessed ones who are to inherit the kingdom, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," without any idea of the necessity of its being done "in His name." Whereas, in Matthew 7 we find, "Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them. . . . Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out demons, and by thy name do many mighty

¹⁶ Bernard Bosanquet, *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, p. 215.

works ? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you. Depart from me, ye that work iniquity."

Finally, we are told that we should not want a world without evil in it; it would be too placid, too colorless. Such a world, according to Professor Hocking, "might provide a type of happiness bovine or angelic, but certainly not human."¹⁷ James's famous Chautauqua description has been cited by Bosanquet¹⁸ and by Professor Hoernlé,¹⁹ who try to prove to us that one of the most famous of meliorists has gone back on his own theory.

But why was the Chautauqua community so unbearable to James ? The whole point is that under present conditions such a community is smug and unreal; it is out of touch with the tragedy of the world *as it is*. No person in his right mind really prefers dirt, squalor, "battle, murder, and sudden death" to beauty, freedom, and peace. He may be, and if he is a meliorist he must be, happier now fighting the former than placidly enjoying the latter, but this is only because he has a guilty sense if he is high-minded; he knows that he is a "slacker," if he is not helping to put more of the valuable things into the world, or helping others to reach them, or rooting up that which chokes them. Those who are doing the real fighting against evil — social workers, doctors, nurses, missionaries — are all upheld by their faith that they are contributing their part, however small, to the improvement of the world and the betterment of their fellowmen. They probably are improved by their struggle, too, but that is not their main purpose in life.

Of course, it is impossible to speculate on what the world would be like without evil. We have been presented with all varieties of pictures, from the harps-crowns-golden-streets theories to those of socialistic com-

¹⁷ W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking*, p. 217.

¹⁸ Bernard Bosanquet, *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, pp. 332 ff.

¹⁹ R. F. A. Hoernlé, *op. cit.*

munities, according to the type of the imagination and the beliefs of the narrators. It is equally foolish, at the present state of the world, to argue as to what will be left to do when the world shall have been made perfect. The meliorist does not seek to switch away evil suddenly by a wave of a magic wand, as the idealist seems to think he means, and to have people of just the same development as the present transported to a "Golden Age," an earthly paradise existence;²⁰ rather, he believes that perfection is something which must be won through ages of labor and the united efforts of mankind.

If, on the other hand, evil is the "valuable" possession which the idealist insists, the logical thing would be to give everyone as much of it as possible and so provide every opportunity for improvement. While it may be said that this providing of evil can safely be left to the universe, would it not be still better to assist the universe? "Double, double, toil and trouble." A doctor trying to cure a man who would have been a cripple might well pause, on idealistic principles, to consider whether the man might not make more of himself if he were left to suffer. The realist, who would be trying simply to alleviate suffering, would not be troubled by any such nice point. For the idealist, the benevolent, altruistic thing for one to do would be to go about not "doing good," but making it as hard as possible for his neighbor, who, of course, would reciprocate quickly, so that there might be enough trouble for the improvement of all.

"It would be natural, but still perverse," says Professor Hocking, "to infer from this psychological truth [that we do not desire a world free from evil] the desirableness of preserving or courting or importing a degree of evil . . . [but] no war can act as such a remedy unless it is *just*; and no war is just unless it is inevitable."²¹ In

²⁰ Bernard Bosanquet, *Some Suggestions in Ethics*, pp. 93 ff.

²¹ W. E. Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking*, p. 217. (*Italics mine.*)

other words, Professor Hocking would have us believe that evil can be divided into two classes: the good evil and the bad evil! Instead of helping, this merely complicates matters, by leading us into equivocation.

III

Such then, are our two theories, roughly sketched. To what conclusion can we come regarding what they offer us? Let us first see what is the outcome of idealism's theory. Having found that the world is perfect because of the evil in it, there are two courses open to the idealist: The first is to adopt a *laissez faire* attitude; to ignore evil. The second is to fight, even though there is no hope of winning, because it brings out the best in us. The former is the more dangerous, but is perhaps more consistent with the idealist's theory of the universe, and avoids the paradox of fighting whole-heartedly against what one knows cannot be destroyed. This type of idealism has a great deal in common with mysticism and is almost oriental in its attitude. Having gained the knowledge that evil is necessary for the universe, we become more than critics and become serene. We arrive at that stage of which the hymn tells us:

"Content to let the world go by,
To know no gain nor loss."

Professor Hocking expresses this standpoint when he says: "It [reality] must yield us the idea which unites what we most deeply desire with what is."²² Now when we say that we are in danger of one of two results: Either we must overlook facts as they are, or we have got to content ourselves with low standards. We must either wear rose-colored glasses as we look out on the blackness of the world, or we must be very easily satisfied. We have confused the actual with the ideal.

²² W. E. Hocking, *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 436.

Again, we find that we are to overcome evil by ignoring it, by "working out the good by over-attention to it and under-attention to its opposite;"²³ or, as Bosanquet — who, however, belongs more to the second group of idealists — says: "The secret of overcoming it [evil] is to feel that it is overcome and to treat it practically as a conquered thing."²⁴ This is a sort of inspired Christian Science. Just think you have cured your disease, and, presto! it is accomplished. This type of idealist seems to forget that there is such a thing as a divine unrest. Serenity is not enough as a *summum bonum*, and one may wonder whether this peaceful state of mind may not be merely the result of a phlegmatic temperament and a disregard of one's neighbor's woes. Dr. Walton in his delightful little book, *Why Worry?*, tells us that when we see any accident or misfortune, we should always say to ourselves, "Never touched me!" This type of idealist seems to adopt this motto.

Bosanquet and his followers best represent the second type of idealist. "It is part of the paradox of our finite-infinite being," he says, "that we are bound to maintain the combat against evil, and no doubt in a great degree against pain, not merely without anticipating, but even without whole-heartedly desiring, their entire abolition in every possible shape with all their occasions and accessories."²⁵ Or again: "Another prejudice," he tells us, "is that justice, the equal dealing with individuals, is an ultimate law of things. Plainly it is not so."²⁶

Evil, we are told, is like the dust which we sweep away one day only to have it return the next — "there must needs be offences."

Now we cannot but admire the courage which keeps these men striving against the impossible, like Tantalus

²³ W. E. Hocking, *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 176.

²⁴ Bernard Bosanquet, *Some Suggestions in Ethics*, p. 104.

²⁵ Bernard Bosanquet, *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, p. 179.

²⁶ Bernard Bosanquet, *Some Suggestions in Ethics*, p. 117.

or Sisyphus, or King Canute when he ordered the sea to be lashed with whips.

But why must we fight ? " The only question worth asking and answering in this matter is, What kind of a life, and under what conditions, is fundamentally most worth while as enabling us to make the most of ourselves — life in this actual world of ours, with its suffering and evil, or life, as the meliorist's fancy paints it, in a world without either ? " ²⁷

The world, therefore, becomes a sort of moral gymnasium, with evil as the indestructible punching bag for the development of our moral muscles. It is not that my purpose is to do my share in improving the world, but that the world exists for the purpose of improving ME. Now there is no more dangerous, more subtle, form of egoism than just this. We can see it in that poem of T. E. Brown called " Pain: "

" The man that hath great griefs I pity not;
'Tis something to be great
In anywise, and hint the larger state
Though but in shadow of a shade, God wot! " ²⁸

And we think of Milton's

" Fame, . . . that last infirmity of noble mind."

Strangely enough, the person who consciously aims at the improvement of himself as an exclusive end usually fails. The whole value of " self-realization " depends on what is meant by " self " and " realization." In itself, the term is nothing but an empty shell which can be loaded according to the desire of its creator.

But both forms of idealists tell us that their view of the perfection of the universe is taken from a " beyond-good-and-evil standpoint." Phrases like this and " God as moral and a-moral," and countless other such, may

²⁷ R. F. A. Hoernlé, *op. cit.*

²⁸ Quoted by Bernard Bosanquet, *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, p. 161.

have a meaning for mystics, but for the ordinary mortal they smack of Bacon's *Idols of the Forum* and of equivocation. For good and evil we have actual "sense-data," as Kant would say, and therefore they are real, and we can argue about them; but no human being can honestly know what "beyond good and evil" means; it exists only in that No Man's Land of the imagination where dwell the Purple Cow and the Dodo Bird, and an argument concerning it would be just as valuable as it would about the other two. When the idealist retires to this nebulous region, it is quite impossible to argue with him; but his superior manner towards the "stupidity" ²⁹ of his opponents is extremely irritating, and we are strongly reminded of Aristotle's *μεγαλόψυχος*.³⁰

Idealism, in short, leaves us with a God which we as moral beings find it difficult to worship, and with a universe in which we must, through mystical experience, rise to a "beyond-good-and-evil standpoint" if we are to attain peace of mind or if we are to continue the struggle. Its greatest faults are that it would tend either to indifference — if we are to ignore evil in the "transmutation" process — or egoism, if we are to use the evil to benefit ourselves, and that the natural esoteric quality of its religious experience leads it to be undemocratic.

What has realism to offer us? To be sure, realism, unlike idealism, is not a complete system. It is still in its constructive stage; it is blazing its trail. But this much I think we can say: First, realism gives us a universe in which man may strive hopefully. It scorns the use of mystical experience as a way of escape from the evil around us. It saves the heart of humanity from despair. It recognizes and emphasizes individualism — the power of the individual mind acting on the environ-

²⁹ Bernard Bosanquet, *Some Suggestions in Ethics*, p. 179.

³⁰ Nicomachean Ethics, Book IV, Chap. 3, p. 22: "ὁ μὲν γὰρ μεγαλόψυχος δίκαιως (δοξάζει καταφρονεῖ γὰρ ἄλλῃθως) οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τυχόντος."

ment. As the carpenter said to James: "There is very little difference between one man and another, but what little there is *is very important*;"³¹ and realism believes that this difference is good for the world. We need the varied ideas and efforts of all these individuals.

Again, realism is democratic. It does not hold that the right attitude toward the world is open only to those who have had or can have the mystical experience. It is open to all who are willing to fight "the beautiful fight," and it holds out to them, through faith, the prophetic vision of victory.

Secondly, it gives a moral God, instead of the Absolute of idealism who remains "above the contrasts of good and evil;"³² and it insists on a religious dualism, God being a power other than ourselves, not a comprehensive totality.

Professor Perry's definitions of God seem rather vague and unsatisfactory: "God is neither an entity nor an ideal, but always a relation of entity to ideal."³³ Or, again: "My God is my world practically recognized in respect of its fundamental or ultimate attitude to my ideals. In this sense then, conveyed by this term *attitude*, my God will invariably possess the characters of personality."³⁴

James has perhaps best expressed the melioristic idea of God. "First it is essential," he says, "that God be conceived as the deepest power in the universe; and second, he must be conceived under the form of a mental personality . . . a power not ourselves then, which not only makes for righteousness, but means it, and which recognizes us."³⁵

³¹ William James, *The Will to Believe*, pp. 256, 257.

³² W. E. Hocking, *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, p. 332.

³³ R. B. Perry, *The Approach to Philosophy*, p. 87.

³⁴ R. B. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³⁵ William James, *The Will to Believe*, p. 122.

Such an idea of God has been recently popularized through H. G. Wells's *God the Invisible King*. This God, who is striving against evil — or, as Mr. Wells has it, that fights for “the great attainment,” which is “the conquest of death,”³⁶ is a God who works — “My father worketh hitherto and I work.” Man becomes the co-worker with God in the enterprise of transforming nature. He meets God in the field of human endeavor, rather than when he has retired to the beyond-good-and-evil region.

But is this enough for religion? Professor Hoernlé tells us that Perry's religion with its “zeal for progress in human welfare, for rendering service to the cause of reform, for fighting against evil in all its guises, is clearly something without which religion would be poor and ineffective.” But this is not religion, because it is only a “cosmology and ethics, welded together from a biological point of view”;³⁷ it ignores mysticism.

Now mysticism should be recognized as a variety of religious experience, if one is to have religious toleration; and realism, if it is true to its ideals of democracy and individuality, will not seek to exclude the mystics; but for the same reason, realism finds it hard to tolerate statements claiming that mysticism is “the intensest and purest form of religion,” or that mystical experience is “the most characteristic and revealing variety of all [religious] experience.”³⁸

Let us have all the light which the mystics can bring to us, but let us protest when they insist that theirs is the only true light, or when they try to impose their experience on their less fortunate brothers. The term “religion” should be broad enough to include all varieties of religious experience — and who shall say which the “key-note” is?

³⁶ H. G. Wells, *God the Invisible King*, p. 99. (Quoted by R. B. Perry, *The Conflict of Ideals*, p. 329.)

³⁷ R. F. A. Hoernlé, *op. cit.*

³⁸ R. F. A. Hoernlé, *op. cit.*

For realism, religion is the consummation of morality; the lifting of service into the light of a great ideal, into fellowship with God with whom we become co-workers. It is a way of life which appeals to those who wish to "play a man's part and fulfil a man's destiny," but it adds to this struggle the vision of hope, the light of victory, the faith in the unconquerable power of good.

It is said that Leibnitz thought he had invented a "universal characteristic" which he hoped would bring a solution of all problems and an end to all disputes. "If controversies were to arise," he says, "there would be no more need of disputation than between two accountants, for it would suffice to take their pens in their hands and to sit down to their desks and to say to each other (with a friend as witness, if they like) 'Let us calculate.'"³⁹

Unfortunately, this happy day has not yet dawned, and realism and idealism cannot yet calculate on the problem of evil in this mechanical way. They can only theorize from experience, and wait. For after all, realism and idealism are two states of mind, and only time can prove which is right. Meanwhile, the realist, in his belief that the elimination of evil from the world is not a forlorn hope, proposes to struggle onward towards his ideal, with a faith and "a determination that through enlightened action things shall in time come to be what they should be."

³⁹ Quoted by Bertrand Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*, Chap. V.

BOOK REVIEWS

ALTRUISM. ITS NATURE AND VARIETIES. The Ely Lectures for 1917-18.
GEORGE HERBERT PALMER. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1919. Pp. x, 138.
\$1.25.

This little book is Professor Palmer at his best. One is justified in saying that it *is* Professor Palmer; for it is in reality not a book, but a wise man teaching, a great teacher reflecting, a subtle thinker setting forth his ideas. It is in its form, not so much instruction as consultation. The teacher is sitting at his desk with a group of young men about him, and reporting to them in the most intimate fashion his experience of life. "I have been moving about lately through the country," he begins; "When a plate of apples is passed and I pick out the best one," he goes on; "A stranger hands me a five dollar bill;" "A man I knew broke his leg" — how elementary and unsophisticated such teachings appear! One might even suspect that they were mere autobiography. The fact is, however, that the profoundest antinomies of conduct are approached through these trivial incidents, and that, in purporting to narrate the experience of the teacher, they in reality illustrate the most serious problems of ethics. The great guns of philosophical discussion are disguised by this ingenious camouflage of simplicity. It is not egotism which is using the personal pronoun, but dialectical skill. If education means the "e-ducing" or drawing out of a student's mind, few finer instances of the higher education could be cited than this ingenious familiarity with which Professor Palmer gently persuades consent. "When he putteth forth his sheep," it was said of the greatest of Teachers, "He goeth before, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice."

This little book of eight lectures deals in this casual manner with the fundamental problem which confronts both individuals and nations today — the issue between egoism and altruism, individualism and socialism, the person and the community, the integrity of one's own character and the obligations of the life in common. This conflict of types, which has become the central theme of contemporary politics, as it has always been the chief perplexity of personal conduct, is summarily disposed of by Professor Palmer through his doctrine of the "Conjunct Self" — the essentially social nature of the individual, the unreality of the separate self, and the consequent merger of altruism with egoism. The successive stages through which this conjunctive principle develops are traced in successive chapters,

whose titles have the genuine Palmeresque touch of paradox and surprise. The teacher with dainty discrimination tries various words in succession to fit his theme, as a man of fashion might stand at the counter and select a necktie. One word is too vivid; another too dull; another does not match his thought. At last he settles on names which seem at first unsuggestive; but as he dresses his subject in them, they seem made for his discourse. "Manners," "Gifts," "Mutuality," "Love," "Justice" — such are the successive steps by which Egoism identifies itself with Altruism. "Manners" are simply the give and take of social life, the voluntary conformity to a conventional code; "Gifts" are the more substantial tribute of the person to the common life; "Mutuality" is the definite recognition of the "duality of giving;" "Love" is the flowering of mutuality into identity. "Perfect love knows no giving. What is there to give? All thine is mine, all mine is thine." Yet even Love is "selective mutuality," and beyond it lies that "public love which I have ventured to call Justice." "Justice knows no persons; or rather it knows everyone as a person and insures each his share in the common good." Justice is "the impartial love of our fellow-men." "In this external and superpersonal love, altruism attains its fullest and steadiest expression. But so does egoism too." "The conjunct self finds in this judicial love its large opportunity." "Socialism which does not promote individuality, individuality which does not tend toward a completer social consciousness, are alike delusive. Each must find its justification in the service it is able to render to its pretended foe."

Thus, with firm tread and gracious ease, Professor Palmer mounts the stairway of his argument. Each step is solid in itself, and each in turn prepares for the next. There is a sense of inevitability in the procedure. One could not step aside without intellectual disaster. The scholar takes the teacher's hand, and the way up becomes plain. Yet even more instructive than the ascent is the conversation on the way. Starting from a lifetime of acute observation and profound experience, the veteran teacher talks, as he mounts, of the limitations and insufficiency of each step. "One must not count 'Manners' too highly. It is as if I devoted a section to brushing the hair." There are defects in "Gifts." "It may be the part of wisdom to help only the strong, and let the weak sink." Even "Love" is "ever unstable." "Unrelated, it slips down into the lower forms of altruism." Cogent as are the formal arguments of the book, these passing reflections on the conduct of life may not improbably remain in the memory of many readers, as similar reflections remain in the

minds of many hearers of Professor Palmer's oral discourses, as the most convincing evidence of his sanity, discrimination, and poise.

There remains a further aspect of this little volume which is of more immediate significance. It is its relation to the movement of contemporary thought. The mind of the present time has been almost completely diverted from the ethics of personality to the ethics of social relationships. The Community, the State, the Labor Union, the Syndicate, the Revolution, have become the units of value. Professor Palmer, on the other hand, has represented to a whole generation of students the classical school of ethics, the analysis of motives, the classification of virtues and vices, the springs of action, the personal ideals. In the hall of Philosophy at Harvard University, Professor Palmer has delivered his famous lectures on the ground floor, while above him were collections illustrating social ethics, or the application of duty to the amelioration of modern life. There seemed to be here a division of fields. The student, having examined with Professor Palmer the nature of goodness, might mount to the second floor and study goodness at work. This apparent separation of being from doing, of character from service, is, however, quietly bridged by the doctrine of the "conjunct self." There is no separate self. One man is no man. Goodness is not achieved until it is socialized. Professor Palmer does not invade the foreign domain of social ethics, as though he marched upstairs in Emerson Hall and appropriated a larger lecture room; he simply indicates the obvious truth that to reach the second story one must enter on the ground floor. His teaching is at once a summary of moral philosophy and an introduction to social ethics. The classical method of analysis underlies the modern movement of reform. Perfect social service is practicable only through perfect moral freedom.

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PANTHEISM AND THE VALUE OF LIFE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D.PHIL. The Epworth Press, London. 1919. Pp. viii, 732. 12s. 6d.

This volume embodies a thesis approved by the University of Aberdeen for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and appears to be in its entirety the developed form of a minor thesis adversely critical of Hindu pantheism, to which has been added the study of pantheism in the West, as represented by the Stoics, Spinoza, Hegel, and Schopenhauer; against which are urged the same objections as the author

has already made against the Vedanta. These objections are that, in contrast with a belief in a personal, good God, pantheism obscures moral values or denies them altogether and is universally pessimistic or tends to become pessimistic. Whatever is good in Stoicism, whatever is optimistic, is due to the fact that the Stoic was not really pantheistic; whatever is bad and pessimistic in Stoicism, is due to the fact that the Stoic was pantheistic. In other words, in Stoicism we are to see optimism and pessimism, good and bad, but also a theism as well as a pantheism, and we are to credit pantheism with all that is bad and leave the good to the credit of theism.

So with Spinoza, whose pantheism is universally admitted, but to whom, unfortunately, optimism (which ought not to be closely connected with pantheism) is also usually ascribed. Dr. Urquhart concedes that Spinoza is generally classed among optimists, and indeed points out the justification of this view. But he argues that Spinoza's optimism was based on too great confidence in knowledge as a means of salvation from evil. If Spinoza had lived today, he would have been less confident, therefore more pessimistic; hence we may say that his grounds for optimism are accidental, untrustworthy; so that we are justified in doubting whether he was really an optimist, since pessimism is the logical outcome of his teaching.

We submit that this argument is unsatisfactory. In details also, if space permitted, it would be of interest to debate some of the inductions made by the author to the glorification of theism versus pantheism. He implies throughout that love of God is impossible in pantheism, because this love is not personal affection between persisting realities, and conversely a theistic interpretation of the universe should result in the love of God. But it was Aristotle, no pantheist, who said that love of God was an insult to God; and surely no greater devotional love exists than is found in the pantheistic circles dominated by *bhakti*.

Here Dr. Urquhart would rejoin that *bhakti* implies polytheism (better a personal God and saviour); it is not a real adjunct of pantheism, but an emotional reaction. This brings us to the inner kernel of his work, the acute and scholarly criticism of Brahmanic pantheism. We may say at once that it is a real contribution to knowledge, in that it is a clarification, not so much of Hindu thought as of what has been said in respect of that thought. At the same time we question whether the author's synchronous attempt to clarify Hindu thought is legitimate. He would make a distinction, unimpeachable in logical necessity, between real pantheism and theistic pantheism, between real optimism and an optimism found in the Upanishads in

much the form it takes elsewhere: the world is all a fleeting show, but those who know God are released from vanity and sorrow. The Upanishadic restriction to the elect of those likely to enjoy ineffable bliss hereafter is also not unknown outside of pantheism. What we find to admire in Dr. Urquhart's work is far more than what we have to condemn, and it seems invidious to complain that a study of this sort, made by an expert in logical and philosophical discrimination, is too logical, too discriminating, to have its due effect. But such we believe to be the case. It is not till we get to the later systematized Vedanta that we have logic at all or any proper ratiocination. In the confused groping toward a spiritual unity, picturesquely voiced in the contradictory rhapsodies of the first pantheists, it is a mistake to apply a system of interpretation based on too lucid thinking. The Brahma or impersonal Power was forever shifting into the personal All-Soul, as this All-Soul was forever passing from an existence expressed by negations into God whose grace can save. Even the commentators on the Sutras were uncertain and confused, partly because they tried to be both logical and orthodox (that is, not heterodox in rejecting the traditional Word of God), and partly because pantheism in India has always felt divinity personally. When creation is predicated of a Lord of Beings who is represented as wishing ("He *desired*, let me be many") to create, how can we say with the author, "Creation means emission; it is not the definite exercise of conscious power"?

Again, when the ultimate state of the saved is described as that of a bliss too great to portray, when this bliss is said to be the very essence of Brahma, when the blessed, who even before death has a face shining with divine light and, released from all trouble and fear, "experiences bliss indescribable in words," is it not to be untrue to the Hindu scriptures to say that "this tranquil bliss" is unduly negative, and so to deny that pantheism can be optimistic, because the happiness attained is like the Absolute, only negative? Dr. Urquhart concludes that passive contentment without character enough to preserve the soul's personality is not "bliss in the true sense of the word." But it is not a question of what we think the Upanishad authors ought to have thought bliss to be. The bliss they looked forward to was as real to them as Dr. Urquhart's bliss to him, and they thought they were likely to attain it. The author says it was an impossible bliss. But surely the goal is real and obtainable to the Vedantist. The author argues that, energetic desire being excluded by the passive Vedantist and the ideal sought being such as to demand energy, "the goal is unattainable and the bliss

is out of reach." So "joy turns to bitterness and optimism to pessimism." But against this we may urge that the Hindus did not regard the bliss as unattainable, no matter whether they should logically have so considered it; hence the whole argument is vain; there is no conversion of optimism to pessimism to the Upanishad authors. We can still hear them singing hymns of joy that they, the elect few, are saved and about to enter into eternal bliss.

More satisfactory is Dr. Urquhart's discussion of the respective merits of Shankara and Ramanuja as interpreters of Badarayana. Here the author is at his best. He sides with neither as a partisan, but holds that Shankara is right as to the doctrine of illusion, not as interpreter of the earliest Upanishad thought but of the position necessitated in face of the philosophical difficulties; and that Ramanuja is right, as interpreting the Sutras, in claiming that the individual soul is real, but wrong here as interpreter of the Upanishads. The discussion of the Puranas is less satisfactory. These tracts represent merely the survival of original polytheism; pantheism has had little effect on this worship. The Hindus *en masse* are only nominally pantheists, users of taught phrases culled from superior minds; the many are, as they have always been, polytheistic. The hereafter that appeals to them is one of emotional fullness. A most valuable and searching criticism is the author's extended survey of the religious ideas of Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore, the latter justly scored as disguising his indebtedness to Western thought. Our own opinion is that Vivekananda was a good deal of a fakir, and Rabindranath is of no importance whatever; but those who enjoy his rather mushy religion will also welcome the opportunity presented by this estimate, very readable as well as fair, to see in what regard Rabindranath differs from the really Oriental, respectively Hindu, attitude toward life. The author might have made more of one point — that there has always been a healthy realization of life and its duties in the theistically shaded pantheism of India; it is a side of religion ignored by the effete talkers of present-day India but not by the virile Hindus of antiquity. The Bhagavad Gita does not praise a life of intellectual or physical indolence, but one of active endeavor; not pretty dreams but honest work in the world is a man's life, if he is to be fit to live hereafter with a God who says "I too work ever."

Dr. Urquhart has written a book which is not only a valuable contribution to the history of Indian thought but a quickening work, likely to rouse those for whom it raises the all-important question, Is your pantheism the best religion possible? Dr. Urquhart demon-

strates that in so far as pantheism is pessimistic it has a deadening effect, and reasonably advises all pantheists to take up a better, optimistic religion, which will put more life into the belief, more energy into the believer, and more happiness into the world. We agree fully that religion ought to make the whole world happier and that pantheism has not done much for the world at large. Only we question whether belief can be set aside for practical reasons, and whether the test of intellectual validity is to be found in the stimulus it exerts upon the believer's morale.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. ALBERT C. KNUDSON.
The Abingdon Press. 1918. Pp. 416. \$2.50.

Consideration of the influence which this book is likely to exercise in the great Methodist denomination makes one feel grateful that Professor Knudson has done such a careful and scholarly piece of work. Only fourteen years ago his predecessor, Professor Hinckley G. Mitchell, lost his chair in Boston University because he would not assert the historicity of the early chapters of Genesis. The Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church regarded this as sufficient ground for refusing to confirm his reappointment to the chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis.

But a decade has wrought great changes. A sound, judicious progressiveness is apparently in the ascendant and this book is to be welcomed as one of its products. The author stands squarely upon the solid gains of modern biblical criticism in his presentation of the religious teaching of the Old Testament. This is quite evident in the excellent opening chapter, which gives an outline of the development of Old Testament religion and literature. One wonders, however, whether he has gained as much as he has lost by adopting the topical mode of discussion, even if he had in mind primarily the practical needs of the preacher. There are some aspects of Israel's religion that can be treated apart from the general history of the people. But others are deprived of a large measure of their human interest by dissociation from the historical movements in which they originated. It is difficult to see how the religious significance and consequences of the Deuteronomic movement can be presented under a topical treatment which focuses attention on certain abstract features of Israel's religion. But we must assume that the author accepted the disadvantages of this method to achieve certain ends which he had in view.

The author has grouped the contents of this book under two main headings: God and Angels, and Man and Redemption. Under the first he discusses in seven chapters the following aspects of the Old Testament conception of God: personality, unity, spirituality, power, holiness, righteousness, and love. The chapter on "Angels and Other Divine Beings" forms the eighth and concluding chapter of this part of the book, the last three pages being devoted to the development of the idea of Satan. The seven chapters of the second part deal successively with the following topics: the nature of man, the doctrine of sin, the problem of suffering, forgiveness and atonement, nationalism and individualism, the Messianic hope, and the future life.

In his introductory chapter Professor Knudson has forcefully pointed out that the ancients were little concerned with abstractions; that in order to interpret their religious ideas with historical justice one must remember that they dealt with the concrete and the tangible. One cannot help feeling that the author set himself a difficult task when he, therefore, begins to discuss, to the extent of about twenty pages each, the personality, unity, and spirituality of God. These aspects of the Old Testament conception of God obviously were rarely direct objects of Hebrew thought, but are a modern theological distillate from what they said or implied. Professor Knudson is far too good a scholar not to have been conscious of this difficulty, and one becomes genuinely interested in the skill with which he holds a middle course between these abstract topics and the historical reality.

In his broader conclusions the author, where two views are possible, leans to the conservative side. In the preface he declares it to be a contention of his book that the literary prophets were not the creators of ethical monotheism; that "the higher faith of Israel may be traced back into the pre-prophetic period," and that "its germ is to be found in the teaching of Moses." However, since he does not credit Moses (p. 79) with more than the establishment of monolatry, without denial of the existence of other gods, this germinal Mosaic monotheism had more to grow out of than to grow into before the time of Amos. If the decalogue is to be ascribed to Moses on the ground that "between the time of Moses and that of Amos there was no event and no personality significant enough to be regarded as the starting point of so far-reaching a change in the conception of the character of Yahweh," one wonders why he should think this period favorable for the development of ethical monotheism. It should be noted, *en passant*, that it is not strictly accurate to speak of a "unan-

ymous biblical tradition ascribing the Decalogue to Moses." Professor Knudson, of course, means the ethical decalogue which was unknown to J, the oldest stratum of the Hebrew tradition. It should be mentioned also that to speak of the "calf-worship" of the Israelites without explaining that by golden calves were meant little bull-images used to represent the Baals as well as Jahveh, is misleading for the general reader. This indeed is one of the points at which the pre-Deuteronomic syncretism of Baal-Jahveh, which the author minimizes, comes to expression.

In the chapters that deal with the place of the individual in the religion of early Israel and with the history of the Messianic hope, Professor Knudson calls for a reconsideration and revision of views now generally held. He thinks it "a mistake to regard Jeremiah and Ezekiel as marking the beginning of individualism." He also holds that there was a more or less developed Messianic eschatology behind the preaching of the eighth-century prophets, and that the ethical idealism of the seers and singers of Israel sprang from their Messianic hope. "Their eschatology constituted the very atmosphere of their religious life." In this the reviewer cannot follow him. But to attempt a critical estimate of these and other positions taken by the author does not lie within the scope of this review. Professor Knudson has presented his evidence in carefully reasoned discussions which will interest serious-minded readers and richly deserve the attention of scholars. He is a man of learning and wide reading. He knows the literature of his subject, states the facts comprehensively, and has a keen eye for their practical bearings. His conclusions are set forth with admirable lucidity, and often with stimulating suggestiveness. In short, the book reflects honor upon the biblical scholarship of American Methodism, and we warmly commend it to the attention of all students of the Old Testament.

WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÉ.

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION.

ISRAEL'S SETTLEMENT IN CANAAN. C. F. BURNLEY, D.LITT. Published for the British Academy, London, 1918. Pp. xi, 104. \$1.60.

With the march of archæological discovery the problem of the origins of Israel becomes an increasingly complex one. Dr. Burnley does well therefore to make it the subject of his Schweich Lectures. The impulse came to him through investigation of the historical content of Judges in his recently published commentary on that book. From this vantage point he has surveyed the question in its various

aspects, and presents a view of the case which, though far from revolutionary, is both candid and judicious, learned and stimulating to thought.

In the first two chapters the Biblical tradition is carefully examined. Like all modern scholars, Dr. Burney concedes the superiority of the account given of Israel's settlement in Judges 1 1-12 5. But this also calls for closer criticism. A comparison of Judges 1 16 f. with Num. 21 1-3 and Judges 1 27 with such passages as Num. 32 39-42 and Judges 5 13-15 makes it clear that the movements of Judah, Simeon, and Manasseh there related were independent of any initiative from Joshua. The same inference applies to the other tribes who are represented as long maintaining a precarious foothold against the Canaanites. The only members of the later commonwealth of Israel, in fact, to whom the narrative ascribes any real share in the conquest under Joshua, are the Joseph tribes, settled in central Palestine. And, "if tradition is correct in making Joshua the successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel," it follows in all probability that the people whom Moses led out of Egypt at the Exodus was confined to the "household of Joseph," the remaining tribes belonging to "the floating semi-nomadic population, pressing in from the barren steppes to the northeast, which has always formed an element in the settled life of Canaan" (p. 36). This is certainly the conception we gather from the patriarchal legends of Genesis, where under the guise of eponymous heroes we find unveiled to us the wanderings and distribution of Israelite clans, "at a period possibly long prior to the entry of the Joseph tribes under Joshua" (p. 52). The elucidation of ancient legend is notoriously a field where the imagination is apt to run riot; but Dr. Burney displays a sanity of judgment, combined with a keenness of suggestion, which is worthy of all praise. We may note especially his emendation of Gen. 49 5 (pp. 38 ff.), his discussion of the early history of Levi (pp. 44 ff.), and his recognition of the astral character of the names of handmaid tribes, as contrasted with the totemistic background of a number of the purely Israelite stems (pp. 55 ff.).

In a closing lecture the external evidence is canvassed and resultant conclusions are drawn. Dr. Burney accepts the prevailing identification of the Tell el-Amarna *Habiru* and SA-GAS (ideogram for *habbatum*, "robber" or "cut-throat") with Hebrews "in the widest sense of the latter term." Scheil's discovery of *Habiru* mercenaries in the employment of the Elamite king Rīm-Sin, the contemporary of Hammurabi, is no insuperable objection to this theory, the Biblical tradition itself associating Abraham "the Hebrew"

with the same general period and locality. The Habiru are clearly Aramæan nomads who press continually westward, until in the reign of Ahnaton they occupy the whole of Palestine, from the Phœnician cities in the north to the district around Jerusalem. All this is in striking harmony with the movements of Hebrew tribes as reflected in the patriarchal traditions (pp. 82 ff.). That the main body of the Israelites had no part in the migration to Egypt is borne out by the mention of 'Asaru (the district assigned to the tribe of Asher) among the conquests of Sety I (c. 1313 B.C.), and the inclusion of Israel in the list of peoples subdued by Mineptah (c. 1222 B.C.). It is possible indeed that Israelite families may have participated in the southward movement of Amurru peoples under the Hyksos domination of Egypt, but the migration proper was confined to Joseph tribes, probably during the flourishing period of the Empire (from the reign of Thutmosi III onwards). On this view there is little reason to doubt that Ra'messe II was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his successor Mineptah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The contrasted theory of Mr. H. R. Hall, which connects the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos, and identifies the Habiru aggressions with the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, not merely wrests the witness of the monuments, but "is obliged to do great violence to the Biblical tradition," for it crowds the campaigns of Sety, Ra'messe, and Mineptah into the period of the Judges, and otherwise alters the whole perspective of events (pp. 91 ff.).

ALEX. R. GORDON.

THE PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE, MONTREAL.

ZOROASTRIANISM AND JUDAISM. GEORGE WILLIAM CARTER, PH.D. The Gorham Press. 1918. Pp. 116. \$2.00.

Judah Ibn Tibbon, one of the most famous translators from the Arabic into Hebrew during the Middle Ages, repeatedly emphasized the fact that to be a good translator one must possess these three qualifications: the mastery of the language from which he translates, the mastery of the language into which he translates, and the mastery of the subject-matter with which his translation deals. Slightly modified, one may apply this characterization to the author on comparative religion. To write intelligently on comparative religion one must master the systems of religion compared and their mutual relation.

The many points of resemblance between Zoroastrianism and Judaism have attracted the attention of the learned world for more

than two centuries. T. H. Hyde in his *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700, had not the slightest doubt that Zoroastrianism was a poor copy of Judaism. Abraham is for him the first law-giver of the Persians, and the Messianic hopes found in the Zoroastrian writings are directly dependent upon the Old Testament, "which was well known to Zarathustra"—"quod ei bene notum fuit." One can hardly suppress a smile at his naïveté, but one must not take too seriously the opposite view, which maintains that Judaism borrowed its main religious views from Zoroastrianism.

The author of the present book, though he does not go to the extreme, is nevertheless convinced that "while the germs of the beliefs that came into prominence in post-exilic times in Judaism may be present in the earlier writings, the germs are not enough to explain the later developments." This reads like a compromise between those who deny any essential influence of Zoroastrianism on Judaism and those who make the latter depend on the former. Compromises may solve political and social difficulties, but never a scientific problem. If pre-exilic Judaism contained the germs from which its post-exilic form developed, then why make it dependent on external influences? But if post-exilic Judaism can only be explained as a result of foreign influences, it is no longer a direct development of the pre-exilic religion of Israel. However, be that as it may, the view of Eduard Meyer with regard to the relation of Zoroastrianism to Judaism is the only safe and sane one, at least for the present, while the date of composition of the most important Avesta documents is so uncertain.

The analogies between Judaism and Zoroastrianism, says Eduard Meyer,¹ are very striking, but it would be radically wrong to claim a direct influence of Zoroastrianism on Judaism. What is common to both religions is mainly due to their similar development, and, in some details, to the dependence of both on Babylonian religion. If we disregard Darmesteter's theories concerning the late origin of the Avesta, in which he finds elements borrowed not only from the Bible but also from Philo, the view of Eduard Meyer is shared by the leading authorities on the history of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. I will only mention Söderblom, whose book, *La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme* (Paris, 1901), is the most thorough and extensive study on the relation of Judaism to Zoroastrianism, and Schürer, whose *History* is the standard book on the inner life of the Jew at the time of the rise of Christianity. Both of them agree that the influence of Zoroastrianism on Judaism is of a very unessential nature. It is

¹ Die Entstehung des Judentums, p. 239.

therefore very regrettable that Dr. Carter did not follow the safe guidance of these scholars; for, carried away by untenable hypotheses, he gives to the public a very wrong impression of the development of later Judaism.

It would lead me too far to enter into a detailed discussion of this book, and there is no need of this, as there is hardly any material brought forward by the author which has not been thoroughly examined before by others. I shall, however, call attention to the following few facts. The author (p. 24) accepts as historical the tradition found in *Arda Virāf*, 1 2, according to which Zarathustra lived about three hundred years before the invasion of Alexander the Great — not before the time of Alexander, as the author has it. He maintains that this view is also in harmony with the most recent scholarship. But the testimony of Assyrian inscriptions finally disposes of this tradition. An inscription of the year 713 B.C. mentions the name "Miazdaka," and, as pointed out by Eduard Meyer, this shows that the Zoroastrian religion must even then have been predominant in Media. The author (p. 26) takes also as historical the legend about Zarathustra at the court of Vishtaspa. But the King Vishtaspa has no place in historical chronology. The legend undoubtedly thought of Hystaspes, the father of Darius I, and in true legendary style Hutaosa is given as the name of Vishtaspa's wife — a reminiscence of Atossa, the wife of Cambyses. The author shows a good deal of naïveté in his remark (p. 39) that post-exilic Judaism could not have been influenced by the Babylonians, because "the Babylonians were too gross in their idolatry to develop Jewish religious conceptions." One does not need to be an adherent of Pan-Babylonianism to see the absurdity of such a statement. That one who is not cognizant of the great influence which Babylonian religion has exercised upon Judaism does not take into account the contact between Aryan and Semito-Hittite religion, is of course not surprising. For our author, the seven archangels forming the heavenly hierarchy, according to later Jewish writings, are directly borrowed from Zoroastrianism (p. 65). But the truth is that the number seven has no special meaning with the Aryans, while it plays a very important part in the religious conception of the Babylonians. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt that the *seven Amesha Spenta* of Zoroastrianism, as well as the seven archangels of later Judaism, have their archetype either in the seven planets of the Babylonian cosmology or in the "ilâni-sibit of the Babylonians." This is no longer a hypothesis but an assured fact, as can be seen from the list of Assyrian gods published by Scheil (*R. T. r xiv*, 100), in which we

find Assara Mazdas (=Ahurah Mazdah) immediately followed by the seven spirits of heaven, the Igigi, and the seven spirits of earth, the Anunaki. That Asmodeus is not, as the author maintains (p. 65), of Persian origin, but is good Aramaic, I think to have conclusively shown in the Jewish Encyclopedia, s.u. *Asmodeus*. In this connection I may be permitted to call attention to my essay, *Mabbul Shel Esh*, published in the Hebrew periodical *Hag-Goren* (Bordetschan, 1912). In this essay I have shown that the conception of the conflagration of the world, which plays such an important part in the eschatology of Zoroastrianism and which is also known to the Jews and Greeks, is of Babylonian origin.

LOUIS GINZBERG.

THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA.

CHRISTIAN BELIEF IN GOD. A German Criticism of German Materialistic Philosophy. GEORG WOBBERMIN. Translated by DANIEL S. ROBINSON (Third German edition). Yale University Press. 1918. Pp. xx, 175. \$1.25.

This work has been well known and highly appreciated for several years by those who have read it in German. It is now made available to English readers in an excellent translation, and such readers will be well rewarded by its perusal. It is a brief book, in which the author sketches in large outline, and stresses the significant features of the Christian faith in its relation to the main currents of modern thought. He deals in the first chapter with the chief tendencies of present-day philosophy; in the second with epistemology; in the third with cosmology; in the fourth with biology; and in the final chapter with psychology. He shows the bearing of all these philosophical disciplines and their main conclusions on the Christian faith, and the place this faith holds in its own right as a living experience and as throwing light on the problems of philosophy. While the author recognizes the destructive criticism of Kant and the inadequacy of the old scholastic arguments for the existence of God, he holds, nevertheless, that there is need to show the implications of the modern world view, which requires the Christian faith for its best interpretation and justification.

The book is generous in its appreciations, particularly of the religious motive in Nietzsche; keen in its criticism, as in case of Haeckel; spiritual in its conception of the providence of God, as in his abandonment of the miraculous, and vitally religious.

DANIEL EVANS.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE PROBABLE INFINITY OF NATURE AND LIFE. WILLIAM EMERSON RITTER, PH.D. The Gorham Press. 1918. Pp. 164. \$1.25.

I shall mention at the start two defects of this book, in order to have done with them early; for though prominent, they are not vital. The first is careless proof reading. Commas are occasionally out of place, and many words, including several proper names, are misspelled, the most unfortunate instance appearing in the dedication, where *Le Coute* is written for *Le Conte*. The second defect is a lack of sure-footedness in the field of physics, which the author, who is Director of the Scripps Institution for Biological Research, of the University of California, enters needlessly and where he often comes to grief. He spends about six pages in stating and refuting certain propositions of M. Gustave Le Bon, whom, I am confident, physicists would not generally accept as an expounder of their beliefs. He rejects the hypothesis of "the ether of space" on the curiously mistaken ground that physicists regard this ether as incapable of motion. He speaks rather scornfully of the "ultimate Atoms or Electrons of present-day physico-chemical metaphysics," partly because he objects to anything ultimate and partly because he opposes the idea of any possible divorce between electricity and matter. In neither of these criticisms of the electron belief is he, in my opinion, justified. The generation of physicists and chemists that has shattered, or at least splintered, the old-fashioned atom is not likely to make the mistake of supposing that the electron is essentially indivisible, however incapable we may be, at present, of dividing it experimentally. Moreover, the builders of the electron theory, instead of seeking to separate electricity and matter, are trying to explain matter by means of electricity; and surely one might expect that Professor Ritter, who will hear nothing of ultimates, would welcome this endeavor to explain ideas or phenomena heretofore regarded as final by others still more fundamental. That he does not do so is a curious fact which will be commented on later.

The following passage is significant: "Slight as was my training in these provinces [magnetism and electricity], and faded as are most of the facts and mathematical equations presented to me in my college days, very distinct pictures are still before my mind of sticks of sealing wax, chunks of amber, the skins of various small animals tanned with the hair on, pieces of flannel cloth, scraps of pith, bars of iron of various shapes and sizes, and so on, whenever the subject of magnetism was up for treatment." Now a man who thinks that "chunks of amber" and "scraps of pith" are the proper materials for illustrating magnetism may have perfectly sound ideas regard-

ing other matters of human knowledge, but he cannot parade such ignorance, while criticizing the beliefs of physicists, without discrediting to some extent his authority on matters with which he is more familiar.

But this, after all, is no great harm, for few of us expect authoritative answers to questions touching infinity; stimulating suggestion is all that we can reasonably look for, and this the book before us is capable of furnishing. It is well for us to have these questions represented occasionally, if only to be reminded that there is still mystery, even in the physical world, and probably always will be.

The author's main thesis, or a very important part of it, is presented in the passage which follows: "The conclusion pointed to is that the Cosmos or Universe or total order of things is genuinely infinite. By genuinely I mean infinite, not in the sense of subjectivist metaphysics or theology, but of physical science and mathematics. A short description or characterization of the Cosmos from this standpoint would be that it consists of an infinite number of bodies, each belonging to an infinite series, and that of all these bodies every one has some attributes in common with all the others but not one is exactly like any other." He seems to think, and perhaps he is right, that most people believe the material world to have existed in some form eternally. But he takes it for a fact that many who admit the past eternity of matter balk at accepting a past eternity of life, and he asks us to "reflect upon the relative difficulties in the conceptions that the oxide of iron, for instance, has existed forever, while organic beings must have begun, actually *de novo*, sometime, somewhere." He reminds us that "the great controversy of the Pasteur-Pouchet period, culminating in Tyndall's memoir of 1875, ended in the complete overthrow of the theory of spontaneous generation as then held," and he has no expectation whatever that Professor Jacques Loeb, for example, will ever succeed in producing life from materials which are not themselves the product and the seat of life.

Is Professor Ritter, then, a "Vitalist" in biology, as Professor Loeb is a "Mechanist." He refuses to go into either of these categories, neither of which, in his opinion, is satisfactorily defined. Undoubtedly he is a materialist, for he recognizes no properties or functions apart from matter. He rejects Louis Agassiz's "fallacy" of "attributing to Deity the power of *thinking sensible objects* into existence." He seeks to refute "Bergson's argument that the creativeness which is distinctive of the evolutionary process is wholly unique and requires the invocation of an impulsion from a source wholly beyond the realm of material things."

If we seek for one word additional to "materialist" for the characterization of Professor Ritter as a philosopher, we must call him an extreme pluralist. He rejoices in multitude, multitude of objects, multitude of substances, multitude of causes. The first quotation I have made from him must be taken literally as expressing his belief that no two of all the objects in the universe are exactly alike in their essential qualities. He holds that every individual animal or plant produces chemical substances the exact like of which were never produced and never will be produced by any other animal or plant. He does not make or welcome attempts to find fundamentals, few things explaining many. Hence, in part, his aversion to the conception of electrons. Herein, it seems to me, lies Professor Ritter's originality, and his contribution, such as it is, to philosophy. According to him, organisms, living bodies, tap sources of chemical energy which the processes of the laboratory cannot discover, and they do this by disintegrating the atoms of so-called elements, each act, each thought, each emotion, making use of some chemical reaction peculiar to itself; and, as no two individuals are precisely alike in their acts, thoughts, and emotions, no two individuals are the seats of precisely the same kinds of chemical reaction. Naturally, a chemical philosophy which begins by declaring itself outside the reach of present chemical tests can be neither confirmed nor refuted, though it may be rejected, by the chemists.

True to his love for multiplicity, the author closes his book with a chapter on Multiple Causes in Organic Evolution, from which the following characteristic passage is taken: "It is curious, once one comes to think of it, that Darwin and the rest of us should have talked so long and so absorbedly about one or a few 'factors' of evolution, when the demands of rigorous science are that there shall be at least as many causes as there are species. Were this not so, the same cause would produce different effects, and that would make biology a hocus-pocus indeed. Supernatural causes would be quite as amenable to science as such natural ones." And so he calls himself neither a Darwinian nor a Lamarckian, though he accepts natural selection as a real factor in evolution and, on the other hand, recognizes "a group of external causes producing 'body' changes, and a group of internal causes, no matter what their nature, producing after a while corresponding 'germinal' changes."

Professor Ritter says nothing, I believe, as to the bearing of his conception of the infinity of life in general on the question of the permanence of individual life, and as a thorough-going materialist he may not think this question worth considering. Yet one can

hardly avoid the following reflection: If the life of every individual should completely end, evidently an event much more readily imagined than the annihilation of all matter, all life would be extinct, and it could never come again. Thus we have the curious conception of life extending through a past eternity but coming to an end in the present or the finite future. I wonder whether Professor Ritter's philosophy would be satisfied with a terminated infinity. If not, is he, as an undoubting materialist, ready to accept that other weird conception, of a material essence of life, a ponderable soul, escaping from the body at death?

EDWIN H. HALL.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

ALCOHOL; ITS ACTION ON THE HUMAN ORGANISM. Report of the Central Board of the Liquor Traffic of England. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1918. Pp. xii, 133. 60 cents.

The adoption of constitutional prohibition by the United States will probably result in a more careful examination than ever before into the scientific foundations of our knowledge concerning the effects of alcoholic beverages taken in so-called small amounts. In comparatively recent years a number of surveys of the alcohol literature have been made. Frequently the authors of such summaries have revealed a partisan attitude in their choice of sources and in discussing "established results," so that perhaps no other scientific subject has suffered more from over-statement. Consequently it is important to understand something of the circumstances which prompted the preparation and publication of this book, and to note the personnel of the authors whose breadth of view is reflected in it.

By a prefatory announcement we are informed that in November, 1916, the British Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic) appointed an Advisory Committee with instructions "to consider the conditions affecting the physiological action of alcohol, and more particularly the effects on health and industrial efficiency produced by the consumption of beverages of various alcoholic strengths, with special reference to the recent Orders of the Central Control Board, and further to plan out and direct such investigations as may appear desirable with a view to obtaining more exact data on this and cognate questions." The committee appointed comprised the following personnel: Lord D'Abernon (Chairman), Chairman of the Central Control Board; Sir George Newman, Principal Medical Officer of the Board of Education; A. R. Cushny, Pharmacologist; H. H.

Dale, Biochemist; M. Greenwood, Medical Statistician; W. McDougall, Psychologist; F. W. Mott, Pathologist; C. S. Sherrington, Physiologist; and W. C. Sullivan, Psychiatrist. A volume which these well-known scientific men have jointly produced merits very careful and wide attention. This is particularly true in the present instance because the members of the Committee are specialists in just those fields which would naturally fit them to judge and write intelligently about the action of alcohol on the human organism. The report is signed by all and the statement is made that "the conclusions represent the unanimous judgment of the committee."

The Central Control Board appointed the Advisory Committee because they considered the present "knowledge on the subject of the action of alcohol is inadequate to the needs and importance of the question;" so the Committee made it their first task to compile a summary statement of this present knowledge regarding alcohol. The above-titled book is their report on this subject. It is dated December, 1917; it was first issued as a British government publication, and is a commendable attempt to answer from experimental sources the question, "What is known concerning the action of alcohol on the human body?" No new results are contributed. The authors have made it their sole object to summarize and evaluate the facts which others have already gained by controlled observation and experimentation in this field. By this preliminary clarifying of the question it is their aim to prepare the way for further research.

The introductory chapter defines the principal scientific terms (many of them physiological) needful in discussing the subject, together with several familiar words, such as "food," "drug," "poison," and "alcohol." It discusses the constituents of alcoholic beverages, classifies the ordinary food substances, and briefly explains how the human body obtains energy from ingested food for tissue repair and for storage.

The known facts regarding alcohol effects are arranged under the following chapter topics: Alcohol as a food; Mental effects of alcohol; Alcohol and the performance of muscular acts; Action of alcohol on the digestion; Action of alcohol on the respiration and on the circulation of the blood; Influence of alcohol on the body temperature; Poison action of alcohol; Alcohol and longevity. A chapter on conclusions is followed by five pages of appendix, providing much very useful data on the consumption of alcoholic beverages, general mortality from alcoholism and also among males of the chief occupational groups, percentage of absolute alcohol in various beverages, and in ordinary retail quantities. Most of the appended data are statistics

from England and Wales. The usefulness of the book is greatly augmented by an adequate index.

Our purpose in this review is not to provide a digest of facts presented, but to introduce a book that is certain to make for clear thinking on a difficult topic. The book itself is a rather brief summary of complicated results. However, technical terms have been most successfully converted into popular language, the paragraphs are short, each chapter has many sub-heads, and no one will find the presentation difficult. Throughout the pages there is a fair number of references to original experimental reports from which the facts are drawn. Of the two thousand or perhaps more titles which might be cited in this literature, the authors have chosen about fifty, mostly from among the more recent contributions. It seems an oversight that mention is not made of the larger bibliographies on the question, even though these do not include the most recent references. Aside from its clearness and directness of statement the book is to be recommended for its impartiality in presenting the facts. Moreover, "the writers have frankly admitted doubt, when the evidence appeared insufficient to establish a definite conclusion, and have further indicated with absolute sincerity the many points, some of them of great importance, regarding which no precise and scientific knowledge is available."

The preface contributed by Lord D'Abernon is of particular interest to the scientific student of this problem. Here it is mentioned as a remarkable thing that, considering the world use of alcohol and its conceded importance to social, industrial, and economic life, humanity should lack exact knowledge of its action on the human system, for the writers contend that "no authoritative scientific work gives or seeks to give the required information." Lord D'Abernon kindly shows a little consideration for the investigators who have labored in this field by discussing some of the peculiar difficulties encountered in the laboratory when using alcohol with human subjects and when attempting to interpret the experimental results. He outlines a number of topics which the Committee regard as of fundamental importance for future investigation, and states that research, under their supervision, has already begun on several of these.¹

¹ Since this abstract was written, two valuable reports issued under the supervision of this committee have reached me, viz.: *Alcohol; its Absorption into and Disappearance from the Blood under Different Conditions*; and *The Influence of Alcohol on Manual Work and Neuro-muscular Coördination*. Special Report Series, Nos. 31 and 34, respectively, of the British Medical Research Committee.

Needless to say, the further activity of this Committee will be awaited with great interest, not only by the public but also by the other committees, commissions, and laboratories which have in progress organized work in this field. The problem is easily large enough to occupy profitably the attention of several such groups.

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THE DOUBLE LOYALTY OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY¹

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The major task of all our theological seminaries is to prepare men for the Christian ministry. It is true that some men who go out from our seminaries will be diverted into other lines of religious service. A few become teachers; others are drawn into the cogs of ecclesiastical machinery in administrative functions for which they are peculiarly fitted. Here and there a man goes through some hard, unhappy experience in a parish and leaves the ministry altogether to become a radical free lance. But these men are in the minority.

The majority of the men who graduate from the seminary become the teachers and pastors of our churches. And whatever the inevitable disciplines and disappointments of their work, they will remain parish ministers to the end. This means that they will do their active work in the world and will make their contribution to the religious life of their time primarily through their identification with three or four successive groups of men, women, and little children to whom they minister.

¹ An address delivered at the opening session of the Harvard Divinity School and Andover Theological Seminary for the academic year 1919-20.

It should be perfectly apparent to every man who enters this office that he has a double loyalty. He has a loyalty, in the first place, to Christian truth, made known and to be made known to him in his own religious experience. And then he has a second loyalty to his fellow human beings with whom he lives and works. This double loyalty is by no means confined to the ministry. It is a part of every earnest life. It is the double loyalty of the doctor to the wide knowledge and high ethic of his profession and to the immediate human need of his patient. It is the double loyalty of the lawyer to the ideals of the law and to the concrete claims of his client. It is the double loyalty of the teacher to the absolute truth and to the immediate intellectual attainment of his pupil.

Now there is not and there never can be in daily life any perfect reconciliation of these rival loyalties. Students of the old Greek tragedies have often pointed out that the tragic element in those sombre dramas does not lie in a collision of good and evil. The moral problem would then be a simple one, without perplexity and poignancy. The essence of tragedy lies in a collision of loyalties, each of which is good in itself but which cannot be reconciled to the other in a given dilemma. In every tragedy, when choice and action become inevitable, there is always the sacrifice of a minor good for the sake of a major good, which involves the actor in a moral loss. The mother cannot square her loyalty to her husband with her loyalty to her children. The king cannot square his loyalty to the state with his duty to his family. In these homely but imperious dilemmas is found the essence of all tragic action.

There is no escape for any one of us from these tragic collisions in human life. Each one of us has to endure the moral friction which arises when his loyalty to truth, to duty, to the absolute good, cuts across his devotion to

family, friends, country, church. And it is the memory of values which have had to be relinquished, sometimes absolute, sometimes concrete, which makes up the deeper unhappiness and moral pathos of much of our human life.

There is no man in the world who has to feel this clash of loyalties more keenly than the Christian minister. He never perfectly squares his duty as a preacher with his duty as a pastor. He is, on the one hand, the spokesman for what is confessedly the most absolute idealism in the world — the uncompromising religion of Jesus Christ. He realizes as he reads the history of the church that most of the moral and strategic failures of Christianity have been due to the persistent ecclesiastical habit of underwriting the Christian counsels of perfection with permissive commandments, in which the moral austerity and therefore the creative energy of the gospel have been frankly “minimized” to meet the world as it happens to be. And the man of moral fervor and religious aspiration who knows his two thousand years of Christian history well, turns from its pages to his day’s work with the resolute determination not to sell out his distinctive spiritual heritage for a mess of pottage by way of a passing popularity. This is what George Tyrrell meant when he stood at the parting of the ways in his *Modernist pilgrimage* and said, “I am driven by a fatality to follow the dominant interest of my life, though it should break half the heart of the world.” There is no one of us in whom a pitiless and resolute utterance of this sort does not awaken an instant moral echo.

And yet this is not the only loyalty of the Christian minister. The man who ministers to his fellow men in religion becomes increasingly conscious of a paradoxical and rival duty to our very unideal human nature. He does not preach to a world where his absolute idealism is accepted or even generally understood. He feels at times

the mood of the ancient prophet who cried, "Ah, Lord God, they say of me, Doth he not speak parables!" And, always struggling against this stern devotion to truth, there is something within him bidding him to hear and heed "the still sad music of humanity."

It was Tyrrell himself who felt most poignantly the moral tragedy of his choice, and the consequent annihilation of many intimate and homely values which his course demanded of him. In the whole history of contemporary religious experience there is no passage so filled with the unutterable pathos of spiritual tragedy as are the sentences in which Tyrrell chronicles his own misgivings as to the final validity of his choice in turning his back upon his mother and sister, who sorely needed him, for the sake of the sombre austerities of the Society of Jesus:

"Well I remember my last day at home, my last day with those two now hid in death's dateless night, who were my share of the world, the best this life has had for me; whom I forsook — for what? in the name of all that is sane and reasonable! For a craze, an idea, a fanaticism? Or for love of and zeal for the truth, the Kingdom of God, the good of mankind? Had I been faithful to duty all along, had I worked hard at school and after, had I stayed at home and supported my mother and sister; and made their sad narrow lives a little brighter and wider, would not God have given me light, had it been needful for my salvation? And would not my chances of salvation have been better than they now are? Have I done so much good to others who had no claim on me, as to atone for my neglect of those who had every claim? What have I given up or forsaken for the service of God, as I suppose some would call it, except my plain duty. These are the pleasant doubts that fill my mind at spare moments and make me say, 'Surely, I have lived in vain!'"

This friction arising from the double loyalty of the Christian ministry creates for us all a moral problem to which we must give renewed thought. It gradually dawns upon a man as he lives and works that there is no cheap and easy solution of his dilemma. He comes at

last to realize that he too must be again and again the central figure in the ever-renewed moral tragedies of human life; that much of the comfort of his life will have to come from "the things that he aspired to be and was not," either as a preacher or a pastor. But it is not too much to hope that he may establish in the main some working relationship between these two loyalties, which will enable him to go on with his ministry in some measure of spiritual peace.

Our life in the academic world is devoted almost entirely to the quickening of our loyalty to religious truth. Perhaps it would be better to say to the intellectual and moral habit of truthfulness. For liberal Protestantism is not a body of clearly defined religious belief and practice; it is distinctively a religious method, a way of thinking and meeting the world. This cardinal virtue of sincerity has with us supplanted the older ideal of an immutable orthodoxy. And our theological disciplines, in so far as they bear ultimately on character and through character on the world, look primarily to the perfecting of this inner integrity, which we have come to know as sincerity. It does not matter very much what the stone may be on which a man grinds his soul to this cutting edge of a clean sincerity. One course in the curriculum may serve as well as another. None of our several departments has any prerogative in this matter. For the object of all our disciplines together is so to sharpen the mind and the conscience to the biting edge of keen sincerity that the conventions and orthodoxies and idols of the marketplace shall not blunt that edge when it is laid against them. The earnest mind of our own time will stand almost anything from a minister today if it can only believe that his soul has been tempered and ground to this rare, fine edge of a clean sincerity. The world will endure from him heresies and treasons which it would not tolerate for a moment from patently insincere men, be-

cause it knows instinctively that in such spirits has always lain and still lies the hope of its own salvation.

It is to be written down to the credit of most of our theological seminaries that they are now graduating into our ministry a body of comparatively sincere men. The Christian church may be unable to boast in our own time of some of the outstanding intellects and men of administrative genius who adorned and guided her in other days. But in some very real measure Robert Browning's prayer in *Paracelsus*, "Make no more giants, God, but elevate the race!" has been answered in the modern ministry. The level of sincerity has been tremendously raised in the last half-century. This is the net result of the whole modern critical method of theological instruction. And no honest man will minimize the clear gain to the Christian church in a ministry which, whatever its other patent shortcomings, is newly possessed by a spiritual integrity.

For all the too familiar strictures of the secular world upon the church, it remains true today that there is no great modern institution where men are as free to say what they really think as the pulpits of our liberal churches. There is still, alas, intellectual mediocrity and timidity and moral compromise left in the pulpit. But on the whole there is as little of it there as in any other great institution or profession. Unless a man is to dissociate himself altogether from the organized life of his time and live as an isolated mugwump, he may enter the ministry with the assurance that he will there enjoy an intellectual and moral liberty as great if not greater than that to be found in the law, in medicine, in teaching, in politics, or business.

Now no man would breathe a word of criticism or rebuke upon the on-going development of this newly felt devotion to sincerity. What Carlyle calls "the fixed indubitable certainty of experience" is in religion today

our primary moral obligation. But the man who goes into the Christian ministry needs also to be reminded, particularly at the outset of his work, that he of all men in the modern world has also a moral duty to humanity, to those — in the great phrase of the prayer from the Fourth Gospel — “whom God has given him out of the world.”

Most of the failures of the average minister in the early years of his pastorate, and some of the final tragedies of men who leave the ministry altogether, broken and discouraged, rise from the fact that sincere men become so absorbed in the statement of their major loyalty that they lose sight of human life to which they minister. They go out fired with a splendid passion to speak the truth, come weal, come woe, and they forget, what all Christian ministers ought to remember, that truth is always most potent in history when it is spoken in love.

There are, at the present moment, two contributory causes to this almost universal failure of the ministry to mediate its truth by means of a great charity for mankind. The first of these causes which lead to a neglect of our devotion to humanity, is the persistence in the pastorate of the scientific point of view, which dominates our religious disciplines today. In his recent volume of Gifford Lectures Professor Sorley says:

“Our intellectual interests fall into two distinct classes, according as they are centered in the universal or in the individual. In the whole region of what is called the sciences the interest in the universal is supreme. What we are in search of is general principles or general laws. Things and processes are not regarded as individuals or as interesting for their individuality — for what distinguishes them from everything else — but for what they have in common with other things and processes. The uniformity of nature is the supreme principle, and individuals are but examples which prove the law or cases which illustrate its operation.”

The aim of the modern science of religion is to discover for us the universal and reliable laws of the spiritual life.

There is not and there should not be for any one of us any escape from the most rigorous scientific discipline in religious history, in the classical literature of religious experience, in the development of the Christian ethic, and in the increasingly important body of religious psychology. But the just and inevitable prominence of the scientific method in our theological preparation for the actual work of the pastorate does bring with it a very real liability on the human side. This is the liability to ignore and neglect the claim of the individual to be in himself a centre of spiritual value.

This liability is not confined to the ministry. It is shared equally by the members of every other profession which rests upon a scientific training and point of view. We have become all too familiar in the modern world with the specialist type of mind which is primarily interested in human life as an interesting congeries of types, classes, and movements. There is the modern medical specialist, whose professional interest in a patient is confined to the diagnosis of the "case," so much more scientific fodder for the machine which grinds out universal laws. Darwin's complaint that he had become such a machine and had lost the power to care for poetry, music, and the drama, is a confession of scientific liability which has an increasing validity with the spread of the scientific temper.

There is, therefore, a very grave danger in the ministry that the measure of mastery over the general laws of the spiritual life, which the seminary genders, may become a liability in the pastorate, for the very reason that it has unconsciously trained us to regard our fellow men as of primary value because they may be neatly classified, ticketed, and put away in the card catalogue of our general knowledge. The newly ordained minister tends to find his people mainly interesting and important as individuals because they are more laboratory material

on which he may perform his intellectual operation. They are his first "cases." In other words, a genuine scientific interest in the laws of the spiritual life, so far from fostering a devotion to humanity, may often dissipate what the scientist chooses to regard as the miasma of personal affection.

But this is merely to increase for the subjects of the theological investigation an ill which is already too acute. What troubles the average man today is just this fact that nobody seems willing to treat him personally as a centre of distinctive and inalienable values. "No man cared for my soul," is the perfectly valid cry of the average man as he faces governments, industries, institutions, in the modern world. And from the world's indifference to himself it is not a far leap to the suspicion that God does not care for him individually; that God, like the scientist, is interested in types and species but careless of the individual. The greatest stumbling-block to the acceptance of the Christian religion on the part of the average thoughtful man today is his inability to comprehend and realize as a matter of personal experience Jesus' tremendous saying about the sparrow falling to the ground. This is a difficulty which is deeply felt and freely confessed by all men who have in any way been scientifically disciplined. "I see no reason," wrote Huxley, "to suppose, as Christianity asserts, that God stands to us in the relation of a Father, loves us and cares for us. . . . Science everywhere reveals the passionless impersonality of the unknown and the unknowable." And modern science has communicated something of this "passionless impersonality" to all the great modern professions. But for the Christian minister to face his fellow human beings as one more disciple of "passionless impersonality" is little short of a religious tragedy. He, of all men in the world today, ought to be the mediator and incarnation of the mind and heart of Jesus, to

whom every individual was a centre of unique and inalienable values.

And the other cause for the neglect in the modern ministry of a devotion to humanity is in some very real measure a reflection of the stress which is laid at the present moment upon the office of the prophet. The conception of the minister as a priest, that is, as a man who goes to God with the needs of the people on his soul, has almost disappeared from the ministry of our liberal churches. In so far as there is any model in Biblical tradition for our office, that model is generally said to be found in the Hebrew prophet. The recovery of Hebrew prophecy from the meshes of allegory and prediction is probably the most signal achievement of Biblical criticism. The moral energy released by the resurrection of these noble souls from their neglect and misunderstanding has led many a modern minister to covet for himself also the deep joy of coming to the world with the rubric "Thus saith the Lord." So to live and think that we may be the vehicle for religious certainty is one of the noblest ideals which we may covet for our office.

But as one reads the classical history and content of prophecy as it is found in the Old Testament, one is inclined to make certain reservations as to the entire suitability of this ideal for the modern ministry. What we sometimes miss in the prophets is just that gentle and patient charity by which St. Paul nurtured the early churches of his spiritual begetting. The Hebrew prophet was half political agitator, half itinerant evangelist. He was a religious teacher, but he was not a pastor. He came and said his prophetic word in all its majesty and simplicity, and then he went. His effectiveness was in part due to his detachment from his audience. He was a voice from another world. The tremendous effectiveness of this type of religious leader in history cannot be denied. But the conditions which made it effective in early times

are the very conditions which it is almost impossible to realize in a permanent pastorate.

The spectacle of Amos coming from Tekoa and prophesying in Bethel and returning again to the wilderness, is one of the most exhilarating in all religious history. But when we of the modern ministry try to play Amos to the modern world, we are crippled at the outset by the depressing conviction that we ourselves have been living in Bethel all the while, that we never have broken away to get the moral perspective of life as seen from Tekoa; indeed, by the suspicion that there may not be any wilderness of Tekoa left in the world. Tolstoi spent his life trying to get to Tekoa and never got there. He died, as he had lived, a citizen of our modern world-Bethel. In other words, the social conscience has widened since the days of Amos to include the prophet himself. There seems to be no point of absolute moral detachment and aloofness from the life of our age. And even if there were, men's tempers have changed, so that such a wilderness would seem to few men really a point of moral vantage. The problem which the modern preacher states is his own problem; the guilt which he ascribes to his age comes from his lips not as a scathing denunciation of others but as a halting confession of his own original sin as a member of modern society.

There is no more effective statement of this characteristic point of view to be found in contemporary literature than the preface to Shaw's play, "Major Barbara":

"When an enthusiastic young clergyman first realizes that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners receive the rent of sporting public-houses, brothels, and sweating dens, or that the most generous contributor to his last charity-sermon was an employer trading in female labor cheapened by prostitution, or that the only person who can afford to rebuild his church or give his boy's brigade a gymnasium is the son-in-law of a Chicago meat-king, that young clergyman has, like Barbara, a bad quarter of an hour. But he cannot help himself by refusing to accept money from anybody except sweet old ladies

of independent income and gentle and lovely ways of life. He has only to follow up the income of the sweet old ladies to its industrial source, and there he will find Mrs. Warren's profession and the poisonous canned meat and all the rest of it. His own stipend has the same root. He must either share the world's guilt or go to another planet."

It is just this widening of the circle to include the prophet himself which somehow makes the office of the modern preacher unlike that of the Hebrew prophet. The deeply religious man today will say with Browning's "Gram-marian," "Oh, if we draw a circle premature . . . sure, bad is our bargain." And it is the shrewd suspicion that when the would-be prophet tries to draw such a premature circle of denunciation from which he begs to be personally excused, he does so either in ignorance of all the facts which go to the making of his own circumstances or else in deliberate Pharisaism. The number of men who are in the moral position to play Amos to the modern social order is almost negligible.

Now all this means that in so far as the modern minister sets up for himself the prophetic ideal as the norm for his office, he sets himself in a certain moral opposition to his people which is patently wanting in charity and which is actually unwarranted by the facts of modern life. For these facts compel the minister to admit that he also is a citizen of Bethel, no matter what his professional preference for Tekoa as a moral headquarters.

These two persistent causes then contribute at the present moment to the minister's failure in devotion to the men and women who make up his immediate world — first, a scientific interest in the universal laws of the religious life to the neglect of individual values; and second, a conception of the ministry as a kind of modern Hebrew prophecy calling for a moral detachment from society which is almost impossible of present attainment.

When we turn to the minister's development of this second loyalty to human nature we realize that it is only life itself which will reveal to him its claim to his consent. Men do not come easily and quickly, even in the Christian ministry, to the conclusion that persons are what matter in our world. This conviction comes as a kind of conversion with the ongoing of life itself. But it is reasonably certain that many ministers might spare themselves much of the persistent loneliness and unhappiness of their lives as well as some of its ultimate tragedies, if they determined in advance that their sincerity should be mediated to the world by charity.

When we begin to speak in this way we are at once suspected of counseling compromise, of suggesting a certain paring down and diluting of truth and truthfulness so that they shall be less offensive to the god-of-things-as-they-are, who is secretly worshiped by so many timid, lazy, and selfish persons. The word "compromise" is the ugliest word in the dictionary. And it is true that when a preacher begins to measure his words so that they shall match the immediate moral attainment of his hearers, his ethical fervor and his religious insight are imperiled. But, on the other hand, there is an hour in the history of sincerity when it may soon and easily sour into fanaticism or bigotry, and once a man's heart and mind are thus soured, he has lost the power, if not also the moral right, to speak to the vast majority of his fellow men about the things that belong to their peace.

Compromise is a kind of inglorious muddy mean between truthfulness and time-service. It is to be eschewed at all costs. What we all are seeking is an attitude which somehow grasps the two loyalties in a comprehensive vision, even though it may not reconcile them. Höffding is right when he says that the world comes to us with its hard and fast alternatives — "Either-Or" — and that in those moments it is the business of religion to help us

say "Both-And." The man who knows only one major loyalty of the ministry to a pitiless sincerity and whose ruling principle in every dilemma is "All or Nothing," may find himself led with Ibsen's Brand into futility as well as heartlessness. Or if there be in his attitude toward the fallen and despicable world a touch of relenting, that relenting may take the form of moral pity. Now pity is the virtue of an aristocrat. There is just that touch of condescension about it which goes so ill in a democratic age, and which makes it so unwelcome to those who are to be its beneficiaries. It will not do to pity the modern world of men any more than to ignore them.

What the average man needs when he starts in his ministry is to have his heart thawed out toward all sorts and conditions of men. "As a young man," wrote Mr. H. G. Wells the other day, "I affected the pose of the cynic; but I must now confess that at the age of sixty, and greatly helped by the War, I have fallen in love with humanity." That is precisely the experience which every minister must have, and the sooner after leaving the seminary the better. He is sound as to his major loyalty to truth. His knowledge of the content of religion is sufficient to cover the emergencies which he will meet as a "general practitioner." What is too often wanting is a perception of the homely human reality which is his parish, the intimate joys and sorrows of our common human life, its concrete perplexities and its inarticulate aspirations.

This is what F. H. Bradley means when he says in one of his later volumes, "It is not merely one of the doctrines of religion but the central doctrine, the motive of all religious exercise, that God cares for each one of us individually, that he knows Jane Smith by name, and what she is earning a week, and how much of it she devotes to keeping her poor old paralyzed mother." If this be the central doctrine of all religion, and it certainly is very

near the heart of Christianity, it is surely incumbent upon the Christian minister also to know Jane Smith by name and to enter in some measure into her life and struggle.

The problem of developing something more than a professional acquaintance with Jane Smith is a very real one. It is easy enough to recognize her name each time it turns up in the card-catalogue of the parish. For five dollars any one of the memory-system mongers who advertise in the magazines will teach us a system of mnemonics by which her name may be linked with her face. But this is only a poor beginning at the matter. Jane Smith will be pleased to be called by name at the second meeting. But the real problem is far deeper than that; it is to see life and to experience religion from Jane Smith's premises. Thus and thus only can her minister become to her a real teacher and pastor. And the man whose system of mnemonics sometimes plays him false will be forgiven by Jane Smith if only he speaks to her with insight and sympathy.

The Christian minister should learn to enter into the lives of those to whom he ministers by taking the simpler and deeper experiences of his own life quite seriously, as not exceptions to the common lot but rather as a clue to what happens to men and women everywhere, always, to all. The superficial conditions of human life are constantly in flux. Our sociological milieu is always changing. But underneath the shifting, superficial aspects of life there lies a deeper and unchanging drama of birth and death and love and work and play. The passing of the centuries changes this deeper lot of man little or not at all. And it is at this deeper level that the Christian minister really touches human life. Ancient custom and men's desire associate him with these more permanent and vital aspects of their experience. No ministry escapes for any length of time from some intimate share in these profound and homely dramas of our

common humanity. Now no minister who once senses this intimate and imperious element in human life, which remains almost static in spite of the vicissitudes of history, will ignore the teaching of these very elements in his own experience. He will not look upon his own profession as an exemption from the common lot of man. Rather, his own difficulties in relating his absolute idealism to the problems of his own family life, the regulation of his money affairs, his duties as a citizen in the State, his pleasures and recreations, all the gladness, perplexity, and sorrow of his own daily life, he will freely use as the direct teaching of his own personal experience to make him patient and gentle, as he brings his major loyalty to bear upon the men and women who make up his charge. Mark Rutherford says somewhere that he has often observed that the greatest help we get in time of trouble is given to us by some friend who comes to us and says quite simply, "I have experienced all that." Happy is the Christian minister whose unprofessional life is deep enough and broad enough, so that he can go to the world of men in their homely joys and sorrows and say, "I have experienced all that!" Such a word from such a man is worth all the formal creeds and codes of Christendom. If the minister is to be loyal to his people, to look upon them and to work with them in charity, he will first of all try to live simply and deeply himself, and then will fearlessly use his own more intimate experience as the open sesame into what otherwise will be to him "the secrets of many hearts."

Then while not relinquishing his prophetic passion to be, in his best moments, the voice of God, he will strive to become at the same time the voice of his people's better self. A man in the pews has said of one of our contemporaries, "He has the gift of putting into words for us what we have always wanted to say but never were able to say. And that is a very great gift." Perhaps we do

not wish to revive definitely the priestly function in our free churches; the priestly office lends itself so easily to ecclesiastical abuse. But there was something in the old idea that in the priest the people had an articulate voice for their better selves. So far as our free churches are concerned, it may be better to say that the modern minister stands to his parish in the relation of the research worker, the experimental investigator in religion. He is to work out for men and women who have neither the time nor the training to do so for themselves, a credible Christian creed and a practicable Christian ethic. But always in his wrestling with the religious doubts of his day he must include himself among the doubters; in his attack upon the broad social evils of his time he counts himself among the guilty; and into his bolder spiritual aspirations he welcomes his people not as spectators but as participants. The preacher today who takes his stand outside his congregation and preaches at them, no matter with what moral fervor and religious enthusiasm, will never really move the mind and will of his time. Shaw's bishop who says, "I am not a teacher; only a fellow-traveller of whom you asked the way. I pointed ahead — ahead of myself as well as of you," is really the most effective type of modern minister. The secret of a really useful ministry under present conditions is to be found in the tacit, perpetual suggestion both of a man's preaching and of his pastoral work, that he is himself one of the audience to which he speaks. Neglect of this subtle but absolutely fundamental distinction between the ancient Hebrew prophet and the modern Christian minister, will insulate all a man's good will toward his fellows and render it ineffectual.

Again, the preacher who wishes to understand more accurately the varied lots of all sorts and conditions of men will occasionally set out on what we may call the sociological adventure. In its characteristic contempo-

rary form this deliberate transfer of your life from one environment to another for the sake of social insight is a rather recent feature of our world. It is true that long ago John Woolman got off his horse and walked the roads of Jersey, that he might thus better understand the lot of the common laborer; that he traveled to England in the steerage rather than in the cabin, that he might share the squalor and discomfort of his less fortunate fellow passengers. But John Woolman was before his time in this as in many other matters. In recent years, however, this method of bridging the social gulfs has become one of the recognized means of establishing communication and understanding between those whose lots are superficially very far apart. Tolstoi among the laborers in the corn field, Jane Addams at Hull House, Thomas Mott Osborne in the solitary cell at Auburn prison, Charles Fleischer in the shipyard, Donald Hankey as a private in the ranks when he might have had a commission for the asking, all of them have been primarily interested to understand better the life, the interests, and the motives of great social groups other than their own — peasants, prisoners, slum dwellers, artisans, Tommies.

Now and again, particularly in the care-free years, it is a good thing for the Christian minister to go on one of these modern quests after the secret life of his fellow men. To be one with them even for a little while, to share their tasks and to eat their bread in the sweat of the common brow, is an illuminating experience. No minister who ever spent a casual week or a vacation month upon one or another of these adventures, inadequate as his experiment may be for any final pronouncement upon the problems he has met, counts such days as lost. They remain for him in all later life as shafts of light, penetrating what must otherwise be gross social ignorance. To do this thing occasionally immensely quickens one's charity for humanity. But life is too short and the

duties of the pastorate too many and exacting for us to hope to make the round of the world in this desultory way. And in the last analysis the minister is thrown back upon his own imagination to picture to himself the varied life and lot of man. If he is the man he should be, he can realize Jane Smith even more effectively in his own study than by merely working in her factory or taking lodgings in the squalid tenement over her flat.

The secret of a growing charity for mankind rests upon the development of the imagination. There is an old and familiar distinction between fancy and imagination, upon which the English poets of a hundred years ago harped with wearisome reiteration. Wordsworth and Coleridge wore the subject threadbare. But still vast numbers of supposedly educated men fail to make the vital distinction. Fancy is the flight of the mind released from all bondage to fact. It is our inner power to build air-castles in Spain and to picture "the light that never was, on sea or land." But the field in which imagination works is the field of hard fact, and the function of the imagination is to change a barren and bony fact into a warm and living human reality. It is the redemption and resurrection of all our statistics and surveys from the grave of indifference. It is the cry from the heart of us as we look out upon the laboriously gathered and pedantically compiled information of our time, "Lord God, can these bones live?" Imagination is, in short, the mind's inner power to get out of its immediate environment and to put itself over there yonder in the alien fact, and then to clothe that fact and breathe the breath of life into it and to make it live by that miracle as a part of one's own experience.

Every really great man has this power or this gift as an integral part of his greatness. Certainly all creative work rests upon this premise. Balzac says of himself in his relation to his characters, that he wore their rags,

walked in their tattered shoes, felt the pangs of their hunger and their tears pouring down his face. So the great Christian grace of charity rests, in the last analysis, not upon a multiplication of our own meagre experience to the n th power nor upon desultory social pilgrimages, but upon our ability to imagine how life looks to the other man. One of the profoundest utterances that was ever made about what we call the modern social problem is a chance remark dropped by an English essayist, "The broken link between classes in the modern world is a fundamental defect of imagination." It is this inherent inability of our great social groups to see the other man's point of view, which makes all our boards of conciliation and arbitration such poor social solvents.

The exercise of the imagination is very near to a religious function. Indeed it is utterly impossible for a man to put into practice the Golden Rule, the simplest of all Christian principles, without this ability to put himself in the other man's place as well as insisting that the other man put himself in our place. If we are to be men of real imagination, we must be unselfish men, not at the check-book level of an occasional easy benevolence, but at the deeper level of an inner unselfishness. We must be willing to get entirely out of ourselves, to perform that rare and almost superhuman feat of ignoring for the moment the familiar premises of our habitual creed and code, and in this moment of intellectual and emotional selflessness we must put ourselves over yonder in the other man's shoes and get the angle and feel of life from where he stands.

It follows hard after this statement, that every failure of imagination is in some real measure the result either of intellectual laziness or intellectual selfishness. There are a great many otherwise impeccable sermons preached in our churches, which are hopelessly vitiated by their lack

of imagination, that is, by the intellectual selfishness and idleness of the preacher, who uses the prophetic hour as an opportunity to discuss problems which interest him but which simply do not exist for the vast majority of men. Many of us preachers fall unconsciously, but none the less truly, under the woe which Ezekiel pronounced, "Woe be to the shepherds of Israel that do feed themselves! Should not the shepherds feed the flocks?"

There is nothing more striking in the Gospels than the strange and instant hold which Jesus had over all sorts and conditions of men. They seem to have felt that he understood them, that he knew in advance how life looked to them. Jesus' interlocutors never trouble to explain themselves to him. To do so would be an insult to his charity. They take his understanding of them for granted. And we must suppose that this direct understanding of humanity was in Jesus' case the result not so much of the extension of his own experience to cover the common lot, certainly not of any artificial and self-conscious "social settlement" sojourning with fishermen and publicans, but rather of an inner unselfishness, which fulfilled itself in an unfailing power of the imagination to enter into the other man's lot and need. It has been very plausibly suggested that Jesus' silence at his trial was the outcome of this quality of his mind; that he saw Pilate's position so clearly that there was nothing he could say in self-defense; that, Rome being what it was, he realized that Pilate had no option but to kill him. However this may be, we must feel that Jesus' power over our common humanity is a power which springs in part from his unswerving loyalty to an absolute idealism, but in equal part also from that other loyalty which is suggested by the characteristic and recurring word in the Gospels, "compassion." Compassion and sympathy — they are the same word, one the Latin, the other the Greek

derivative; they both mean experiencing life with the other person. There is no mention, there was no place in the life of Jesus, for the imperfect exercise of this loyalty in the patrician form of pity. Pity was an Old Testament prerogative of a divine Sovereign. Jesus did not pity humanity; he had compassion upon it, he sympathized with it. And one whole half of his power over mankind rests in the fact that we still say of him,

"O Saviour Christ, Thou too art man,
Thou hast been troubled, tempted, tried.
Thy kind but searching glance can scan
The very wounds that shame would hide."

Such was the imagination of Jesus fulfilling itself in his distinctive grace of charity.

To try to live, therefore, in our inner world an unselfish life, is the secret of a deepening charity for men. To be persistently struggling to complement and correct our academic and professional view of life by Jane Smith's outlook, to share her work in imagination and to bear with her the burden of that paralyzed mother, is to put ourselves in such a relation to Jane Smith that we can really begin to be ministers to her, effecting some kind of contact between our high and holy truth and her humble concrete need. Mr. Wells has told us lately that "All the world is now Job." It is equally true that all the world is Jane Smith. The minister who does not somehow supplement his theological disciplines by a parallel discipline of the imagination through poetry, fiction, drama, music, may have all theological knowledge and all faith so that he can remove mountains of contemporary agnosticism, and all the prophecies and gifts of tongues in the catalogue, but he will never be happy in the Christian ministry. His office will be to him first a baffling perplexity, then a grave problem, and finally a bitter dis-

appointment. Happy is he if he enters his life's work and labors at it, realizing that half his task is to win this rarest and most potent Christian grace of charity, and that the real secret of each day's working reconciliation of his rival loyalties to God and man rests in his growing power to speak the truth in love!

THE LORD'S PRAYER

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In both the Old Testament and the New there is a climactic point, a passage, I mean, which so epitomizes all the teaching of that section of our Bible that we should be eager to save it were all else to be destroyed. In the Old Testament it is the Ten Commandments, which form a foundation for civil society. Society would go to pieces were not the Ten Commandments understood and usually obeyed. In the New Testament it is the Lord's Prayer, which lays foundations for the harmonious inner life as the Ten Commandments do for the outer. Here speaks the aspiring spirit to its Maker. This is the love-song of the Christian world. Few precepts of our Master, I suppose, have been more widely observed than that we are to "pray in this manner." For most of us that day would lack something in which the Lord's Prayer had not been repeated. It fits all circumstances. It is the chant of the saint in his most exultant moments, his refuge and solace when most depressed. The poor sinner, who through walking in the ways of vice has almost lost the power of aspiration and can no longer formulate for himself his better desires, finds in these sacred phrases his appropriate utterance.

Everywhere, indeed, the Prayer is used. And I believe we should be in error if we thought to disparage it by saying that for the most part it is repeated without our being distinctly aware of its meaning. In this I find no blame. It is a diseased and morbid condition of mind that seeks to be persistently conscious. Our home affections would not be the sweeteners of life that they are if we were asking ourselves perpetually "How much do I

love these members of my household ? ” We preserve sanity best by taking our daily affections as matters of happy course. And just so it is in our ordinary repetitions of the Lord's Prayer. In the common use of it we rise into a sacred atmosphere, where some one holier than we seems to be speaking for us. In its general meaning we partake, but we need not be anxious to search that meaning out. Still, I hold that it is incumbent upon us from time to time to evaluate our treasure. Every noble thing will bear close inspection. The more minutely it is examined, the more do its riches appear. Wisely does the Psalmist say, “The works of the Lord are great, sought out by all them that have pleasure therein.”

I propose then in this paper to hold up the Lord's Prayer to the light and let the sunshine shimmer through it. Let us discern what lies hidden here. Let us, with no irreverent hand, dissect, analyze, become distinctly conscious of the beauty and power of blessing which the Prayer contains. Often has something like this been attempted before. Recognized for nearly 2000 years as an almost magic source of spiritual supply, it has gathered about itself a body of commentary of every degree of worth — historical, textual, theological learning; sermonizing, acute or commonplace; and, best of all, the pathetic utterance by the lowly and unintelligent of thankfulness for benefits received. Though deriving much from the strong scholars and fervent devotees who have preceded me in telling what they have found in the Prayer (and I would call special attention to a wealthy paper by Professor von Dobschütz in this Review for July, 1914), I shall not directly follow in their train. My aim is somewhat peculiar. I approach the Prayer as a lover of psychology and poetry no less than of religion, and would fix attention on some of its less noticed perfections as a work of art. In my judgment it is a masterpiece of literature, whose quality our translators have

astonishingly preserved. Of course all good literature is something more than literature, which is merely a means for giving competent form to the dominant desires of man. The desires themselves are the stuff and substance. In making a literary survey of the Lord's Prayer we must accordingly ask how normal and formative are the desires here engaged, how exactly and simply are they reported, and how well do they come together to form a thing of beauty, good for contemplation, good for stimulus.

As we thus approach the Prayer certain general characteristics of it strike our attention; features of it, I mean, which concern its total structure and pervade it throughout.

In the first place, there is its social character. Its pronouns are *we*, *our*. They are not *I*, *my*. Usually religious emotion is individual — "The Lord is *my* Shepherd; *I* shall not want," "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Here it is collective — "*Our* Father." "Give us this day *our* daily bread." We are bidden to enter into our closet and to shut the door. Yes, but to take the interests of our fellow men in with us. No exclusive blessing is sanctioned. Our Lord seeks to bring all his children together as members of one family; and if we are not prepared for this relationship, if we do not value the common love but care only for that which is bestowed on ourselves and shuts others out, we had better cease the repetition of this Prayer.

Again, it is remarkable how in this Prayer the whole is in every part. Let one ask oneself what is its central petition? I have sometimes thought it was "Thy will be done." But is it, any more truly than "Forgive us our debts," "Hallowed be Thy name," than any one indeed of its many petitions? Each is all, all is in each.

But a peculiarity of it which I think when it first catches our attention is somewhat forbidding is its brevity. Here all spiritual life is supposed to be epitomized. Here are

set forth the relations of our souls to God. Rightly we called this the love-song of the Christian world. And can no more be said than this? Is this brevity characteristic of love? Is it so that love utters itself elsewhere? And why be so poverty-stricken when we approach God? Does not love delight in exuberance, never satisfied, pouring itself out in continually fresh forms? The lover will not content himself with his lady's mere name; he rings a dozen changes on it. He will not speak his affection in straightforward language. He must embroider it all. He repeats his devotion over and over. There are not words enough to set forth his mistress' praises. And yet, when we come to God, a few sentences are counted enough. Is there not here a misunderstanding of love and its need? No! What I have said of the language of love is true, but it is true only of initial and astonished love, love that is unaccustomed to its object and fearful of itself. So speaks the lover who can hardly believe the great fact and is trying to reassure himself. There is a nobler love than that, and one which Jesus has sought to embody in his Prayer. It is the love of assurance. On such intimate terms with him do we live that it is merely the raising of the eye that is necessary, the uttering of a few words. He understands what we have need of before we ask him. All of us know that in this quietude lies the fulfillment of love, when it has escaped its hurry, its need of repetition, and dwells in assured peace with its great object.

But before proceeding farther I think it important to observe that no fixed formula for praying is here offered, but only a type of the worshiper's inner attitudes, whatever his words may be. Central though the Prayer is in our Lord's teaching, as the Ten Commandments in the teaching of Moses, it cannot be taken as a formula, for it is never used again. No one who prays afterwards in the New Testament employs this form. We hear Jesus

praying, but it is in other words than these. Stephen prays, Paul prays, but in phrases dictated by their immediate circumstances. No, it is not a formula. We are not bidden to confine our prayers to these particular words. It is a method. Indeed, it is impossible for us to employ it as a formula, for we really do not know what its words are. Though recorded twice, the accounts do not agree. In every sentence there are variations, and these by no means slight. Consider a few of them. In one or the other of its two statements, whole clauses are omitted. "Our," at the opening, is omitted. "Who art in heaven" is omitted. "Thy will be done" is omitted. "Deliver us from evil" is omitted, and all that follows is omitted.

Does this injure the Prayer? I think it enriches it. For, in reality, the Church, not knowing what the veritable words of the Master were, has joined with him in the construction of a prayer according to its own requirements. He set the pattern, suggested the manner, provided materials out of which a prayer might be framed. And then the Church, full of needs, saw in that material which he had left us the elements from which the Prayer was to be fashioned. It chose, accordingly, from his words, those which best fitted its necessities; and it added at the close a great clause of its own. As a result we have in this Prayer a sort of induction of the ages, experience after experience shaping appropriate expressions to meet daily needs. Led by our Master, we have gone on as fellow workers with him in the construction of a prayer.

And let it not for a moment be supposed that these additions and adjustments are merely the work of early ages. They have continued up to our time, for we use the Prayer in translation. It is a child's notion that in translation exactly the original is carried over uncolored and that the translator puts nothing of himself into his work.

When precious things are handled, they are apt to bear the mark of him who has touched them. Our translators have observed this, and have not hesitated to compensate for their touches by adding what is appropriate. It is often overlooked that they — yes, and the translators of some other languages, notably Luther in his superb German translation — have set the Prayer to a subtle rhythm. They have thrown it into verse; an iambic-anapestic rhythm has been made to palpitate throughout it. This will be caught more readily if we repeat the Prayer with undue emphasis on the marked syllables:

Our Fát^her who árt in heáven,
 Hállowed bé thy náme.
 Thy kíngdom cóme. Thy wíll be dóne
 On eá^rth as it ís in heáven.

Here is a veritable stanza, where short, sharp clause calls to clause. Through the whole Prayer, indeed, there is a graduated rhythmic echo. In the early part, relating especially to divine things, that rhythm is kept entire, measured, regular. But as we pass on into the entanglement of human needs, it becomes more broken; and finally, when we reach an experience essentially human, it goes over into plain prose; yet at the close, where the thought of God becomes again prominent, the full cadence returns:

Gíve us this dáy our dailý breád.
 And forgive us our débts, as wé forgive
 our déb^tors. And léad us nó^t into
 temptátion, but deliver us from évil.

And then comes the closing rhythmic chant:

For thíne is the kíngdom,
 And the pówer, and the glóry,
 Foréver and éver. Amén.

How right, how subtly true were our translators, how responsive to human requirement, when they gave so

suitable a setting to their Prayer! For everywhere aspiration claims rhythm. In rhythm must be expressed our deepest emotions, and the utterances of the will. Prose is left to describe what we observe, it expresses fact. Rhythm expresses hopes. Accordingly, our translators, understanding the human mind with delicacy, have given to this document that form in which it seems simplest to us, most natural, least disturbed. Unfortunately those who prepared the English liturgy had no such fineness of ear, and clumsily substituted for the rhythmic word "debts" the unmanageable "trespasses," a word which does not occur in either of the two forms of the Prayer.

This then is the Prayer which we are to examine, this composite Prayer, as we have it today in its marvelously appropriate form. And, scrutinizing it, we see that it falls into four parts. Here is the hush before prayer. Then our service of God, what we bring to Him. Thirdly, his service of us, what He alone can bring. And, last of all, our rest in Him, our confidence. Let us devote a few words to each.

I venture to call the opening clause "Our Father who art in heaven," the hush before prayer. As we come into that august presence, we bow our heads. He is high and lifted up. He is not to be identified with the actualities and tawdry affairs of our world. He is in the heavens, and we are among the limitations of earth. And yet, his kin we are. There is nothing in his nature which we should not aspire to possess. "Our Father." He who identifies himself with another expresses love. And this is the opening thought of the prayer—love and awe. They should always go together. Certainly either, disjoined from the other, would wreck the Prayer.

In that great hush then, where we know our love and so press forward, where we know his exaltation and so bow our heads, our Prayer opens. But in every nation prayer

has been connected with sacrifice. He who prays brings an offering. Primarily, prayer is giving. The worshiper bestows gifts on him to whom he comes. And how could it be otherwise? Is it not of the very nature of love to give? Have we ever loved any one on whom we did not wish to bestow? The thought of the loved one inevitably brings a desire to spend oneself for his enrichment. Accordingly, the first section of the body of the Prayer is devoted to our service of God; for it has ever been a true thought that prayer is sacrificial. The heathen brings a heifer from his herd. We no less come bringing gifts. But, like all in Christianity, these must be of a spiritual kind. We search, therefore, after what is most precious to our own hearts, and come offering these things to God. And what are they? They are threefold:

“Hallowed be Thy name.” Our standard of worth shall be found in him. Nothing that is not of his nature shall be accounted precious in our sight. Tempted we are continually to call gold of value, to call pleasures delightful, to count our mere continuance in life as something to be sought. All this we sweep away in our first sacrificial offering. “Hallowed be *Thy* name.” All things to us shall be precious according as they bear his mark.

“Thy kingdom come.” What we bring to God shall be no random aspiration. Life shall be organized after his pattern. Our devotion shall be systematic. A very kingdom shall be erected to Him by our endeavors. Good deeds shall match with good deeds; and all be builded up into a suitable place for Him to dwell in.

“Thy will be done.” That is the heart of the matter, and perhaps the hardest of all. We will give up, we promise, our very selves. We come bringing in our sacrificing hands our own will, preferring that his will shall take its place.

Such are the gifts we bring to God, the greatest gifts anyone can bestow. And all of them we give without

limitation of amount, for by an interjected clause we declare we will not rest till earthly offerings attain a heavenly perfection.

But love is always reciprocal. The third section of the Prayer names gifts we desire from God. It is often said that petitionary prayer is a mockery. It has only a reflex influence, working its effects merely on him who prays. It may mellow our nature, exalt our ideals, render a rebellious heart submissive, but it can operate no change in God or outward nature. Strictly speaking, prayer is always addressed to ourselves, as a species of self-communion. God will of Himself give us what we need. It is impious and useless to instruct Him what that shall be. Such thoughts receive no sanction from the Lord's Prayer. It is frankly petitionary. It asks. It announces homely needs and believes God's love is adequate to meet them. How faulty it would be were such confidence omitted! It is a fantastic notion that love simply bestows. No! It is a large receiver; ever two-sided, refusing to make distinction between that which it gives and that which it gets. Between those who love, a frank expression of desire is natural and readiness to give is largely influenced by readiness to receive. The wisest father listens tenderly to the immature requests of his child and allows them to affect his subsequent action. According therefore to the psychology of love, ample room is provided in the Lord's Prayer for petitions. Those petitions indeed cover the entirety of human life. They are naturally threefold; they refer to the present, to the past, to the future.

"Give us this day our daily bread." This relates to the present. And, because the present is essentially transient, with nothing abiding in it, what we pray for is also ephemeral. It is the supply of these decaying bodies, the reasonable thing to think of in any present instant; that is all.

In "Forgive us our debts," we frame a petition with reference to the past. It would at first seem that praying for the past is folly. The past cannot be changed. Why then have wishes about it? There is only one sort of wish which is appropriate, and that a sad one — when we perceive its misuse, and become aware how in the past we have done something which hampers the present and the future. If we were not sinners, we could bid the past go its way, setting our faces entirely toward the future. But we have tied ourselves up in iniquity and are compelled to carry the burden of the past with us. Therefore, in approaching God, we acknowledge this and ask that that past may interfere the least possible with further righteousness.

But such forgiveness is conditional. It occurs only when we too are able to forgive. For many the condition is a stumbling-block. I have known those who hesitated to repeat the Prayer on account of this appalling clause. What if we should be taken at our word and be forgiven only to the degree in which we ourselves forgive! For forgiveness goes against our natural instincts and its very possibility may be doubted. Can I truthfully count him just who has treated me unjustly? So deep are these difficulties that on this clause alone does Jesus offer comment — a comment, however, which merely generalizes the trouble, reiterates, and does not explain it. With an imaginative "for" taking up the unspoken perplexity of his hearers, he declines to analyze the enigma of undeserved love. "For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you."

But as regards the future? Recognizing the lessons of the past, and understanding that our chief solicitude for what is to come should be that we be not through inevitable weakness liable again to such wrongdoing as now pursues us, we put a kind of terror also into our last petition: "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

I have said that there is no sign that the thought of Jesus passed beyond this point. But the Church was not contented to pause here. It added what I have called the closing chant. And this was necessary. For, after we have brought our gifts to God, and have asked his for ourselves, we need to be assured that these will certainly be ours. Such certitude the Church finds in the fact that our petitions are rooted in his nature. "For thine is the kingdom." That kingdom is no arbitrary matter, waiting to be constructed by ourselves alone. There is an eternal groundwork already laid. It is as when I come to my father and say "Let me be thy son, for thy son I am." I rely on a fixed fact as my ground of confidence in his love. Just so is God's kingdom fixed. Ours it is to comprehend it, to bring out its earthly significance—not to create it.

Here then in this closing portion the Church expresses its assurance of prayer answered. "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory." And let it be noticed that in doing so it returns to those sacrificial gifts which it has already brought. "Thine is the kingdom." We have prayed that his kingdom might come, we have promised it to God; and now we know that He assures it to us. "Thine is the kingdom and the power." So we said, "Thy will be done." "And the glory." Yes, that was our first thought, "Hallowed be thy name." At the close of the Prayer we take up again the original theme or dominant note, as in a piece of music. This thought of the abiding character of that which love both gives and receives swells the massive music of the final clause. It is something properly uttered not by the Master but by ourselves.

I said at the beginning that this Prayer, far from being a formula, is a type. I meant that in it the necessary elements of all prayer are set forth. And these are they: The hush before prayer, our gifts to God, his gifts to us,

assurance, rest in Him. Strike out these, one after the other, and see how prayer is maimed. Strike out the first; you have the hasty and irreverent prayer. Strike out the second; you have the selfish, the greedy, prayer. Strike out the third; you have the adulatory and artificial prayer. Strike out the fourth; you have the anxious and hesitating prayer. Only when all are in some degree present can prayer reach its proper beauty as the natural expression of an exalted, generous, needy, and quiet soul.

“After this manner therefore pray *ye*.”

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE "WE" SECTIONS OF THE BOOK OF ACTS

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How alluring and yet how elusive is the personality of the self-effacing Diarist of the Acts! Modest to the last degree and yet dignified in his quiet assurance that he is an integral part of the most significant spiritual fellowship of his day, a hero worshiper, lost in admiration for his leader and yet singularly correct in his identification of really great events, and always unwaveringly convinced that he is observing and recording consequential affairs, he nobly deserves his place in the comradeship of the Book. The more, therefore, should we like to draw this quiet workman out of his namelessness, and set him in his true place as pioneer of those historians of the clearer insight to whom the expanding church of Jesus Christ has seemed the central fact of the world's life. Can we do him this right? I venture to hope that it may yet be possible.

The consequences, however, are far from being merely a matter of personal justice and recognition. No question is more fundamental to the whole structure of the higher criticism of the New Testament than is the long-debated problem of the authorship of these diary passages of Acts, bearing as they do every mark of being the priceless record of an actual eyewitness to the events described. As such they are the earliest bits of assured first-hand testimony which the New Testament documents afford. This primacy alone would make them of inestimable importance. But farther than this, they are inextricably interwoven with the problem of the authorship of the whole book of Acts, and so also of the Gospel of Luke. Indeed if we could unfold the original mystery

of these sections, it is at least possible that a flood of light would thus be thrown on both the literary and historical habits of the author of Luke-Acts and so not only on the validity and historicity of his results in both books, but also upon the whole Synoptic problem and the bases which lie under it. Indeed there is much to indicate that, with all the study which has heretofore been devoted to the Acts, it is not unlikely that just now the largest hope of critical progress in the New Testament resides in this book; and if so, the question of the authorship of these particular sections is of new significance.

Let us restate the elements of the problem. The "we" passages begin with Paul's departure from Troas on his second missionary journey. Thence the Diarist accompanies him to Philippi, where the "we" is discontinued. Apparently leaving this companion here, Paul goes on his way to Thessalonica and Achaia and thence to Ephesus and Jerusalem. The third missionary journey brings Paul back to Ephesus for a long stay and thence to Macedonia and Greece, whence he once more travels north to Philippi, where the "we" passages again begin. Thus after a separation of six years the Diarist apparently rejoins his leader at the very point where they had parted, the obvious inference being that the intervening years had been spent by him in some association with the Philippian church. Following the reunion a scattered use of the plural pronoun in the subsequent chapters of Acts indicates that he then accompanied Paul on the eventful journey to Jerusalem and Cæsarea and thence, in due time and on the same ship, to Rome, where the book of Acts suddenly, even abruptly, ends. This companionship from Philippi to Rome, covering the most intimate relations, must have occupied about three years. That a man should share with Paul these stirring events and be involved in such an endearing fellowship of suffering and peril during these conspicuous and conse-

quential years, and yet slip through the meshes of all the comprehensive personal references to the Pauline group, seems absolutely incredible. Paul's friends troop through the Acts and crowd the salutatory passages of the Epistles, yet historical cross-questioning has dismissed them all from probable identity with the Diarist. Gradually this process of elimination has seemed to leave but one possible name. Surely this dear companion cannot be unmentioned in the Pauline literature; he must be here; but of all Luke is the only possibility. So the argument has run. Strange indeed it would be if this long-time companion, whose acquaintance must have been scattered all along the line of his thousands of miles of travel with St. Paul, should never be mentioned in the greetings of salutation or remembrance; and yet are we right in the final selection among those who do appear? Was it Luke? Notwithstanding all repeated argument, the doubt has never rested.

Tradition indeed has consistently assigned the completed book of Acts to Luke. We may well surmise, however, that early opinion based itself merely on the same hopeless process of reduction which has been the despair of later critics, only Luke being left apparently as a possibility after the enforced elimination of every other hypothesis of authorship. Then too to those who understand the naïveté of early criticism it is highly suggestive that the phrase, "Only Luke is with me," furnishes exactly the soil out of which such a tradition would be most likely to grow. Nevertheless tradition, whatever its worth, is unanimously in favor of Luke. The consensus begins with the Muratorian fragment (170 A.D.), is accepted as a matter of course by Irenæus, a few years later, and is axiomatic with Eusebius; but beyond the mere matter of authorship there is no information additional to the biblical facts unless it be the Eusebian statements (*Hist. Ecc. III, 4.6*) that Luke was of Antiochean

origin and (*Hist. Ecc. II, 22.6*) that probably the book was written at Rome during Paul's second imprisonment. This of course refers to the book as a whole and leaves untouched the question of the original authorship of the "we" sections. Following this lead, however, those who are committed to the late date of the Acts, have sought refuge in the suggestion that Luke was really the author of these sections only, and that it was around this modicum of truth that the misconception which attributed the whole book to him grew up. On the other hand, those who assign to him the authorship of the completed Acts have felt the special difficulty of refusing him these portions of the book recording, as they do, those very experiences which it seems most possible that he might have shared personally. The atmosphere of the later days of the first century which seems to surround the Acts, together with the growing evidence of the composite nature of the book, certainly make it clear that the theory of the Lukan authorship of the whole book has much to explain; but in either case the theory of the Lukan origin of the "we" passages is germane and has thus a substantial basis in tradition. Is this tradition correct?

In answering the question our first duty is to discover from the "we" sections, if possible, the movement of events and the personal niche into which the undiscovered writer must fit. Of course it is possible that the original diary was much longer than is our present document, and that the compiler of the Acts used therefore only those sections which he found particularly *apropos*. If this is the case, the complete document might seriously modify or complicate the history of the Diarist as it lies on the surface of these excerpts. But there is certainly a strong presumption against this theory of abbreviation, particularly if the omitted sections included farther accounts of any personal relations with or even impressions of St. Paul. The compiler of Acts leans so heavily on

this document and evidently trusts it so absolutely that it seems unlikely, to say the least, that he would completely delete other portions which recorded further personal companionship with Paul. On the other hand, the "we" document, as it now appears, so evidently exists for the primary purpose of telling Paul's story that, in case it was originally longer, it almost certainly included the accounts of any additional relations which the author shared with Paul, if such there were. Of course such an argument cannot be final. It is only this: We have no suggestion of a longer document, and such negative evidence as we have looks quite in the direction of the view that we have in the "we" passages substantially all that this document ever contained *regarding the author's personal fellowship with Paul*. And the probable correctness of this view will be immeasurably increased if we can find any otherwise probable person whose movements fit well into the record as indicated by the document in its present form and limits.

A careful review of the document and also of the circumstances under which the Diarist first appears just as Paul is leaving on his first European adventure, suggests that this new companion must already have been a man of some proved capacity for evangelistic pioneering when he thus steps into our sight. We may certainly assume that no doubtful novice would be associated with a group which is about to enter upon such an epochal undertaking. Nevertheless, if we take the facts as they appear on the surface, this comrade had not previously been associated with Paul. For some reason his fortunes apparently first fall in with Paul's at Troas. At least this should be our experimental hypothesis, and our initial effort should be to find someone whose biography will fit into such circumstances and conditions. From Troas he will then go with his leader to Philippi. Here he will be on new ground, for the whole group is evidently

breaking fresh soil. They have no friends; no one meets them. Their first permanent lodging-place is in the home of a casual new acquaintance, the purple-seller, Lydia, into contact with whom the work accidentally brings them. From the day that the Diarist starts for Macedonia, concluding that with Paul God had "called us to preach the gospel unto *them*," it is evident that he was feeling his way into new surroundings. He is apparently not a Macedonian.

But soon the situation changes. Following, for the present, the omissions as well as the admissions of the document as our guide, it appears that Paul leaves the Diarist at Philippi. The latter is not the founder of this church; Paul is that; but he remains there possibly for six years, and is doubtless the chief constructive influence in the church. The qualities which suggested him originally for the enterprise point him out now to carry on the work in this important center and inevitably involve him in the gathering affection of this company of Christians. His life merges with their life, and it would only be what is natural should he become their most conspicuous representative and leader.

The Philippian church was *par excellence* a generous church. Paul had repeated occasion to refer to this outstanding characteristic. In the Epistle to the Philippians he records the fact that across all the stretch of time and distance this church was mindful of him and remembered him with gifts sent to distant Rome, the memory of which kindness was like sweet incense; and he recalls also that this generosity had been typical of the church from "the beginning of the gospel," for "even in Thessalonica," whence Paul went from Philippi, "ye sent once and again unto my need," and "no church had fellowship with me in the matter . . . but ye only."

Such a church must inevitably have responded to the appeal of Paul for the offering for the Jerusalem church.

This project of a general "collection" looms large in Paul's mind. Doubtless it had an irenic motive, but it was also important as a call to the development of a fundamental Christian grace. His letters to the churches flame with urgency that they make ready by a definite program for the hour when this gift shall be carried to Jerusalem. The formal presentation is to be a notable event, to be accomplished by a deputation composed of messengers (1 Cor. 16 3, 4) selected by the contributing churches in company with Paul himself, if he can go. This deputation is gathering about Paul when, after the six intervening years, he is rejoined at Philippi by the Diarist, who proceeds with the company to Jerusalem. Obviously the church at Philippi will have its leading part in this generosity. There would have been no title ever again to grateful remembrance in Paul's mind if it failed now. Giving generously, the Philippian church will also naturally have its delegate in the deputation. The Diarist gives us the names of the delegates (Acts 20 4). Various sections of the church are represented. Two go from the neighboring church of Thessalonica. Others represent various fields. But no one is *named* from Philippi. This situation can only be explained by the natural conclusion that the Diarist was the Philippian representative.

The importance of this collection-project as it lay in Paul's mind cannot be overstated. The fact that it was of really primary significance and of the highest ecclesiastical consequence is to be gathered from the constant reference to it in his Epistles. It is hardly open to question that the two brethren (II Cor. 8 18-23) who went to Corinth to forward the matter there were already the appointed representatives of the churches of Asia, that they therefore reappear in the deputation as it is later named (Acts 20 4), and that it is because of their commission to this important and responsible service that Paul digni-

fies them by the title of "apostles." In view of this designation, we shall expect the Diarist, as a member of the same group, to be held in like esteem, and we may hope to identify him under the same title of honor and authenticated responsibility; he will be an "apostle" — if this chain of consequences which we have thus followed is correct.

In any case men are known by the company they keep, and we may well draw near to the comrades of the Diarist for such suggestion as they have to give. Of three we know little, but of the others there is something of significance to say. It is the presence of Trophimus at Jerusalem that indirectly causes the trouble which ultimately sent Paul, a prisoner, to Rome (Acts 21 29), and if II Timothy 4 20 is trustworthy, he was at a later day a traveling companion of St. Paul. Of the remaining four, half of the whole number — Timothy, Tychicus, Aristarchus, and the Diarist — the singular fact is to be recorded that they not only accompanied the apostle to Jerusalem but they continued with him or followed him to Rome. In other words, the Diarist is a member of a deputation which is not only of such a formal ecclesiastical nature that its members might be designated as the "apostles" of the churches, but at the same time also, of such a private nature that they are in some peculiar way committed to the personal interests of Paul and to such fortunes or misfortunes as may befall him individually. Under such a dual relation as this the Diarist, if we identify him, must make his appearance.

With such a company the author of the "we" sections goes on his way from Philippi to Jerusalem. He is present at the conference with James and the other elders. Exactly how near he was to the person of Paul during the dramatic events of his arrest and subsequent local trials we do not know, but the intimacy of the account indicates that he was not far away. In any case he is one of the

two companions who, putting their lives in jeopardy, share the perils of Paul's voyage to Rome, as he goes under guard to make his appeal to Cæsar. The Diarist specifies that Aristarchus, one of the deputation, is the third member of the group (Acts 27 2). The plain indication is that his companionship — and if so, that also of the Diarist probably — is voluntary, but it nevertheless must have involved a sharp and perhaps compulsory submission to the limitations of the prisoner for whose sake they were known to be aboard. It is highly probable therefore that it is to this occasion which Paul refers when he later speaks of Aristarchus as his "fellow prisoner" (Col. 4 10), for Paul was not unaccustomed permanently so to identify those who had once shared his prison. He calls them fellow prisoners not as in the present but as having had this relation in the past. Indeed this is his only manner of using the term elsewhere (Rom. 16 7; Philem. 23). If it is indeed thus with Aristarchus, we have every reason to expect that Paul would think of the Diarist as also a "fellow prisoner," and if we shall later find that Paul does thus think of him, it will in turn strengthen our conviction that it is this experience with Aristarchus to which Paul refers when he describes him as a "fellow prisoner."

Thus after anxious days, in which his own life has been absolutely subordinated to Paul's fortunes, the Diarist comes to Rome. Up to this point he has followed the events of his leader's life with an absorbed and concentrated interest. He has absolutely risked all to see how it should fare with his hero at the final tribunal of imperial Rome. Now that leader is on the threshold either of an acquittal, which is to set him free for a world service, or else of a conviction which shall permanently terminate the great career; and yet just before this event is reached, the record stops.

What can this sudden ending indicate? The strangeness of it all has begotten the theory that the Diarist, or perhaps, if he was a different person, the author of the book of Acts was really not intending to recount Paul's fortunes save as they were involved in the larger theme — how the gospel came to Rome. But if so, he passes over with absolute unconcern the fact that the gospel was already in Rome when Paul arrived, as the Epistle to the Romans and other evidence makes clear, and he shows no interest whatever in the origin of the Roman church. And even if this theory could possibly be correct, it does not explain why, after all our breathless suspense, the personal outcome to St. Paul should be eliminated as of no legitimate interest. There are but two possible theories of explanation for this strange conclusion. Either the diary has for some reason been decapitated, or else the manuscript came to an end because imperative events terminated the companionship thus suddenly. Now of course mutilation is always a possibility. As at the beginning of the manuscript, so at the end there may have been a process of surgery; but, as at the beginning so at the end, the conditions are such as to make this a secondary hypothesis, and our first search must be for some one whose companionship with Paul, otherwise also conformable to the Diarist's experiences, comes suddenly and perhaps unnaturally to an end soon after the arrival at Rome.

Such in general is the Diarist's history, and such is the niche into which the man and his experiences must be adjusted. The details may not be all exact but the main movement is unquestionably correct, and the more exactly the details correspond, the better the identification. Can such a person be found? As we have thus reviewed his history and the qualities and abilities which it demanded, the more impossible it seems that so conse-

quential a person should slip unidentified through that remarkable drama in which he played so notable a part. Who then can he have been ?

Was it Luke ? Assuming this theory, the meagreness of the information regarding him is our first difficulty. So far as the biblical record goes, there is only Paul's statement (Col. 4 14; Philem. 24) during the first Roman imprisonment, that Luke, the beloved physician, sends salutation, and his additional and necessarily doubtful memorandum in the later Roman imprisonment (II Tim. 4 10) that only Luke is with him. So far as tradition is concerned there is only the record that he was a native of Antioch and that the *completed* book of Acts was his work. And this notwithstanding the fact that if he was the Diarist, he was an intimate and long-time companion of Paul in extended journeys, absorbing experiences, and extreme perils — an outstanding companionship. And yet while other comrades appear and reappear in salutations to and from the churches along the way and are mentioned as fellow prisoners, fellow travelers, apostles, etc., Luke slips by with never such a suggestion and only as one of the Roman group. How improbable this seems!

But the moment we seek to put Luke in the Diarist's place by means of the slight data we possess, the detailed difficulties accumulate. If Luke was an Antiochean, why does his companionship begin at far-off Troas ? He must have known Paul at Antioch. Why no mention of the companionship which brought them the long journey to Troas ? Or if such a record was there originally, then why was it submerged or eliminated when the rest of the document is counted so valuable and is used with such constant trustfulness and interest ? That Luke qualifies as the Diarist on the theory that he had lived in Philippi seems to me wholly unwarranted, as appears from the attitude of the missionary party to their evidently new

surroundings on reaching that city, and the suggestion of such a citizenship indeed appears to proceed wholly from the interesting desire to identify the Diarist with the "man from Macedonia" (Acts 19 9), a supposition which, while surely picturesque, is certainly contrary to the most natural interpretation of the following verse.

Proceeding then to the Diarist's prolonged residence at Philippi where he nurtured and developed the church from infancy to notable strength and prestige, how strange it is that no mention is made of him in the Epistle to the Philippians! This Epistle was written from Rome. If Luke was the Diarist, he was of course in Rome with Paul. He is mentioned as being there in Colossians and Philemon, evidently written almost contemporaneously. Other companions are mentioned in the Philippian Epistle, but this long-time sponsor of the Philippian church, if Luke be that, is never mentioned! The only possible explanation for such a strange fact is that Luke was away on a short visit. But even so, is it not strange that no mention even is made to this church of the pastor who has been Paul's long, devoted, and imperiled companion and to whom he is so profoundly indebted? Would it not be the obvious thing to explain the strange omission by at least a reference to the absence? How can less be possible?

And now of the journey from Philippi to Rome. If we are correct in identifying Tychicus and Trophimus as the brethren referred to in II Cor. 8, 18, 22, then it follows that Paul dignified the members of this deputation by the apostolic title (II Cor. 8 23), a recognition held in such high esteem by him that he counts himself a modest member of that high company. But if Luke was a member of this delegation, no such title is ever bestowed upon him. Again of the two companions with Paul on the sea-voyage from Cæsarea to Rome, if Aristarchus is later called a "fellow prisoner" (Col. 4 10), certainly no such

title is bestowed anywhere on Luke. He is simply the beloved physician and one of a large group of fellow laborers (Philem. 24). And of all the journey and shipwreck, no word!

Finally we come on to assured ground. Luke is evidently a somewhat intimate companion with Paul at Rome. This companionship is continued indefinitely, and, if we accept at all the guidance of II Tim. 4 11, reappears in the second Roman imprisonment, where he is left, the only living witness, to give his invaluable testimony. But the surer we are of this, the more inevitably does the question arise why this faithful Diarist should have left the record of his hero, just as he was on the very threshold of a decision at the hands of the world's highest tribunal, with no word of the result or of those subsequent events with which Luke of all others was surely familiar. How strange the conclusion by which an informed comrade withholds the dénouement of Paul's whole dramatic appeal to Rome! Granted even that the personal outcome was not the main concern of the writer's purpose in the book of Acts, it yet remains most inexplicable that this loyal lieutenant, risking all in a crusade with his captain, should dismiss the outcome of those fortunes as unworthy even of passing mention. But of all this there are only the two closing verses of the Acts. The record ends with the *arrival* at Rome. All else is silence. Again the question presses home with redoubled force: Why does the diary end here? Was it originally longer, and if so, why was it abridged? To be sure, all this is negative evidence. But how overwhelmingly cumulative it is! The Lukan theory certainly raises more questions than it solves. Is it the best we can do? If so, we are left in dismay.

I believe this is by no means the best we can do, and I desire to point out the remarkable array of facts which indicate that Epaphroditus (Phil. 2 25; 4 18) who,

as I believe, is identical with Epaphras (Col. 1 7, 4 12; Philem. 23) is the lost Diarist.

The view that these two names belong to one and the same person has long been recognized as the simplest and most plausible theory, but thus far it has run athwart difficulties which have seemed very perplexing but which may presently be entirely cleared away. Epaphras is a shortened form of Epaphroditus. The latter name is used in the Epistles to Philippi and Ephesus; the former in the Epistles to Colossæ and Philemon of Colossæ. All the Epistles were written at Rome and at almost the same time. To hold that these names represented two persons involves the difficult replacement of one man by another of like name in the little circle of workers at Rome. One man is present, the other absent; the second arrives and the first disappears; and the names so nearly identical, and neither appears elsewhere. But in view of the difficulties mentioned above it has seemed the simplest theory.

These difficulties are all contained in the misinterpretation of Philippians 4 18, and it is on this rock that the whole search for the Diarist has been diverted from its true course. In this passage Paul, writing of course from Rome, expressed gratitude to the Philippians, "having received *from* Epaphroditus the things from you." This has been uniformly assumed to mean that after Paul reached Rome the Philippians becoming aware of his need sent Epaphroditus to him bearing certain tokens of love. If Epaphroditus thus came direct from Philippi to Rome *after* Paul arrived there, he could not have been the Diarist who journeyed *with* Paul via Jerusalem. But a more careful examination of the passage, however, makes it unlikely that Epaphroditus was in this sense the bearer of these gifts;¹ and it will be pointed out that the con-

¹ The linguistic facts clearly support the suggestion here made. "From Epaphroditus" exactly duplicates the preposition of "from you." It is the *παρά* of

ditions and simplicities of the situation are better satisfied if we suppose that Epaphroditus was already in Rome with Paul, and that the Philippian church with characteristic thoughtfulness sent a gift to their pastor who we know was ill in Rome, and included with it some remembrance to Paul, which was passed on to him *from* Epaphroditus. In any case Paul could not have better described a gift received under such wholly plausible circumstances.

Indeed when we come to study the details of the event this view strangely fits in with the known facts. Epaphroditus had been seriously ill at Rome; his life had been despaired of, and we know farther that the Philippian church had heard of his condition and was seriously distraught over it (Phil. 2 26). How could it be possible — particularly if there had been a long and hazardous separation — that the Philippian church should do other than send succor to their absent pastor? And, so doing, how could they possibly fail to make some kindly enclosure to Paul? The fact is, as we shall see, that many cumulative indications point to the conclusion that Epaphroditus had made the long journey *with* Paul as the Philippian representative, and that his supposed journey from Philippi direct to Rome bearing the Pauline gift is wholly a misinterpretation of the passage referred to. *Per contra*, it is only necessary to point out the difficulties of any other view. Perhaps the most obvious of these is the declared ignorance of Paul regarding the condition of the Philippian church, when he addressed the Epistle. If we accept the theory of a special journey, only a few months at most can have elapsed since Epaphroditus left Philippi, well aware of the situation through long years of spiritual intimacy and leadership; and yet Paul proposed to send

source which is used in each case and not the *διά* of *agent*. Regarding the distinction Paul is extremely careful. Romans 1 5 presents an exact parallel, where agency is intended. See also Gal. 1 1, 12.

Timothy thither that he may secure report of the state of the church (Phil. 2 19); as if Epaphroditus, "brother, fellow-worker, and fellow-soldier," was not qualified to give such a report. But if it is four years since such personal news has come, the situation becomes entirely transparent.

But this difficulty is only the beginning of the considerable series of perplexities in which the theory involves us. It is evident that some little time must have elapsed after Paul's arrival in Rome before the Philippian church could know that he was there, or, even so, would long remain there. Indeed the supposition was quite otherwise. He had appealed for a Roman release. Moreover there was nothing to indicate that he was in any such special need as to warrant so notable an embassy. Nor is there anything in Paul's remark to indicate that the Philippian gift was of such a material or consequential size as to demand so important a bearer. The reference, crowded as it is into the closing paragraphs of the Epistle, is quite to the contrary. How improbable that the Philippian pastor should be sent on this long journey with such a present! This is very different from asking a convenient traveler to bear help to their own pastor who, they know, is seriously ill in Rome and of whose illness we are particularly informed that the Philippians had heard.

Then, too, the theory involves an amazingly swift and complicated program for Epaphroditus. First, the Philippian church must become aware that Paul is in Rome and that the conditions are such as to keep him there. Then there must be the movement to send him a gift of such consequence that no one less than the pastor should be sent to bear it. Then there is the journey. Then there must have been some experience in which the messenger hazarded his life for Paul's sake (Phil. 2 30). Then, if Epaphroditus and Epaphras are identical, he must somehow have been arrested and singularly enough

become Paul's fellow prisoner (Philem. 23); then there must have followed the long, serious sickness — so prolonged indeed that the Philippian Christians can hear of it, and Epaphroditus be so troubled by the knowledge that they have heard of it (Phil. 2 26) that on his recovery he is eager to be back among them. Surely this is a tolerably eventful experience if it must be crowded into this short trip. By far the simpler view is that Epaphroditus never made such a trip, and if not, that he came to Rome with Paul as the Diarist.

Once we are relieved of this burdensome misconception, how simply and accurately every item slips into its natural place. The "we" document begins at Troas, which was in the same Roman province with Colossæ where Epaphroditus had been at work (Col. 1 7; 4 12, 13). Let us revive the situation in our minds. As Paul was starting for Antioch in the third journey his party had suddenly been disrupted by the loss of his strong companion Barnabas. He then took Silas, but in no sense could the latter make good the place of the former; he was distinctly a satellite. So Paul is on the watch to recruit his broken group. At Lystra he claims Timothy, also a distinctly younger disciple. What more natural than at Troas, facing the immediate call into the Great Adventure, he should feel the need of some experienced and successful pioneer of the gospel, and again what more natural than that he should turn to the approved founder of the near-by churches of Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis (Col. 4 13). Of this notably successful evangelist Paul must have long known, but all the evidence goes as well to show that thus far they had never labored together. So large a field must have long and exclusively occupied Epaphras, and, on the other hand, we know in particular that Paul had never visited these churches (Col. 2 1). On this very journey we are specifically told that Paul passed hurriedly to the north of this

region, "having been forbidden of the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia" (Acts 16 6), and hastened direct to Troas. There, suddenly called to venture on the European crusade, he solicits the experienced services of Epaphras, near at hand, who joins him at Troas. In a word, the Diarist has had no previous personal experience with Paul to record. The document began at Troas substantially as we now have it, and no excuses are necessary for any elimination of earlier portions.

So the Diarist comes to Philippi. Here also the events are equally obvious. The experience of Epaphras at Colossæ has fitted him for the constructive work in the first European center. He has been known more familiarly in his native region as Epaphras. Here he takes the more dignified title of Epaphroditus. Here the Diarist, whoever he is, stayed for the six eventful and formative years weaving his life into the affections of the Philippian Christians. Who can this possibly be but Epaphroditus, as his likeness is drawn for us in the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians? We are here told in detail that Epaphroditus belongs to the Philippian church; he is their outstanding representative (Phil. 2 25); their hearts are bound up in him and he is longing to be back with them; and to them Paul sends him back, with the Epistle, as evidently to his own people (Phil. 2 25, 26). While he is still remembered affectionately in Colossæ, his home and heart have been essentially transferred to the loving and generous church at Philippi. So exactly does the photograph fit and so accurately are we led by the appearance of this plural personal pronoun.

But if all this is true to life, how much more amazingly clear and detailed is the identification of Epaphroditus in the journey from Philippi to Rome. As pointed out above, the Diarist was obviously the representative selected for Philippian membership in the collection deputation. How accurately the experiences of Epaphroditus

fit into such a commission both in its public capacity and in its personal relations to Paul is fully set forth in Philippians 2 25-30. Now that we are relieved of the misconception that these verses relate to a later journey, we see at once how adequately and exactly the passage refers to the conditions and circumstances of the Diarist's journey. Instead of the unaccountable silence regarding him in all Pauline literature which has seemed so amazing, we at once find that this situation has been due only to our oversight of most ample and appreciative references to him which are really wonderfully clear.

We have seen, for example, that Paul's conception of the deputation is so lofty that he calls the members of it *apostoloi*, using this rare and sacred designation. Now strangely enough he gives this very designation to Epaphroditus (Phil. 2 25) setting him forward alone out of the Roman group, with the exception of Timothy, also a member of the same deputation, to bear this title. Conceiving that this designation of Epaphroditus referred merely to the supposed later journey of personal service, the English translators have been unable to understand Paul's use of this high term for a simple and individual kindness to himself, and have softened the word into "messenger."² Thus is Paul supposed to doze regarding his high church conception of apostleship. But Epaphroditus' title to the name is now perfectly clear; with the rest of the deputation he is to Paul, for that reason, an apostle.

² Strangely enough, the only other place where the accurate translation is thus abandoned by the Revisers is in the reference (II Cor. 8 23) to the other members of the same deputation. Not realizing that they are such, and that they have already thus been appointed not only to carry the collection but also to promote it, and failing also, as I think, to realize how large the whole project bulked in Paul's mind, they have here also softened the word into "messenger," thus throwing confusion into the whole Pauline use of the word. The identification of all these members of the group as in Paul's mind entitled to the name "apostle," helps most significantly to clarify for us the whole Pauline conception of this office, regarding which he is so deeply concerned (I Cor. 9 1, etc.).

We have seen, however, that membership in that group was not solely a public ministry. In some sense it involved a commitment to Paul's personal fortunes or misfortunes. Four of the group, at least, did not stop at Jerusalem, having fulfilled the collection service, but went on to Rome, though only two, Aristarchus and the Diarist, seem to have traveled in the same ship with Paul. This dual relationship is exactly reflected in this Philippian reference to Epaphroditus. He is there "your apostle and minister to my need." Is it possible that the actual relation of the Diarist to Paul could in any way be better described?

And now about the experiences of the journey itself, its labors, its risks, its hardships, its intimacies, and finally its perilous shipwreck and the rescue; has this all slipped from Paul's memory, and particularly has the Diarist, the only comrade with him and Aristarchus in the ship of his imprisonment — has he disappeared? Not at all. In later years, as has been pointed out, Aristarchus was remembered as a "fellow-prisoner" (Col. 4 10), and so also (Philem. 23) is Epaphroditus. And he is the only other person at Rome besides Aristarchus who is so denominated. And as for the other circumstances of the journey, what could be more adequate and exact than the passage in Philippians (2 25-30): "I . . . send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier, and your apostle and minister to my need . . . for indeed he was sick nigh unto death; but God had mercy . . . on me . . . that I might not have sorrow upon sorrow. . . . Receive him . . . and hold such in honor; because for the work of Christ he came nigh unto death, hazarding his life to supply that which was lacking in your service toward me." So tenderly and loyally does Paul remember his comrade of the terrible voyage.

Thus did the Diarist Epaphroditus come to Rome. From that time on the developments are equally natural

and simple. Arrived in Rome, Epaphroditus soon falls seriously ill (Phil. 2 27). Perhaps it is not rash to suggest that the record indicates that the exposures and dangers of the voyage had something to do with this. At any rate the active companionship with Paul ends. The illness is long enough continued for the Philippian church to hear of it (Phil. 2 26) and to send some ministration to his need, in which was also included a remembrance to Paul (Phil. 4 18). Convalescing, Epaphroditus turns longingly (Phil. 2 26) to the faithful friends of the Philippian church from whom he has now been separated for years and among whom his affections have taken deepest root. He is indeed Paul's companion only by virtue of the fact that he is the officer and representative of that church. If Paul desires a detailed and personal report of conditions at Philippi, another messenger must go (Phil. 2 19), for Epaphroditus departs not to return; his companionship with Paul is over at least for many a day. This disposition to return fits in with the mood of Paul to communicate with the church at Philippi. Indeed this mood seems to be more inclusive. In his confinement he broods over the condition of the churches which he has cherished. Every word regarding them is a matter of deep concern to him. Not only Philippians but Colossians and Philemon are the evidence, to say nothing of the Ephesian and Laodicean Epistles. These were evidently written not far apart, and it is at least possible that the convalescent Epaphroditus carrying the Epistle to the Philippians is accompanied nearly to his home by Tychicus (Col. 4 7, 8), bearing the Colossian Epistle. Indeed it looks as if the delegation of the churches was now finally breaking ranks. In such company and under such circumstances does Epaphroditus turn homeward and disappear from us down the Philippian way.

The final and perhaps, individually, the most striking piece which now fits into the convincing completeness of

this remarkable mosaic is the very fact which heretofore has been so inexplicable — the "we" record ends after the first few days in Rome. This is precisely where it should end — with the termination of the intimate companionship of Paul and Epaphroditus. It is not unlikely that the diary was cut short by the illness of the writer and that the record was never resumed. In any case, here is no strange decapitation of a priceless document. It began with the writer's personal experience of Paul; it was dropped when they temporarily separated; and it ended with their parting at Rome; and the manuscript in its entirety is embedded in the book of Acts exactly as its evident value would lead us to expect.

The particular thesis is here ended; but from this new assurance we inevitably look off into other and most suggestive areas. Did the invalided Epaphroditus ever reach Philippi? Did his record include originally only the strictly "we" passages, and were the interstices filled in later or by other hands? With his historical interest facilitated by his long delay at Jerusalem, was it he who accumulated the other memorials of the early church which are involved in the Acts, and did he carry them back to Philippi where they were later woven into the one fabric? Or was his document with others left at Rome in the hands of Luke, his attending physician, and was it there inwrought, a shining thread, into another's narrative of the advancing dominion of the Master? Is it possible that Luke's association with the Acts is due to the fact that the basal documents were passed on to the Redactor through him? Or is it more likely that the elimination of Luke from earlier association with Paul, and so from any personal acquaintance with the details of the ecclesiastical beginnings, makes it possible that he was comparatively young when he first appears at Rome, and therefore was perhaps himself this late, and in many respects, uninformed Redactor? Was it his deliberate

thought to confine himself in Acts to an editing of the manuscripts of others, as he did also in the Gospel, thus covering a period with which he, and possibly Theophilus, had no personal association? Was it perhaps his plan to add a third book which should give his own reminiscences of later days, thus taking up the thread himself where others had left it? These are most interesting questions. In the growing light that is falling upon these early days of the church and the identification of the Aramaic Greek sections of the earlier part of the book, it may not be impossible that these questions shall yet have their illuminating answers.

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND MODERN ITALIAN DEMOCRACY

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Among the many anecdotes about Pope Sixtus V, a stern figure of an Italian Pope-king of the sixteenth century, there is one which tells of an old Franciscan friar who had been a close friend of the Pope when the latter in his young days was a friar himself, known by the name of Felice Peretti, living in a small convent of northern Italy. When "Fra Felice" was elected Pope, his friend thought that Sixtus would not forget him and would call him to Rome and perhaps make him an important personage in the Curia. But no call came from Rome, not even an acknowledgment of the humble letters of congratulation sent with so many hopes by the old friar to his exalted friend. So he decided to go to Rome and speak personally to the Pope. After many hours of waiting in the antechamber he was admitted to the papal presence. Sixtus looked at him with indifferent eye as if he never had known him. It was more than the old friar could bear; he knelt down to kiss the Pope's feet and addressed him with a Latin verse in which there was a delicate allusion to a certain Aesopian fable about changing skin:

"Sancte Pater, scire vellem, si Papatus mutat pellem."

("Holy Father, I should like to know whether papal dignity changes one's skin"). To which the Pope, who knew his Latin well, answered immediately with another Latin verse:

"Pellis papae non mutatur, sed nullius recordatur."

("The skin of the Pope does not change, but he does not remember anybody). The anecdote may well be true.

Really its value is beyond the anecdotic realm, and Sixtus' reply, slightly modified, may be considered as the program of many a Pontificate. As a matter of fact, there is no institution which presents such an unbroken historical continuity in its development and such a consistency in the fundamental points of its definite program as the Papacy. "*Pellis Papae non mutatur.*"

From the remote day in which the Papacy acquired the consciousness of its power up to the present day, its maximum program has been and is the same — to control the complex whole of human life and social organization through the spiritual power in order to make possible the conditions which alone can lead individual souls to eternal salvation. The Papacy is logical; if the keys of the kingdom are in the hands of Peter, it is Peter who must see to it that the conditions which will make the soul worthy to enter the door should be made accessible to all men.

No less true is the second part of Sixtus' verse: "*Sed nullius recordatur.*" Has the Papacy learned anything from history? If we look at the maximum program as mentioned above, it has not; the Papacy has forgotten, or rather has not paid any attention whatever to all the failures and disappointments which have followed its boldest attempts to acquire full control of human society. But if we consider the individual programs of most of the Popes, the practical method of action adopted by them in order to reach the end of the maximum program, then we shall find that not only have the Popes learned a great deal from history, but they have learned much more than all other political and religious leaders, to such an extent that their institution is the only one which has survived after so many centuries of hard struggle, in which powerful empires and strong political and social organizations have disappeared one after another.

To follow a skillful process of adaptation to the ever-changing condition and circumstances of the times, without modifying the final purpose; to change the road without changing the goal; to change the attitude without changing radically the mind; to give to each Pontificate a personal character without breaking the unity and the continuity of all the Pontificates — such has been and is the secret of the immortality of the Roman Papacy.

A necessary issue of such a policy, of such a process, when it is adapted to an historical institution, is that its activity takes an essentially conservative character; it does not create new initiatives, but follows those started by others and struggles to bring them under its own control and to adapt them to its own general and traditional program. But an institution which considers itself as definitive, complete, and unchangeable, as the Roman Church does, is naturally led to oppose all new tendencies and even all new interpretations of old principles. Thus it happens that the Papacy, as the representative and central power of Roman Catholicism, is perpetually struggling between two impulses leading in opposite directions. On the one hand is the principle of resistance, which is the result of its consciousness of being the only true religion, unchangeable in its essence and in its form of government; on the other hand is the dynamic tendency, which is inseparable from the natural instinct of conservation of life, proper to all individuals as well as to all historical institutions. The former makes of the Papacy an irreconcilable enemy of the law of mutability, inherent in human nature and identical with the law of progress; the latter obliges it to come to terms with new conditions involving new principles and to reconcile itself, *bon gré, mal gré*, with them. The equilibrium between the two opposite tendencies is reached only through compromises; theological and philosophical compromises

in the realm of doctrine, ethical, political, and legal compromises in the realm of fact.

After all, a compromise which could bridge the eternal and the transient, the immovable and the ever-changing, has been and is the greatest problem of all metaphysics as well as of all religions. And it looks as if the old pagan title which became the exclusive qualification of the Roman bishops, "Summus Pontifex," was providentially chosen to represent exactly the main occupation of the Papacy — that of building incessantly new bridges to keep the Church in contact with the progressive life of mankind. In times of old, when human progress was slow, some of those bridges were real monumental constructions, which gave to their builders the idea that they would last forever, so deep-laid were their foundations both scientific and political; but in more recent times events follow so rapidly, science and politics have undergone such radical changes, principles and institutions are under such a direct fire from every side, that all old and new bridges are easily carried away by the swift current, and the task of the Papacy has become a very difficult one. There is no possibility for a conservative institution like the Papacy to keep pace with the great speed of today's political and social life, and the question is no more of building solid stone bridges but only of throwing at least a narrow plank across the gulf, so as not to be cut off entirely from modern thought and life.

During the last fifty years the loss of the temporal power, with its consequences, brought to the Papacy in a more striking way the realization that the modern world had gone too much ahead in its religious, political, and social ideals, and that it was time for the Church of Rome to speed up in order to gain the ground lost under the reactionary Pontificates which had identified themselves with the principles and ideals of the ancient regime. Accordingly Pope Leo XIII with a stroke of the pen

obliterated all the condemnations of his predecessors against democracy. From his Pontifical chair he declared that the principles of democracy not only are not radically opposed to or in any conflict with the Church, but, on the contrary, they find in the Church their natural ally and their religious legitimation. Fifty years before, Lamennais had been excommunicated for propounding the same principle.

It is true, however, that Pope Leo had not a very comprehensive idea of democracy and was very far from being inclined to accept all the logical consequences involved in really democratic principles. But he could not ignore the fact that under the democratic regime, conceived as the rule of the majority with a fair consideration of the rights of the minority, the social question was assuming a political character and as such was to be the final test of the organizing power of modern democracy. The Pope therefore went a step further, and in a much celebrated document (Encyclical "*Rerum novarum*." — "*De conditione opificum*") assumed that the Catholic Church, as it was the cradle and the guardian of true democracy, was also in possession of the golden rule which alone could solve in a satisfactory way all social problems.

Those outside the Church were not much impressed by Leo's words. They thought they were no more than pious vagaries of a theologian who, compelled to face a new situation, looks at it through his theological glasses and finds that there is really nothing new in the world, "*nil sub sole novi*," and all he has to do is to put the same old wine into new bottles. But even as such, Pope Leo's conservative dilettantism in sociology was a very clever stroke of ecclesiastical policy. It was another plank across the gulf between the Church and modern life.

But the greatest problem with which the Papacy has been confronted in the last half-century is that of its relations with the new Italy. The various questions aris-

ing in the Church at large did not present difficulties which could not be solved by compromises. Diplomatic bargains with the various governments, both Catholic and non-Catholic, could always be negotiated, and in its long political tradition the Roman Curia had developed a remarkable skill and almost unique ability in settling those matters to its own advantage. Moreover the task had become easier on account of the frank attitude taken by the Catholics themselves of the various countries, who had not concealed their unwillingness to support the Curia in eventual attempts to interfere with the internal politics of their nations. They either organized themselves in political national parties of their own, as in Germany, and in such a case they were led to emphasize their character of national-political associations in order to avoid the much feared accusation of political and religious ultramontaniam; or, as happened in the United States, participated in the political life of their country as mere individuals according to their personal political connections and local interests. In both cases the Vatican had to limit its activities to the religious sphere, concealing even the thought of political purposes in its influence over Catholic believers.

As a matter of fact, where a political activity was carried on in the name of the Church, the fault was not so much of the Papacy as of groups of unscrupulous Catholic politicians who wanted to use the authority of the Church and the Papacy to the advantage of their own political party, as in France; provoking the retaliation of the opposite parties and producing the final political estrangement of France from the Vatican.

But in Italy the situation was totally different. Here the Papacy had an avowed program of political claims aiming at the overthrow of Italy's new regime, either by means of foreign intervention or by internal dissolution. To effect such a purpose the Papal diplomacy had the

task of creating all possible difficulties for the Italian government in its dealings with the governments which were in diplomatic relations with the Pope. Those governments, although officially friendly to Italy, yet were more than glad to have always within reach a powerful means of intimidating the Italian government by reopening the Roman question under the pretext of complying with the wishes of their Catholic population. And they made use of it. It was thus that France imposed its policy on the new kingdom for more than a decade, and it was through this as well as in other ways that Bismarck succeeded in pushing Italy into the unnatural alliance with Austria and Germany. Even in the last war it was used as a scarecrow by the Central Powers to prevent Italy from joining the Allies.

The Pope thought perhaps that the Papal claims could more easily be realized by provoking an internal incurable crisis. With such an aim Pope Pius IX first and Pope Leo XIII afterwards, made it a crime for Italian Catholics to take part in the political management of their country.

This political sabotage ordered by the Vatican was intended to make it impossible for the Italian government to root itself in the national consciousness and to bring about its fall in a short time. That way once chosen, the Vatican insisted on it with its usual obstinacy; although it appeared immediately that the great majority of the Catholic Italian laity did not take seriously the Papal veto.

After the advent of Leo XIII, and under his inspiration a great effort was made to influence the young Italian generation and to impress on their minds that Italy's evils and weakness were the consequence of its sins against the Church, and therefore that it was a religious as well as a patriotic duty to reestablish the political Papacy in order to create a greater Italy. This propa-

ganda, carried on with great fervor in the Catholic schools, by the Catholic papers, and by the official Catholic organization called *L' Opera dei Congressi*, was so successful that Pope Leo thought the time had come to go a step further and to proclaim his democratic sympathies to the world. It was a concession which was supposed to destroy new objections against his political program, and to make it appear as representing the newest spirit of the time, instead of being a recast of a program definitely discarded by the national consciousness of young Italy.

But such a deception could not last long. The young Italian Catholics came to realize very early and at their cost, what was the real meaning of such a program and how it was primarily directed against Italy's national existence. They could not see any valid reason why the same Church which not only allowed but made it a duty for a Catholic Frenchman or Englishman or American to be loyal to his national government, whether it were Catholic or Protestant or neither, was authorized to make it an unpardonable sin for an Italian Catholic to love and respect the democratic government of his country; a government legally elected by the majority of the population under laws of freedom, which had been conquered after so many centuries of slavery at a price of enormous sacrifices and heroic struggles. The logical conclusion of the movement was to deny the authority of the Pope to impose upon the Italian Catholics a *political* program, and to claim for themselves the same freedom in political matters which was not denied to the Catholic believers of all other countries. The reply of the Vatican to such a bold claim was the excommunication of the leaders like Romolo Murri, and the condemnation of the *Lega Democratica Cristiana* as being a heretical organization.

The reason was obvious. The new Pope, Pius X, was not a politician like Leo XIII, and although at the beginning of his Pontificate he, as usual, published a protest against the Italian government, yet he was not at all anxious to recover the temporal power. Coming not from diplomacy but from the ranks of the diocesan clergy, Pius X knew well the feelings of the Italian population, and had come to realize that the greatest menace against the Church and the Papacy was not the liberal Italian government but the Socialist party, which in Italy assumed from the very beginning a strong anti-religious character. Now two ways were open to the Pope to counteract the progress of the Socialist party in Italy: either by supporting openly the young Christian democratic party which had already formulated a program of social reforms with a Socialist flavor, or by throwing the Catholic forces into the balance in favor of the old conservative parties in order to strengthen their power of resistance to Socialism. In the former case the Pope would have met Socialism on its own ground and become the moral leader of a progressive movement.

But the adoption of such a program involved two concessions: first, a definite and clear statement which would end the conflict between Italy and the Papacy as to the temporal power, and thus enable the young Catholic-democratic party to be sincerely loyal to the State as well as to the Church; second, the grant to the same party of that autonomy and self-government which is an essential character of a really democratic policy. A democracy under the absolute control of an infallible and irresponsible power is nonsense. Pius could do neither. Although personally unconcerned about the temporal power, yet he was not bold enough to disregard the traditions of the Vatican policy and to overcome the influence of his environment; and on the other hand he was too conscious of his infallibility and of the divine character

of his authority to admit any limitation to it in his relations with Catholic believers, even in matters of political and social program.

The other alternative was chosen. The Pope granted to the Catholics permission to take part in the electoral campaign, not however, with a platform and candidates of their own, but only to help with their votes men of the various reactionary parties in order to defeat the Socialist candidates for Parliament. Obligated to make a choice between the old Liberal party, which had deprived the Pope of his temporal power but which had given to him the law of guarantees, and the Socialist party with its hostility to religion in general, Pius did not hesitate. But the great majority of the Catholics did not dissimulate their dissatisfaction; they felt deeply humiliated that after so many years of work to organize themselves and to get ready for the day, they would only be allowed to make their political *début* in a secondary rôle, as supporters of the old discredited Liberal party, creating the impression among the masses that the Catholic party was radically opposed to a program of much needed social reform. And their claims were such that the Pope at the next election did not dare to oppose entirely their wishes. They were allowed to have at least a number of candidates of their own, and, although without official approval but with the tacit consent of the Vatican, a Catholic group was formed in the Italian Parliament. It was not strong, having only about twenty members; it was not brilliant; but it represented a definite step towards the complete abolition of the old system, which had kept the Catholics from taking part officially in the political life of the country.

It did not take long for the Vatican to realize that it was not an easy task now to keep the Catholic group of the Parliament under a strict control. The Catholic deputies, challenged in the Chamber by the Radicals to

formulate their attitude towards the papal claims against Italy, did not hesitate to express their unbounded loyalty to the institutions and the unity of the nation with Rome as capital. The *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, grumbled, and remarked that the deputies of the Catholic group did not represent at all officially the Catholic organizations, because the Pope never had explicitly recognized them, and therefore their feelings and their words were not to be taken as inspired or in accordance with those of the Vatican. There became apparent then the fundamental equivocation which was inherent in the Catholic political organization; that is to say, on the one hand the Vatican claimed full and exclusive control of the organization and its representatives, and on the other hand refused to assume official responsibility for the natural and practical results of its activity. As a matter of fact, the Pope could not assume such a responsibility. Being the head of the universal Church, he could not allow him self to become the responsible leader of a political party in the Italian kingdom without descending from his high rank and creating a great danger for the Church, the danger of identifying the Church itself with a local political party and exposing it to the unavoidable consequence of paying the price of an eventual defeat with the same party. But, on the other hand, to resign the control of the Italian Catholic party was too much of a revolution for the Vatican policy; it was a humiliating confession of lack of power over the Catholic masses and a radical change of attitude which could not be expected from the Pope, unless as an extreme necessity.

Such was the situation of the Italian Catholics and the Vatican in regard to Italian political life when the Great War began. We have been told again and again that the Vatican had strong German sympathies and that its policy was pro-German to the core. Perhaps that is

not true; the Vatican may have been really and sincerely neutral from the very beginning, but in regard to Italy there was no hesitation. Italy's neutrality became a vital issue, and to prevent Italy from joining the Allies the Vatican played all the trump cards that were in its hands. Its failure was due to the Italian Catholic party.

The conflict which hindered from the beginning the efficiency of the Catholic party — the moral and practical impossibility of harmonizing in thought and action the allegiance to the Church required by their religious connections and the allegiance to the State required by their political interests — came to the crucial point when it became impossible to live as usual through daily expedients and compromises and to avoid definitely taking sides. The official leaders of the Catholic organizations and their official papers did all they could in support of the papal order to work for keeping Italy out of the war, but the great majority of the Catholics joined the Nationalists, who advocated Italy's intervention on the side of the Allies. And when war was declared, the Catholic group in Parliament not only supported the government but shared its responsibility by having two members in the Italian war cabinet. It was the first time in the modern history of Italy that militant Catholics belonging to Catholic organizations, usually under the control of the Vatican, became executive members of that government which is styled by the Church as a usurper, and as such is branded by the Canon law and by Pontifical decrees as an enemy of the Church and is excommunicated. The Vatican remained silent; but the official leaders of the Catholic organizations did not conceal their disapproval of the step taken by the Catholic parliamentary group, and started that unfortunate propaganda which, supported by the famous appeal for peace issued by the Pope in August, 1917, concurred unconsciously, together with the more violent Socialist propaganda, to produce the

disaster of Caporetto. The disaster, to be sure, was not what the Pope and the Catholic official leaders expected and wanted; and the heroic reaction by the Italian people was such that both took hurriedly a step backward, and while the Pope let himself express feelings of sympathy and love for Italy such as no Pope had manifested since 1870, the Catholic leaders cast aside all hesitation and became at once more nationalist than the Nationalists themselves.

In the history of the Roman Pontificate there perhaps cannot be found a more unfortunate Pontifical document than the above-mentioned appeal of Pope Benedict XV of August 16, 1917. It was equivocal in itself, and it could be, and it was, misinterpreted and ill used by both parties. The common assumption is that the appeal to the nations for a non-victory peace was made by the Pope at the request and for the benefit of Austria, in danger of imminent overthrow. There is some truth in such an assumption. The Pope could not but be very anxious to save from total ruin the Hapsburg monarchy; which was the only one left in Europe under which the Catholic Church, although kept under control, enjoyed still the position of privilege of the old regime.

But more than to protect Austria or to hinder Italy and the Allies from crushing Germany, there was in the mind of the Pope a higher and more definite purpose in issuing that appeal, apparently directed to the various belligerent governments, but in fact directed to the Catholic masses of the whole world. The real and manifest purpose of the appeal was to warn Catholics of the imminent danger of a general *social* outbreak threatening all the nations, and to spur them to action in order to impose upon the various governments a speedy peace without victory, which would enable the conservative forces of the Allied countries, as well as of the Central Empires, to get together and form a coalition against the common

enemy — *social revolution*. From the very beginning, when Socialism from the field of abstract theories passed to a practical activity, and became a political party with a program of social reform inspired by a materialistic conception of history and life, the Church of Rome began to worry a great deal as to the prospect of a triumphant Socialistic regime. The fact that Italian Socialism — with which the Popes and the Roman Curia were more closely acquainted than with Socialism at large — was from the very beginning radically anti-religious and had started against the priests and the Church a violent campaign very effective among the working and rural classes of Italy — this fact made the Vatican so afraid of everything that was or seemed to be connected with Socialism, that in the eyes of the Pope Socialism became no less than the beast of the Apocalypse. As a matter of fact, the Pope had reason to be worried. There was and still is a humoristic Socialist paper, *L'Asino*, published in Rome, which for years did not fail to present every week to its thousands of readers vulgar, and more frequently indecent, caricatures of priests and of the Popes themselves, which were surpassed in lack of good taste only by those to be found in the famous book of Martin Luther, *Abbildung des Bapstum (Popery Pictured)*, published in Wittenberg in 1545.

Moral scandals of priests, unavoidable in a country where there are thousands of priests and not all carefully chosen and properly educated, were the daily delight of all the Socialist papers, and the corruption of the clergy was described in dark colors as being the legitimate outcome of the teaching of the Church itself. As a whole, this campaign, aiming to represent the Church as identified with corruption and hypocrisy, tyranny and exploitation, and as such with the greatest enemy of the progress and welfare of the humble classes, succeeded very well. In cities and towns where the Socialist party

converted the majority of the population, churches were deserted, priests insulted and sometimes even chased away by popular mobs. The Vatican had a good sample of what would happen in Italy to the Church if Socialism were to establish a new regime under its control. No wonder that Pope Pius X, who during all his Pontificate was an easy mark for the caricatures and attacks of the Socialists, conceived such an *odium theologicum* against them that he did not hesitate to condemn the Christian Democrats, who did not conceal their sympathies for a part of the Socialist minimum program. It was this horror of everything having a Socialist flavor that led Pius, as we noticed above, to overcome his hatred of the old Italian Liberal party, to break Leo's policy of keeping the Italian Catholics outside the political life of the country, and to adopt the new policy of obliging them to undertake an electoral campaign in support of the candidates of the Conservative parties against the Socialist leaders.

At the beginning of the great European conflict, the Vatican sounded very early the alarm against the social revolution likely to come out of the evils of the war. Almost daily the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Roman Curia, published articles and pessimistic comments on the events of the day, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the bimonthly review of the Roman Jesuits, took upon itself the task of Cassandra, the prophetess of desolation, admonishing kings and governments of the impending ruin. And when the Russian revolution came to fulfill those prophecies, the Vatican, far from rejoicing, felt the iron grip of the revolution near, and raised higher the warning cry: "Et nunc reges intelligite, erudimini qui judicatis terram." It was at such a psychological moment that Benedict XV wrote his appeal for peace and it was as an attempt to stop the rising tide of revolution that he published it. But the Catholics of the world

were not responsive and did nothing to impress the various governments in the direction wanted by the Pope. Only a group among the Italian clergy and Catholic laity took seriously the appeal of Benedict, and, as was said above, that propaganda concurred unintentionally in bringing about the disaster of Caporetto.

At the end of the war it seemed that the Papacy had been left more isolated than before 1914. As a matter of fact the German revolution seemed rather hostile to the Church even in Catholic Bavaria. In Hungary where the Catholic bishops were the richest landowners and a highly influential force in politics, the Socialist regime deprived them at once of their princely estates and privileges and of their political standing. The Hapsburg of Austria, the Wittelsbach of Bavaria, the house of Saxony, and other minor Catholic royal dynasties, were wiped out, leaving the king of Spain the only crowned head in the world in communion with the Pope. England also was resentful both for the Vatican's attitude in the Irish question and for the Pope's violent protest against any arrangement in Palestine which would deny a position of privilege to the Catholics. France and Belgium were supposed to have not yet forgotten that the Pope did not raise his voice openly against German violation of the treaties and German atrocities.

But really the situation was not so bad as it looked. The European nations for one reason or another, but primarily because they emerged from the war exhausted and in sore need of bringing together in a solid block all the constructive energies of the nation, were anxious to avoid any split among the conservative parties and to gain the support and the hearty coöperation of the Catholic population and the Catholic clergy. It is not to be forgotten also, that in all the belligerent countries the clergy both secular and regular, during the war did their full duty earning the respect and the admiration even of

their religious opponents and acquiring a new and stronger influence over the populations; while on the other hand the papal diplomacy throughout the whole conflict rendered, under the direction of the Pope himself, very valuable humanitarian services to all the countries, especially in matter of relief and exchange of prisoners. No wonder, therefore, that in the course of the last months we have seen all the European governments, the old ones as well as the newly organized, eager to enter in cordial relation with the Vatican, and even in France the proposal of reëstablishing the Vatican Embassy has come again on the foreground of national politics with a great probability of success. We do not know how in a long run the new international situation brought about by the war will affect the organization of the Catholic Church, but there is no doubt that for the moment it is perhaps the only Church which, because of its strong central organization, has emerged from the chaos with the same if not larger powers and influence than it possessed before. Among other things the war has put an end to the long period of religious-political concordats, which were still in vigor in many European countries, and the Pope has already acquired, or is bound to acquire very soon, the full control of the Catholic Episcopate, and through it of the Church in all the new states emerging from the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, without the hindrances of the secular power. And under the new liberal regime of those countries the Catholic Church will undoubtedly spread more rapidly than in the past.

As for its relation with Italy, the events of the last four years have altered radically too the situation of the Vatican. A restoration of the temporal power was already out of the question even before the war. Leo XIII was the last Pope who cherished the dream of such a restoration and carried it with him to his Pontifical tomb in

Saint Peter's. What his successors aimed at was only the internationalization of the Law of Guarantees, that is to say, an international agreement to guarantee to the Pope the character of a sovereign. The Allied victory and the exclusion of the Pope from the Paris Conference gave the last blow to the illusions of the papal diplomacy, and made it once more evident that Italy will never be induced to accept an international control in its relation with the Papacy. Resignation was necessary, and the new Vatican attitude towards the Roman question was well manifested by the words of Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State of Pope Benedict: "The Holy See relies upon the *free will of the Italian people* made wiser and more illuminated in so far as it concerns the independence of the Pope." It was not a renunciation of the old claims, for this the Papacy never will make officially, but it was its equivalent for a practical program of political activity, to be carried on by the Italian Catholic party.

The Pope never recognized officially the existence of a Catholic group in the Italian Parliament, much less approved of their participation in the government. But such a group was in existence and its members had been elected by the votes of the Catholic organizations, which were not only recognized by the Pope, but were supposed to be under his control, because their executive boards were appointed by the Pope himself. Never was there a stranger situation than that of a political party whose representatives the Parliamentary group elected by its votes, instead of representing the party and of being considered as carrying out its program, were on the contrary left to formulate and adopt a program of their own, some points of which were irreconcilable with the general policy of the Vatican which controlled the party.

To find a way from such an impasse was not easy; there was no solution which could be applied with satisfaction. To take a step backward and return to the polit-

ical aloofness imposed upon the Italian Catholics by Leo XIII was out of the question; the war had so strengthened the national feeling among them that not a soul would have obeyed, not even under threat of excommunication. To follow the lines of policy inaugurated by Pius X and lend the Catholic forces to the support of the old conservative and reactionary parties of Italy not only would be against the wishes of the great majority of the Catholics themselves, but would identify the Catholic program with that of a class whose control over politics is in decay and rapidly disappearing; and it never is good to be on the side of the loser. A step further was therefore necessary. Would the Pope recognize the existence of the Catholic Parliamentary group and heal the internal dissent and straighten out the situation of the whole Catholic party? It seemed the most logical solution and yet it was the less likely to be adopted, because the Pope cannot assume the responsibility of a political party. Again, to escape such a responsibility it would have been necessary to grant to the Catholic party a complete autonomy. The situation came to be again the same it had been when Pope Pius X was confronted with the young Catholic Democratic party, fifteen years before. And again the Vatican was unwilling to abdicate the political control of the Italian Catholics, especially in a period in which the menace of a social revolution, so hostile to the Church in general and to the Papacy in particular, had become so serious and threatening to the life of the whole Italian nation.

But while in 1907 Pope Pius X could safely condemn, *pollice verso*, the young *Lega Democratica Cristiana*, which claimed autonomy and self-determination in outlining a political program, Benedict XV could not do the same in 1919 with the Catholic Parliamentary group, which had already acquired such an importance in the political life of the nation as to be represented by two

members in the Cabinet. On the other hand, if, according to the words of Cardinal Gasparri quoted above, the Papacy has come truly to rely only upon the free will of the Italian people for the final solution of the Roman question, it is evident that the free will of the Italian Catholic majority hoped for would not be able to manifest itself efficiently unless a political Catholic party were allowed to be organized, with the purpose of acquiring one day or another the control of the government. Moreover, Benedict XV became fully aware that concessions were to be made to the general social tendencies of the progressive Catholics, and that the vague indefinite formulæ expounded by Leo's old Encyclical and presented as a universal panacea for all the social evils, needed a more practical interpretation, if they were to be taken seriously and be of some use in counteracting the influence of the Socialist party. Accordingly, the period in which the Vatican felt obliged to curse *in odium auctoris* everything that had even a Socialist flavor, came to an end, and a new plank was thrown over the gulf between the Roman Church and the modern world.

That was done through a new compromise. The old Catholic party, such as it was when reorganized at the beginning of Benedict's Pontificate, was kept unmolested and unchanged under the official control of the Vatican. But side by side with it a new political party was allowed to be formed by militant Catholics, under the name of *Partito Popolare Italiano*, which, having no professed Catholic character in its title, disclaimed any control by the Vatican and by the ecclesiastical authority in general over its organization and political activity.

The Pope neither approved nor disapproved officially of the new organization and its program. The silence of the official spheres means only that the Pope, with a prudent reserve due to his character of supreme head of the Church universal, does not identify himself and the

Church officially with the *Partito*, just as he is not identified with all other Catholic political organizations of the various countries of the world. But on the other hand, this silent reserve of the Vatican does not mean at all that the new *Partito* enjoys that full independence of the Curia, that real autonomy, which may be found more or less in the Catholic parties of other countries. There are many facts which make us think the opposite to be true. As a matter of fact, the general secretary and *magna pars* of the new *Partito* is a Sicilian priest, D. Sturzo, known for his devotion to the Papacy, and any one who knows how strict are the rules laid down by Pope Pius X and still in full vigor about the participation of the Italian clergy in political movements and associations, realizes immediately that the presence of D. Sturzo in the capacity of general secretary of the *Partito*, means that directions for the *Partito* come from the Vatican and that under him they will be faithfully obeyed. The fact, however, that the Pope granted by silent acquiescence at least an apparent autonomy to the *Partito* is very important and far-reaching in its consequences on Italian political life.

But there is more. The program outlined by the new party is in the main identical with the politico-social program published almost at the same time by the four American Catholic bishops of the Committee on special war activities of the National War Council under the title "Social Reconstruction." It is well known that the American program was given a hearty approval by the Pope in his letter addressed to the American Catholic hierarchy in May, 1919. Both programs, the Italian as well as the American, embody the latest concessions that the Catholic Church has made to the radical social tendencies of the times. The difference between the two programs is that the American is concerned more directly with the details of a social reconstruction, while the Ital-

ian, on account of the circumstances in which the *Partito Popolare* was born, involves also a number of local political questions and some fundamental political principles with interpretations of them, which, at least in part, are not traditional in the Catholic official teaching.

The social part of the Italian program is bold and radical enough. It advocates the syndicalist organization of the workers, which was condemned in 1914 by Pius X, and asks for class representation in the legislative bodies of the nation. The vote for women, administrative autonomy of the provinces, reform of bureaucracy, protection of small property owners, are among other measures of improvement demanded; but more emphasis is laid upon the necessity of legislation which would make general the adoption of the coöperative system in industries, as a step toward a reasonable socialization of the producing forces of the nation, and also for effective laws to provide in a satisfactory way for the needs of old age, sickness, and unemployment. The nationalistic note is strong through the whole program, and the national aspirations of the moment are indorsed without reservation, although a vote is also formulated for the abolition of national armies and for a society of nations. As a whole it is a program that every democratic-progressive party could accept without many modifications. From the point of view of the Catholic Church it represents such a bold step as nobody would have thought possible a few years ago, when almost all of its articles would have met with condemnation. It must have been very difficult for the Curia to yield in so many points to the radical tendencies of the young *Partito*, but it will be still more difficult to carry such a program into practice without affecting deeply the spirit and the organization of the Church itself in Italy.

The *Partito* had been in life only a few months when the Italian War Parliament was finally dissolved, after hav-

ing passed a new electoral law, by which the old unimonominal electoral districts were abolished, and the system of pluri-nominal districts with lists of candidates on party tickets was adopted, leaving thus a place for representatives of minorities. Such a law was in favor both of the Socialists and of the Catholics, and they made the best of it. Supported energetically by the whole clergy, and having candidates chosen with a remarkably comprehensive criterium, the *Partito* reported a signaled victory on election day. More than one hundred seats were conquered, and the *Partito* is now second only to the Socialists in number of deputies belonging to a single party in Parliament. From the first day it became evident that the great battle for the control of Italian politics will be among those two parties, and that at the crucial moment the other groups must rally around them.

But from the beginning also it became evident that there are among the Catholics of the *Partito* two tendencies, or rather that there is within it a considerable and bold group of deputies who are more radical than the *Partito* can afford to be at the present moment, and who in the matter of social questions share more fully the Socialist point of view than that of the Catholic leaders, and as a matter of fact they, more than once, have cast their votes with the Socialists, breaking the party discipline. Will the *Partito* be strong and vital enough to overcome this internal crisis, and to establish such a sound party consciousness as that which gave to the German Center party almost the control of the Reichstag for many years? And if it does, will this internal accord be reached on the ground held by the more conservative tendency, or on that of the radicals? And in the latter case, will the Vatican go so far as to indorse their revolutionary program? This is the problem.

Up to the present day the Vatican officially ignores the *Partito*. No doubt, however, that *les enfants terribles*

must have been called more than once *ad reddendam rationem* of their rebellion, but it is still too early to foresee what the future has in store for the *Partito*. It is very probable that for a while the conservative tendency will prevail in it and that the more or less secret instructions of the Vatican will be followed; but it is probable also that the logic of events will in time lead the *Partito* to conquer and to affirm openly and in fact that full independence from an irresponsible power behind the scene, that real autonomy, which will be necessary to its life, and of which now it possesses only the appearance granted to it by way of compromise. What will then the Vatican do? Will it, rather than accept the fact of the real autonomy of the *Partito* and all the consequences of it, disavow the *Partito*, withdraw its favor and support, decide to retire again behind the trenches and to enjoin upon the Italian Catholics to refrain again from taking part in the political life of their country?

Such a task would be as impossible as to push back the running water of a stream to its source; but even to try would be extremely dangerous. It would alienate from the Papacy the young true Italian democracy, which has already conquered the greatest majority of Italian militant Catholics. It is from the ranks of these Catholics that the Roman Curia has received its capable leaders, its skillful diplomats, its energetic prelates, and its Popes. The consequence therefore of a definitive estrangement of the Vatican from the Italian democracy would be so far-reaching that the Italian members of the Curia are anything but cheerful in foreseeing what would happen in case such an event were ever realized. But there are, as there have always been in the past, non-Italian elements at work in the Curia, to whom the idea of the great Roman Bishop taking up his residence in Maynooth or in Boston or Baltimore would appear so full of possibilities and thrill as to compensate the Church for the loss

of Italy's new democracy. And they add oil to the fire. But Rome has not forgotten the captivity of Avignon. The lesson then taught to the Church was such that no Pope can afford to forget it and be bold enough to renew an experiment which proved almost fatal to the whole of Roman Christianity. That is why the Popes must be Italian and must come to terms with Italian democracy.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE BOOK OF JUDGES, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES. C. F. BURNEY, D.Litt., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford. Rivingtons. 1918. Pp. cxxviii, 528, with maps and phototype plates.

Professor Burney's preface, after reminding us that Biblical science does not stand still, and that we should be daily widening the basis of our research, declares that "for himself, he can say with truth that such first-hand acquaintance with the Babylonian and Assyrian language and literature as he has been able to acquire during the past fourteen years or so, has revolutionized his outlook upon Old Testament studies." It is with no little trepidation, therefore, that one takes up this bulky volume of 650 closely-printed pages. But apprehension soon gives way to a sense of relief; for, although the book contains a vast amount of material not hitherto found in works on the Book of Judges, it contains little that, even if universally accepted, would seriously affect the prevailing processes and opinions of Biblical scholarship.

The chief results of the author's occupation with Assyriological learning are to be found in his admittedly disproportionate dissertations on questions which lie beyond or aside from the subject-matter of the Book of Judges. Thus there is a long section (64 pages) of the Introduction devoted to "External information bearing on the period of Judges," which sets forth and discusses with great detail all that is known — and supposed — concerning the history of Palestine and Syria, as well as Mesopotamia and parts of Asia Minor, before ever the Israelites appeared upon the stage. Some of this is highly speculative, one "if" being piled upon another until the whole edifice leans dangerously, and a great deal of it would be more in place in technical Assyriological journals; but conservative Old Testament science has no positive quarrel with it. So also with the excursus on "Yahwe or Yahu, originally an Amorite deity" (pp. 243 ff.). Old Testament scholars are well aware that the name Yahwe is not Hebrew, and must therefore have been derived by the Palestinian Israelites either from some foreign source or else from their own foreign ancestors. To be sure, the Amorites themselves, according to Professor Burney, spoke a language nearly identical with Hebrew, so that the question remains as to whence they in their turn acquired title to the god. But we are content to leave the matter

there. Nor are we much shocked to find another "additional note" on the "Early identification of Yahwe with the Moon-god" (pp. 249 ff.), a deity whose worship will have extended from Ur of the Chaldees in southern Babylonia to Haran in the north, and thence again to the wilderness of Sin on the borders of Egypt. For if Hebrew *Yahwe* is the same as *Yahu* or *Yatum* or *Ya* of the Babylonian inscriptions, then, *Sin* being the moon-god of Babylonia, the Babylonian names *Ya-ma-e-ra-ah*, that is "Ya indeed is the moon," and *Sin-ya-tum*, that is "Sin is Yatum," and the Hebrew name *Sinai*, that is "Sin's mountain," combine to attest the fact that Yahwe was at one time identical with the moon-god Sin; a conclusion confirmed by the circumstance that a North Arabian tribe of Yahwe-worshippers was called *Jerahmeel*, which is (being interpreted as a species of Hebraeo-Babylonian jargon) "the moon indeed is god"! Such may be the hole of the pit whence Yahwe was digged. It is only when we are told that the words of Exodus 24 9-11, "Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were a pavement of sapphire, and as the heaven itself for clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he put not forth his hand; and they beheld the deity, and did eat and drink" — that these words betray familiarity with Yahwe's lunar past, and suggest "the spectacle of the moon, riding at the full in the deep sapphire sky," that we are inclined to balk. One may, if one chooses, identify the bearer of the name *Yahu* in the Babylonian records with the Moon-god or anything else, in the absence of evidence to the contrary; but one must be careful not to let the Israelites of the historic period know that the talk is of their national deity. For they would hardly have allowed the prophet Elijah to travel forty days and forty nights beyond the southern confines of Canaan, to a cave on Mount Horeb, for an interview with the moon; or have dealt so savagely with a recognized fellow servant of the moon as they did with Sihon, king of the Amorites. And we may add — it is the author who raises the question — that Christians, at any rate, will probably continue to think "the alternative conception of a revelation in human form less unspiritual."

More sane and to the point is the essay on "The use of writing among the Israelites in the times of the Judges" (pp. 253 ff.), although this too is somewhat marred by a fantastic Assyriological note on the "Sumerio-Akkadian" origin of the Phoenician alphabet. The author's treatment of historical questions is naturally more successful where the field is less nebulous and the data more tangible.

For example, the section of the Introduction on the chronology of the Book of Judges furnishes an excellent conspectus of that involved subject, and, except for the erroneous assumption of the trustworthiness of the genealogy in I Samuel 14 3 (a demonstrable scribal concoction), leaves little to be desired. The first business, however, of a commentary on an ancient text is, not to discuss the historical problems which it suggests, but to determine, so far as possible, when and in what environment the writer of it wrote, just what he said, and what he meant. When this much has been achieved by the exegete, the historian may take up the task — preferably in a separate volume.

With regard to the composition and date of the Book of Judges, the author adopts in the main the conventional critical view. Our present book is a post-exilic enlargement of an earlier work, the so-called Deuteronomistic Judges; which was in turn merely a homiletical edition, with introduction and notes, of certain narrative extracts from a composite "prophetical" history book identical with the JE source of the Pentateuch and Joshua. Chapters 1 1-2 5, 9, 16, and 17-21 were not included in that edition, but were inserted, chiefly from the still extant JE source, by the post-exilic redactor R^P. Professor Burney departs from the current view, however, in denying emphatically that the earlier edition of Judges is properly characterized as Deuteronomistic, holding that, on the contrary, it antedated the Deuteronomic legislation and reform, to the development of which it very materially contributed. The principal argument for this contention is linguistic: unlike Joshua and Kings, the Book of Judges contains few of the stock phrases of Deuteronomy, showing affinity rather with the language of Joshua 24 and I Samuel 12, which are commonly assigned to the later stratum of the E document. He accordingly designates the earlier editor R^{E2}, "Redactor of the late Ephraimitic School," instead of R^D. The linguistic argument is by no means conclusive; for it is quite conceivable that, of two writers equally dominated by the Deuteronomic point of view and teaching, one should adhere more slavishly to the phraseology of Deuteronomy than the other; and the theological pragmatism of Judges, which after all is the important thing, is sufficiently akin to that of Kings. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that Professor Burney has furnished reason enough for a reconsideration of the critical position at this point, especially if, as has been plausibly maintained, the earlier Book of Judges embraced material now found in the first twelve chapters of the Book of Samuel. Unfortunately, he threatens to complicate the discussion with a theory of

his own as to the North Israelitish origin of Deuteronomy, which he promises to set forth in a future publication. When he does so, he will doubtless not overlook the fact that the theory involves the defense of the Samaritan as against the Jewish interpretation of Deuteronomy 12.

Only occasionally does the author hesitate to resolve the narratives themselves into their constituent elements, J, E, E², and R^{JE}. He detects both J and E material in the stories of Ehud, Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah, as well as in chapters 17-21. The prose story of Deborah and Barak is mainly E, though contaminated with matter from another source; the Song of Deborah came in with E; the story of Samson is J. In the judgment of the present writer, it is by no means certain that two primary sources underlie so many of the narratives even of the Deuteronomistic Judges; while it is absolutely certain that no second source was ever employed in the stories of the Migration of the Danites and the Benjamite War, where Professor Burney's analytical *tour de force* reminds of nothing so much as of the late Professor Green's satirical "analysis" of the parable of the Prodigal Son.¹ The important fact, which our author has failed to perceive, is that the sections inserted in the Book of Judges by the post-exilic redactor, from the still extant extra-canonical ancient literature, had an entirely different history. It is an unwarranted, though too prevalent, assumption that all the pre-exilic narratives contained in our books of Genesis to Samuel are descended in a single and direct line from the union, sometime in the seventh century, of the two documents which critics label J and E. For the rest, the characterization of the J and E national histories as "prophetical," although quite the fashion among a certain class of writers on the Old Testament, has little justification, and should be abandoned, in the interest alike of accuracy and of more fruitful research. E is a somewhat uncertain quantity; in particular, matter designated E² is not easily distinguished from that which is assigned to R^{JE} and subsequent redactions. But the J document, upon any entertainable theory of its date and compass, affords no justification whatever for the name "prophetical."

Quite the least satisfactory part of the book is the section devoted to the elucidation of the Song of Deborah, which occupies no less than 81 pages. Besides a voluminous running commentary on the text, there is a discussion of the art of Hebrew versification in general, a "detailed examination of the rhythm of the Song," a chapter on

¹ "Auch im Alten Testament kann die literarische Analyse zum Kinderspiel ausarten." Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 57.

its "climactic parallelism," an English translation (printed twice in full) reproducing the supposed "rhythm" of the original, and a complete transliteration of the restored Hebrew text as it was pronounced in pre-Masoretic times (!) — with this result, by way of illustration:

Awáke, | awáke, | Deboráh!
 Awáke, | awáke, | sing paéan!
 Ríse | Barák, | and lead cáptive
 Thy cáptors, | O són | of Abinó'am!
 Cóme, | ye commánders | of Ísrael!
 Ye that volunteéred | among the péople, || bléss ye | Yahwéh!
 Let the ríders | on táwny || she-ásses | revíew it,
 And lét | the wayfárers || recáll it | to mínd!
 Hárk | to the maídens || láúghing at | the wélls!
 Thére | they recoúnt || the ríghteous ácts| , of Yahwéh,
 The ríghteous ácts | of his árm | in Ísrael.

This represents a "strophe" of the original (as restored by transposition, emendation, and conjectural interpretation), showing five lines of three accents each, followed by five lines of four accents, and a final line of three accents. It must not be supposed, however, that the remaining "strophes" of the song exhibit the same scheme. On the contrary, each "strophe" is a law unto itself. So that one wonders how the poor Hebrews ever divined what rhythmization was expected of them without the aid of Professor Burney's space-rules to guide them. As to the transliteration and rhythmization of the original, if the author himself has succeeded in pronouncing *hammith-naddabhim*, *baggabborim*, *umizZabbulin*, *tubarrakhi*, *wattuyabbabh*, with but one accent as indicated, and as demanded by his "rhythm," he has performed a phonetic miracle, the wonder of which is not lessened by the specimen of *alliterative* poetry from "Piers Plowman" misguidedly adduced in the addendum on page xiv. It will be noticed from the above example, moreover, that the ancient Hebrew poets actually practiced *enjambement*! For the rest, the statement that "the theory of Hebrew rhythm expounded by Sievers is now generally adapted [adopted ?] by scholars" (p. 100) could have been made only by a writer who had failed to grasp the essence of that theory, and was but superficially acquainted with the literature of the subject. So far from being now followed "very generally" by scholars, there is reason to doubt that the theory has been entertained by Sievers himself since the year 1908, when its very foundations were demolished.

In general, the author's textual criticism and interpretation, while undeniably exhibiting abundant erudition and almost incalculable

labor, fall far short of the rigidly scientific standards set by Professor Moore's publications of twenty-odd years ago. To mention just one point, it seems incredible that a scholar living in Oxford should have contented himself with the notoriously inadequate and unreliable footnotes of Kittel's edition of the Hebrew Bible for the readings of a text so important for the Book of Judges as that of the Codex Lugdunensis.

Such spellings as Joshua', Hosea', Gide'on, Cana'an, Cana'anite, are neither English nor transliterated Hebrew.

WILLIAM R. ARNOLD.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE PRESENT CONFLICT OF IDEALS. A STUDY OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WORLD WAR. RALPH BARTON PERRY. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1918. Pp. xiii, 549.

Professor Perry has given his readers two books in one; the first an examination of the moral and religious aspects of contemporary philosophical tendencies, the second a study of the national characteristics and the political traditions of Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The dozen chapters which make up the latter part of the volume belong essentially to the literature of the war, and have now lost some, though by no means all, of their pertinency and interest. But the conflict with which most of the book deals has its seat chiefly in men's minds, and its fighting lines are drawn without regard to national boundaries. It is not, in spite of the title, merely a conflict of "ideals" which Professor Perry describes; it is more largely with rival conceptions of the general nature of things, of the implications of man's cognitive and moral experience, of the relation to human interests and ideals of the reality which envelops them, that he is concerned. The book, in short, has even more to do with the philosophy of religion, in the broadest sense of the term, than with ethics; though no single label could easily do justice to the range of its themes. Few of the more significant tendencies of contemporary thought are left unconsidered. Nor does Professor Perry, in the present volume, limit his interest to the philosophy of the schools. Strindberg and Maeterlinck find their place along with the more technical moralists; neither "Billy" Sunday nor George Moore is altogether ignored, among the samples of the mind of the twentieth century, and Ian Hay jostles Hegel in the

index. I know of no single book in English which at once surveys so widely and interprets, in the main, so understandingly the movement of ideas in our time, or comes so near to being a comprehensive record and analysis of the thoughts which our generation has had concerning the world we live in and the meaning of life. Professor Perry has the gift of condensing without distorting, and of being brief without being obscure; and he has therefore been able to crowd into some four hundred pages a remarkable wealth both of lucid exposition and of significant criticism.

When a book ranges over so many and so diverse issues, the reviewer must necessarily select, for serious critical discussion, only one or two of its theses. The readers of this Review will perhaps look with most interest for Professor Perry's account of the religious and practical implications of the "neo-realistic" teaching of the group of American philosophers to which he belongs. One finds with some surprise that but a single chapter is devoted to this subject, though "realism" is one of the four generic types of contemporary philosophy under which the author attempts, rather unsuccessfully, to subsume the entire mass of contemporary opinions which he sets forth — the other three being "naturalism," "idealism" and "pragmatism."

It is essential to distinguish first between those elements of Professor Perry's practical philosophy which result from his neo-realistic principles, and those which he happens to hold on quite other grounds. This distinction he himself tends to forget. "Realism," he tells us, "is theistic in its religion." But in point of fact, from neo-realism as a premise the truth of theism is very certainly not deducible. All that Professor Perry can legitimately mean is that he sees in realism no repugnancy to some kind of theistic faith, and that, for his part, he accepts such a faith. *Why* he does so, what "arguments for the existence of God" he finds convincing, he nowhere intimates. But he does not leave us in much doubt as to the kind of God he believes in. It is the temporal, finite, and struggling God of J. S. Mill and William James, of Mr. Wells and a growing company of our contemporaries. This temporalistic theology has obvious affinities with realism, inasmuch as it is irreconcilable with a genuinely idealistic epistemology. Consistent idealism is bound to conceive "true reality" as eternally complete, comprehending all time and all experience in its absolute unity. But a temporalistic theology is not necessarily irreconcilable with a spiritualistic metaphysics; and in any case, its affinity is not specifically with the "new" realism but with realism in general.

When then we look for the moral and religious implications which are distinctive of this newer philosophy, we find apparently only two. In the first place, we are told, the neo-realist "accepts the mathematical and logical part of the Platonic realism;" that is, he holds that the properties and relations of universals, "the necessities of logical implication," are existent facts independent of mind, just as he holds that physical objects, their relations and interactions, are independent existents. And this "strain of Platonic realism" has certain implications "of emotional and practical significance." For example, it excludes pure materialism; for the universals are of course neither corporeal nor psychical, but "neutral" with respect to the psycho-physical distinction. And in the contemplation of this realm of supersensible realities and timeless truths some neo-realists find a species of religious satisfaction and of consolation for the futilities of the temporal order. Some neo-realists; but hardly Professor Perry himself. For he is not one of those who see in these cold and barren ecstasies of the logician the end and consummation of human life; nor is it sufficient for him to know merely that, though all man's hopes were frustrate and all man's efforts vain, nevertheless "truth is so." His interest is manifestly in the business of the temporal universe; it is a "religion of action" that appeals to him. And such a religion is possible only if we have some assurance that we live in a world in which man's deliberations and discoveries, his purposes and deeds, are relevant and efficacious, and his ideals have at least a fighting chance of fulfillment.

It is, Professor Perry thinks, a distinguishing merit of neo-realism that it is "the only philosophy to provide such a world." It alone can without inconsistency "admit consciousness into the natural world as a genuine dynamic agent." Absolute idealism fails to do this because of its conception of "reality" as eternally complete and perfect, and as requiring as predeterminate ingredients in its perfection both all the finite evil and all the finite good that actual experience contains. But for a very different reason Professor Perry finds that the older or dualistic kind of realism is equally incapable of giving significance to human action. For it regards consciousness "as a peculiar substance, absolutely distinct from corporeal substance," and therefore as "incapable of entering into any commerce with it." Neo-realism, however, maintains the doctrine of the "immanence of consciousness"; it declares that mind is "homogeneous with its environment" and therefore "interactive with it."

This contrast between the "new" or monistic and the dualistic realism seems to me to limp upon both its legs. It is not the case,

on the one hand, that all or most dualistic realists infer from the distinction between minds or ideas and their external objects that the former are "incapable of entering into any commerce" with the latter. Doubtless Professor Perry thinks that dualists *ought* to draw such an inference; but as he offers no argument to show why they ought, he must be said to deal in a rather dogmatic and cavalier fashion with an important and difficult issue. On the other hand, it is not the case that monistic realism admits anything which can significantly and distinctively be called "mind" or "consciousness" into the natural world as a dynamic agent.

For when the neo-realist tells us that consciousness is "homogeneous" with the physical environment, he is, with some delicacy of language, denying that anything resembling what both philosophers and laymen have hitherto meant by "consciousness" exists at all. Consciousness, as commonly conceived, has certain definite attributes and powers. It can, as men have supposed, look before and after, representing both past and future in present ideas without thereby making either past or future actual. It can dream dreams, evoking images of things which do not exist, and of some which never can exist, in the physical world. It can apprehend meanings and "references" and can, in its deliberations, feel the constraining force of purely logical necessities. And it can take the form of moral self-consciousness, and, even in the act of making the interests of other selves its own, find the significance and the glow of this experience in the knowledge that those selves are not "immanent" in itself but are truly other — are distinct and independent bearers of values and possessors of interests. But a so-called "consciousness" which is strictly "homogeneous" with the external environment — which "differs from bodies very much [*sic*; the author should in consistency have said "simply"] as one bodily system differs from another" — can possess none of these powers or attributes; for the external environment, as science represents it, knows naught of them, and "bodily systems" *are* "bodily" only in so far as they lack them. No doubt the neo-realist would reply that his "strain of Platonic realism" saves him here; that at least meanings, logical relations, values, are for him a part of the total objective (but not exclusively material) order which constitutes the environment of the human organism, and can therefore properly be included by him among the contents of a consciousness homogeneous with that environment. Yet the reply does not meet the difficulty. For it is only as universals that these "neutral entities" find a place in the neo-realist's universe. But a pure universal, unindividuated, existing neither in

time nor space, obviously cannot be a "dynamic agent in the natural world." In short, the realm of Platonic ideas contains elements resembling certain of the distinctive elements of consciousness, but it cannot act; matter can in some sense act, but it contains nothing resembling the distinctive elements of consciousness. But as the whole of reality is, for the neo-realist, made up exclusively of these two parts — of Platonic universals *plus* material particles diversely arranged in space and time — his scheme of things nowhere affords room for any reality which *both* possesses the actual properties of consciousness and also is capable of being "a genuine dynamic agent."

In its metaphysics, in short, neo-realism is — but for its otiose appendage of Platonic realism — a soft-spoken, if not a "tender-minded," materialism. This appears most plainly of all perhaps in Professor Perry's intimation that when the new realism speaks of "mind" it uses the word in a purely "behavioristic" sense. Now behaviorism as a method of experimental inquiry in psychology has its place and finds practical justification in its results. But behaviorism as a metaphysics is simply naturalism gone mad. It conceives the whole process of consciousness in terms of physical stimulus and bodily response. It recognizes in the experience of an individual no elements which are not, at least potentially, wholly open to the direct sensible observation of other individuals — no elements, in other words, which are anything more than visible or tangible movements of the muscles or other parts of the animal mechanism. In all this, it incidentally stultifies itself; for the behaviorist philosopher puts forward his doctrine as meaningful and true, and as reached through logical processes — and yet "truth" and "meaning" can have no place among the strictly behavioristic categories, and the theory cannot recognize any such thing as the determination of the action of an animal (even though the animal be a philosopher) by logical reflection as such. If we apply the behaviorist's principles to himself, we must treat his arguments and conclusions merely as so much "animal behavior," that is, as movements of the muscles of (*e.g.*) his throat or forearm, and as nothing more.

Yet of course Professor Perry does not follow his premises out to the absurdities in which they logically result; nor — as has been seen — does he himself discover in his neo-realism the practical implications which are proper to it. On the contrary, through a considerable part of the book he carries on a vigorous polemic against naturalism; and his own practical philosophy is eminently sane, humanistic, insistent upon the efficacy of ideas and of ideals, upon the potency of man's reason both in the direction of his bodily be-

havior and the modification of his physical environment. This happy inconsistency (as it appears to me to be) seems to have come about, in Professor Perry's case as in others, in a simple and natural way. His reflection upon the problem of perceptual knowledge early persuaded him that the possibility of such knowledge is inconceivable unless the object perceived and the percept "in consciousness" are literally identical. This "epistemological monism" (being construed realistically rather than idealistically) was then converted, logically enough, into a psychophysical monism, into the doctrine that consciousness, or the content and processes which make it up, are "homogeneous" with the physical environment. But having thus metaphysically identified "mind" with "bodily systems," the new realist then quietly reads into the "bodily systems" the contents, relations, and activities which he knows, and everybody knows, actually to belong to our experience, however foreign to the physicist's conception of the properties and motion of matter. The psychical lamb, in short, is supposed to be swallowed by the materialistic lion; but when, after blood-curdling growls and the crunching of tender bones, the deglutition is finished, what appears before one is not a lion but a lamb. Yet the legerdemain by which this reassuring substitution is accomplished will hardly escape the observant spectator; nor can I believe that Professor Perry himself will remain permanently unaware of it.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY.

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THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD. EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE. (University of Chicago Publications in Religious Education. Handbooks of Ethics and Religion.) University of Chicago Press. 1919. Pp. xi, 352. \$2.00.

In the large and rapidly filling section devoted to "Missions" in all the larger institutional libraries there may be found at least a couple of shelves of books dealing with the special subject, "History of Missions." Here are books attempting to cover the entire history as well as monographs treating various periods and fields, like Lemuel C. Barnes' *Two Thousand Years of Missions before Carey*, G. F. Maclear's *History of Christian Missions during the Middle Ages*, and Julius Richter's *History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. A brief historical review of the special point of view of these historical books will disclose pertinently the nature of the change which has taken place in the concept of Christianity and of Christian Missions.

In the first two-score years of the modern period Missions were still largely a brave adventure into an almost unknown situation. Accordingly the most interesting, and perhaps the most profitable, review of their work which could be given at that stage used to be gathered in reports of heroic journeys to distant lands, thrilling personal experiences of pioneers, and many curious bits of information about strange peoples. Such was the kind of history which is to be found in Smith and Choulis' *Origin and History of Missions*. After five-score years the missionary enterprise was still regarded, and perhaps not unnaturally, as quite a distinct process from ordinary worldly affairs. Baptized converts needed to be gathered out from heathendom, and organized into church communities independently of the rest of the world; the value of the Christian Gospel which the missionaries were sent out to dispense was believed to be for an other-worldly application. Accordingly, the appropriate method of surveying such a series of events was by historical annals of an enterprise largely distinct from current events. Such was the kind of history sketched by works like D. L. Leonard's *A Hundred Years of Missions*; though the centennial epoch was bringing an appreciation of some of the sociological significance of Christian Missions, as in James S. Dennis' *Foreign Missions after a Century*.

The long story has been rehearsed from many points of interest. It has been set forth as an array of facts in chronological succession or in geographical areas. There are several chronicles, like George Smith's *Short History of Christian Missions*, F. M. Bliss' *Concise History of Missions*, and A. D. Mason's *Outlines of Missionary History*. There are also larger compendia more crowded with details, like C. H. Robinson's *History of Christian Missions*. But while there exist length and breadth in the spread of Christianity in the world, there exist also heights and depths and lights and shadows. To make use of another simile, there are also intricate interweavings with the great web of human events, connections made and long stretches dropped, which result in a curious design for Christianity in the output of the loom of history. In the hands of the erudite German Professor Gustave Warneck an *Outline of Protestant Missions from the Reformation* is simply a special study in modern Church History. In the hands of the evangelist and thrilling religious editor, A. T. Pierson, *The New Acts of the Apostles or the Marvel of Modern Missions* and *The Miracles of Missions or Modern Marvels in the History of the Missionary Enterprise* (four volumes) are simply a collection of wonder-tales, repeating apostolic events, and reporting how a supernatural gospel was brought and vindicated to a wicked world,

without much interest in historical relations or even in historical accuracy.

A vital relation between modern Christian Missions and contemporary events was first brought forth with abundance of carefully documented facts by a broad-minded successful missionary administrator, Dr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary of one of the largest American Boards of Foreign Missions. In his substantial two-volume *Missions and Modern History* the connection of the Christian ideal and the actual Christian endeavor is shown in the case of thirteen important movements selected from the history of the nineteenth century. Since then the method of a large historical orientation of the specialized effort to spread Christianity has been variously attempted, e.g., by an admirable English book surveying *The Expansion of Christendom*, by Mrs. Carus-Wilson.

However, it has remained until the agonies of the Great War for a Harvard professor, who is the President of the oldest Foreign Mission Board in the United States, to envisage the task and the accomplishments of Christianity more intimately and more comprehensively by setting the history of *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World* into the vast and intricate framework of modern history as a whole. Here the sense of the marvelous, the sacred, and the wicked too has not been lost in the swift traversing of great events of the whole world. Not quite so frequently as in the narratives of avowedly miraculous events, yet not infrequently, there do occur, here in balanced and sober survey of history, phrases like "it is only to be wondered at" (p. 183), "it seems strange" (p. 189), and "truly amazing" (p. 207). But what evokes attention is not so much individual incidents as the marked contrasts, the mighty achievements, and also the incompleteness of the process. Laments indeed are expressed, but not so much over the deficiencies of non-Christian religious systems and the prospects of the unsaved heathen as over the abuses which have been perpetrated by professing Christians and the new evils which have been introduced from the West into the new situations in Africa and the East (see pp. 82, 270, 304, 311). Not pessimistically but discriminatingly and with hope, it is shown how the processes of advancing civilization have included both pathetic failures and gratifying successes. The proselytizing task which formerly had been deemed fairly simple, being merely "religious," is now seen to be immensely complicated with factors racial, social, governmental, economic, and with all the diversities in human nature and its environment.

Professor Moore's book is a product both of researches in the study and of experience in administrative headquarters. It is a notable

example and vindication of the best modern interpretation of Christianity and its world-wide enterprise. In contrast with the separatist point of view which, not absolutely yet too largely, prevailed in the former historians of Christianity and of Christian Missions, this latest historian presents a Christian gospel which is more immediately, more extensively, and more intensively redemptive. The situation which needs to be saved is now seen to be not less perilous; the genuine results, more glorious; the need of divine empowerment, more urgent.

"A world-view is never a substitute for religion. Amelioration is not redemption" (p. 88).

"Religion is the only remedy that we have against an inherent tendency of high civilization to destroy character and personality. What is needed is still that kind of ministry which none among men has ever so exemplified as did Jesus, and which true followers of Christ seek to exemplify. It is the alchemy which can make a son of God and a saint out of the most forlorn being in an untransformed world, but which will also infallibly set that saint upon the transformation of his world" (p. 90).

The book gives a liberal course in modern history as well as a record of Christian Missions and an insight into the meaning of Christianity. The historian's stern task of setting forth a wide sweep of events is accomplished with an abundance of narrated facts, fascinating pictures of personalities, incisive judgments, and brilliant generalizations. Perhaps the nearest comparison for scholarliness, though not of course for material, would be with a treatment which has been given to the earliest period in the history of Christianity by Harnack in his *Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*. The addition of a map or maps to accompany the course of the history, especially of the various geographical areas of the world, would leave almost nothing to be desired in a volume which, both in form and in spirit, takes a worthy place in a notable series of textbooks in religion.

ROBERT E. HUME.

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PROGRESSIVE RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN AMERICA. JOHN W. BUCKHAM.
Houghton Mifflin Co. 1919. Pp. xii, 352. \$2.00.

To reveal to many the thoughts of their hearts is a service deserving gratitude; especially when the thoughts are not individual only, and when a development is exhibited with those of others. The solitary thinker gains courage and fuller understanding of himself when he becomes aware that he is part of a "movement," and the

world knows better where it stands when the thoughts of different minds are shown tending in a common direction.

Professor Buckham has performed this service for readers who are interested in rationality in religious thinking. His aim has been to do for the last seventy years or so in America what Principal Tulloch did for Great Britain in the nineteenth century. He has chosen six men who possessed "the great gift of Christian reasonableness," has shown the contribution of each to the broadening path of Christian thought, and has mentioned more briefly others who set up guide-posts along the way. The six studied in detail are Theodore T. Munger, George A. Gordon, William J. Tucker, Egbert C. Smyth, Washington Gladden, and Newman Smyth; while among the others are Horace Bushnell, William E. Channing, Henry Ward Beecher, Lyman Abbott, and James M. Whiton.

The studies show careful insight, and combine critical analysis of work with personal appreciation. "If in some cases," says Professor Buckham, "they suggest eulogies or even panegyrics, it is because personal contact has begotten in the author a deep but, he trusts, not unintelligent admiration for men whose breadth and earnestness of thought issued from a like nobility of mind and character" (p. vii). We do not need the author's apology to note that they do perhaps too often resemble eulogies. A glowing halo placed on every head leads the beholder to question the judgment which places it, and therefore to discount the distinction conveyed. Purple adjectives should, in their own interest, be used sparingly. Yet a better portrait is generally painted by an artist who is enthusiastic over his sitter than by one whose grudging hand raises a doubt as to his friendliness and therefore his judiciousness.

If a word were chosen to express the characteristic tone of all the men Professor Buckham describes, a tone which constitutes their thought a New Theology, it would perhaps be reality. It is a sequence to the gospel which Carlyle in his early days thundered forth. Every doctrine or opinion must accord with the facts of life and interpret them. It must be recognized as such by me before I may say I believe it. The difference between every New Theology — for there have been countless such — and its predecessor is that the older rests still in some respects on grounds external to the believer, while the newer is based on personal affirmation. The enfranchised soul says to its former conventional self, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard ourselves and know."

This note of reality the author finds in Bushnell's insistence on the Christian life as normal rather than alien, on intuition as a necessary

element in the reception of truth, on his breaking down the barrier between the natural and the supernatural, and on his erection of a vital Christ as the light and centre of Christian theology.

Munger found the distinctive mark of the New Theology not so much in a new set of doctrines as in a new attitude of spirit. He took theology away from the narrow realm it had established for itself and insisted that it must be at home in literature and science and the whole sphere of human knowledge.

In Dr. Gordon the analyst finds that comprehensiveness which led the older theologians into system-making, but here extended beyond any system. He completes what Bushnell began. He has been, in Professor Buckham's opinion, original in depth of apprehension of the old, and in his restoration to theology of imagination, feeling, beauty, so that his sermons are filled with theology and yet are "great lyrics."

President Tucker is characterized by public-mindedness. He has felt the spiritual meaning and value of the unity of humanity, has felt that this must express itself through authority and sympathy in the social work of the church. He may almost be called the father of the social activities in which all churches are today more or less engaged.

The most important work of Egbert C. Smyth was as an interpreter of the past, especially as an exponent of the true function and interpretation of creeds. The face value of a creed is by no means necessarily its true meaning; it cannot be understood apart from the conditions out of which it grew. It is to be regarded as a kind of algebraic formula or "summary of the principles which are to be applied and developed from generation to generation."

While Dr. Tucker put the social impetus into practical action, Washington Gladden took the new sense of social solidarity and by it as a factor multiplied theology. He worked over doctrines such as the Divine sovereignty, static revelation, a substitutionary atonement, till he brought out of them nourishing food such as fatherhood, an ever-present spirit, vicariousness, the inspiring revelation of God in Christ. Through his efforts "out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." With his vivid social consciousness he became an ardent advocate of concord among the churches and peace among the nations.

Newman Smyth is the prophet of the evolutionary method applied to theology. Science investigates the processes through which life has come to be what it is, and Dr. Smyth declares that this is what theology too does in its so-called dogmas. They are statements, by

no means final, of the facts of life. He insists that the scientific spirit is a form of religion.

The study of the work of these men is appreciative and just. An omission in the book is a lack of treatment of the Unitarian movement, the effect of which was so deep not only in the first third of the last century, but which profoundly affected the thought of the period of which Professor Buckham writes. Perhaps this omission was necessary in brevity of treatment. It would be almost impossible to trace how much this or that man owed to the impetus Unitarianism gave. Yet some mention of that impetus would have been in place, even if no space were given to so important an element in it as Theodore Parker, with his insistence on the imperative dominance of conscience.

The last chapter of the book contains a valuable criticism of the New Theology in its relation to the future of theologic thought in America. Professor Buckham finds the central interest of the New Theology in the study of personality, and this, he holds, is the key to the theology of the future. He has given a sympathetic, judicious, and important interpretation to the school of thought of which he writes.

Every one who knows the labor of preparing an index will be grateful for the book's three ample indexes — one of names referred to, one of subjects, and one of volumes by the authors mentioned.

FREDERIC PALMER.

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SPIRITUALISM AND ITS HISTORY, PHENOMENA, AND DOCTRINE. J. ARTHUR HILL. George H. Doran Co. 1919. Pp. 316. \$2.00.

WHAT IS THIS SPIRITUALISM? HORACE LEAF. George H. Doran Co. 1919. Pp. 185. \$1.50.

The anxieties and bereavements of the war have produced in England wide, deep, and intense interest not only in psychic-research, but also in the more positive and less academic Spiritualism, towards which the former seems to be swiftly and surely moving. Of the large output of books on the subject, the two mentioned above are fairly representative both in their resemblances and their differences. Mr. Hill's is more of the old-time psychic-research type, rather cautious and reserved, while Mr. Leaf's belongs squarely to the propaganda of Spiritualism. The former author is more ready than the latter to admit fraud, pronounces the evidence of materialization and Home's levitation inconclusive, acknowledges more fully the influence

of telepathy and the subliminal, and, in general, inspires greater confidence in his candor and mental poise. Yet the resemblances are striking. Both writers, for example, regard the "discerning of spirits," mentioned among the gifts of the early church, as a clairvoyant power to see invisible beings — Myers ought to set his living friends right on the meaning of New Testament Greek. Disregarding such minor matters, we find both agreeing as to the existence of a psychic force subsisting in a highly attenuated form of matter ("psychoplasm" is Mr. Leaf's name for it) which is projected from the body of the medium and perhaps also from the bodies of sitters, to which the physical phenomena are attributed. Mr. Leaf is alone, however, in finding in this theory an explanation of what is usually deemed convincing evidence of mediumistic fraud. If some part of the supposed spirit was surreptitiously marked with some colored material and after the séance the mark was found on the body of the medium, the latter was naturally discredited; but, says Mr. Leaf, "The solution to the mystery was found when it was discovered that the substance composing the materialized form was extracted from corresponding parts of the medium's body. On the form dematerializing, these elements returned to the psychic's body, carrying with them the incriminating marks" (p. 135). Both agree also that there are facts exhibited by psychics for which ordinary methods of acquiring knowledge or exercising force cannot account, and that while the subliminal consciousness and telepathy may in part explain them (although each hypothesis must be stretched almost to the breaking point) the theory of spirit communication and operation offers a simpler as well as more satisfactory solution of the problem. Now that is the precise point at which many halt. They acknowledge that there are facts, well-established but mysterious, for which explanation is demanded. Some of them can be explained plausibly without reference to spirits — dowsing, for instance, raps and table-tipping, unless these spell out an intelligible message. For others, such as automatic writing and oral communications, the hypothesis of dissociated personality or subliminal consciousness is plausible, especially in connection with telepathy, which, however, has not itself been adequately proved. There seems to be, nevertheless, a residue of facts for which the hypothesis of spirits does appear to offer a more satisfactory interpretation, and it depends very largely (as Mr. Hill points out in his pages on *Belief*) upon one's general mental attitude whether he will regard all the mysterious facts from the side of the residue, or the residue in the light of principles found applicable to part of the class. The convinced believer

in Spiritualism insists that only such as have had actual personal experience with these phenomena and are familiar with *nuances* which cannot be reported are competent to an opinion, and the claim must be an awkward one for theologians who maintain that their science rests upon immediate experience. But there are others who cannot bring themselves to psychologize upon a mother's grave, who know full well that if in a séance a mother's spirit should appear to be communicating, cool judgment would be completely overborne by loving emotion, and such persons must be convinced by published reports. Most of these persons probably feel that, in all the circumstances, a verdict of not proven is the only one they can honestly render; the evidence is not strong enough for full acceptance, but it is too strong for flat denial. Yet they may believe in immortality nevertheless, for there may well be survival without communication, although of course proved communication would demonstrate survival.

W. W. FENN.

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THE WORK OF PREACHING. ARTHUR S. HOYT. The Macmillan Co. 1917. Pp. 382. \$1.50.

VITAL ELEMENTS OF PREACHING. ARTHUR S. HOYT. The Macmillan Co. 1914. Pp. 326. \$1.50.

PSYCHOLOGY AND PREACHING. CHARLES S. GARDNER. The Macmillan Co. 1918. Pp. 389. \$2.00.

THE WAR AND PREACHING. JOHN KELMAN. Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 213.

Of the making of books on preaching there is no end, perhaps because there is no standard treatise on Homiletics which dominates the field. Furthermore, since the voice from the pulpit must speak to each generation in the manner to which it will listen gladly, it is essential that the preacher's emphasis and form should change and grow from decade to decade.

Among recent books on Homiletics those of Professor Hoyt are well known and useful. His treatise, *The Work of Preaching*, first appeared in 1905, but in its present form a good deal of new material has been added. The volume is well arranged and suggestive, and has been written out of a large experience and wide study of the subject. His advice to the young preacher is eminently practical, and he supplements his own words by convenient references to a few of the older books upon the subject.

In *Vital Elements of Preaching* he has written for those who have already begun to preach. The book is one which many a minister could read and ponder with profit, particularly those chapters which deal with "The Preacher of this Age," and with preaching for special groups or occasions. The two books cover somewhat the same ground and have more or less common material, especially in the way of illustrations.

In *Psychology and Preaching* Professor Gardner of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville has undertaken to do for preachers what volumes on educational psychology have done for teachers. He begins by discussing the general mental processes, goes on to a review of the phenomena of feeling, belief, attention, and suggestion, and concludes with a discussion of the psychology of groups as seen in assemblies, occupational types, and in "the modern mind." The best chapters in the book are those on "Assemblies" and "Mental Epidemics," which have many useful suggestions of advice and warning for the preacher. Indeed the whole theme of the book is one which has received relatively little attention from preachers or from teachers of Homiletics, who may well be grateful to Professor Gardner for his discussion of the subject. What he has done, however, is but to give a psychological analysis of the factors which the great preachers of all ages have instinctively felt and acted upon. Consequently there is little in his book that is new for the reader who has had any training in psychology or for the preacher who has studied his art with care and discrimination. It must furthermore be said that the first half of the book is rather dry and technical and that a volume half the size would have held the meat of what Professor Gardner has to say.

And could not the whole subject be most satisfactorily dealt with in a book on Homiletics which should state — as few books on Homiletics have done — the psychological bases for the methods taught?

The War and Preaching is the forty-fifth series of the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at Yale — that remarkable foundation which has given to the world so many admirable contributions to the study of Homiletics. Dr. Kelman, at the time minister of St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh, but now of New York, has wisely refrained from attempting any formal treatise on a subject already so fully dealt with. Instead he has undertaken to interpret the work of the preacher in the lurid light of the war, of which he himself saw much at close quarters. The result is a modest volume, rather discursive, but full of charm and suggestion, due to the clarity of the

author's style, his wide outlook upon the world, and the moving experiences through which he has passed. Every minister would profit by his lectures entitled "Then Came the War," and "The Soldiers' Creed;" but indeed the whole book abounds in passages weighted with suggestions for the alert preacher, who seldom finds a vein so heavily loaded with ore.

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THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS AND
ROMAN CHRISTIANITY

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It may be gathered not only from the tone of his admonitions but from at least one specific reference (13 19), that the author of Hebrews was himself associated with the community to which he wrote. His Epistle may therefore be accepted as evidence for the religious position of the readers, as well as of the teacher who addressed them.

The question of destination cannot be regarded by any means as settled, but the weight of critical opinion is more and more in favor of Rome. In this paper I propose to deal more especially with the theological considerations which, to my mind, bear out this hypothesis. The arguments from the literary side are familiar, and it will be enough to recall them with the briefest comment.

From the use of the Epistle by Clement not many years after the probable date of its composition, we know that the Roman church was well acquainted with it, almost from the outset. It is possible, no doubt, that copies of it had found their way to Rome from some Eastern church, but we can hardly assume that it passed so immediately into general circulation. The natural inference from Clement's use of it is certainly that it was the peculiar possession of the Roman church.

The closing salutation, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, implies that it was written either from or to Italy, in other words Rome; for no mere local community could thus speak for Italian Christians in general. Of the two possible interpretations of the ambiguous phrase, the more reasonable one is clearly that some little Italian colony sends greetings to the home church. This is the more probable as the author of Hebrews does not write, like Clement, in the name of the community, and it would be beyond his province to offer a general salutation. What he appears to do is simply to include the Italian friends who were with him in his greetings to an Italian church. It may be added that the comprehensive term "Italy" has a special fitness if the Epistle was sent to Rome from some distant city, where all Italian Christians would form a single group. The evidence of the salutation is of course compromised by the doubt as to whether the closing chapter is an original part of the Epistle. To my mind the case for the negative has little to stand upon. There is no visible break between any of those concluding verses and what goes before; and the very fact that the writing has no epistolary beginning is strong proof that the ending is genuine. A late editor, anxious to assimilate Hebrews to the Pauline Epistles, would not be likely to leave his work half done.

The circumstances of the church addressed, so far as we can gather them from the various allusions, all point to Rome. It is a church with a long and honorable history. Eminent teachers have labored in it, and have shown a noble example. It has distinguished itself by its liberality and many-sided beneficence. In a peculiar degree it has been exposed to persecution. Here, it is true, we meet with the gravest argument against the Roman destination, for the references to persecution are altogether too mild for a church that had suffered the terrible outrage under Nero. But it must be borne in mind that

the Epistle is addressed to the existing community, which had never been called on to endure a heroic test. Possibly there is a reminiscence of the Neronian persecution in the eulogy of bygone teachers—*ὧν ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἑκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς, μιμείσθε τὴν πίστιν* (13 7).

It has often been pointed out that the Epistle contemplates a body of readers who were all living under the same peculiar conditions, and that it cannot therefore have been addressed to the great miscellaneous community at Rome. The argument is perfectly valid; but rightly considered, it furnishes one of the most convincing proofs of the Roman destination. The writer has in view a church within the church — a select company to whom he can address warnings and instructions of a very definite kind. An audience of this nature presupposes one of the large centres of the Christian mission, and we should look for it most naturally in Rome.

Here, however, we touch on a point which seems to me vital for the understanding of the Epistle, and which has been too generally overlooked. Not only is it clear that the writer addresses himself to a separate group within a larger community, but indications are given as to the character of this group. It consisted of mature converts — men who ought themselves to be teachers, and for whom the common instruction in the elements of the doctrine of Christ has ceased to be necessary. The church has a right to expect that they should make paths for the more ignorant to walk in (12 12), and that they should take a certain oversight of their brethren (12 14). It is significant that in his warnings to them the writer says practically nothing of the grosser sins, against which the hortatory sections of other Epistles are mainly directed. They are supposed to have outgrown those pagan immoralities and to be facing subtler temptations — apathy, self-complacency, carelessness about their progress in faith and knowledge.

It may be gathered, therefore, that Hebrews is addressed to a limited circle, called to the study of Christian truth in its higher aspects. That the *τέλειοι* formed a class apart we know from Paul's explicit statement in 1 Cor. 2; and the same fact can be inferred, with hardly less certainty, from the practice which Mark attributes to Jesus of imparting the "mystery of the Kingdom" to the inner circle of his disciples. It is quite unnecessary to conclude that in the church there was a distinction between initiates and ordinary members, as in the pagan cults. We can well understand how the division might have come about of its own accord, as a matter of practical convenience. For purposes of instruction the raw converts, to whom Christian doctrine and morality were utterly strange, would need to be taken separately from those who were more naturally gifted and had advanced to a further stage. We may assume that every community of any importance had its little circle of *τέλειοι*, to whom a teacher could speak freely on the higher matters of Christian knowledge. In a city like Rome, they may have formed a considerable group, meeting separately for religious study, under the guidance of some revered leader. I would suggest that in Hebrews we have a discourse prepared by this master for his disciples at a time when he was parted from them for a considerable period. It is not so much a letter as an address or lecture to be delivered in his name, but he takes the opportunity of adding a few personal notes and greetings at the close.

If the Epistle is thus intended for an inner group of advanced converts, a light is thrown on its real character. It aims at the deeper interpretation of the ordinary beliefs; in other words it is an example of the Gnosis which was cultivated in the primitive church. Just as Paul had a wisdom which he spoke among the *τέλειοι*, so this teacher communicates a doctrine which goes far beyond the usual instruction. He is aware that his readers will find it novel

and difficult, and doubts whether they are yet prepared for these high speculations. He approaches his main theme by careful degrees, and makes a solemn pause before he at last divulges it. In its content, as well as in the manner of its introduction, the doctrine bears all the marks of Gnosis. It is admittedly concerned with the higher world which lies beyond our senses (cf. 2 5). It takes its departure from a cryptic utterance of Scripture. The writer is conscious that he owes his insight to a special illumination, and that he can only proceed "if God permit." His teaching certainly contains nothing that is Gnostic in the later sinister sense. It does not blend Christian ideas with pagan theosophy, and makes no claim to be occult or esoteric, except in so far as it appeals only to mature, enlightened minds. But we must remember that there was a Christian Gnosis, which was not the least valued of the gifts of the Spirit. A great teacher was expected not merely to impart the accepted tradition but to throw light on its further implications, confirming faith by knowledge. Almost from the beginning this speculative activity seems to have gone hand in hand with the transmission of what had been received.

If the Epistle is to be viewed as primarily an example of Gnosis, it stands on a different footing from other early writings, and any account of its teaching must be subject to certain reservations. For one thing, we need not try to extract from it a complete system of theology. The writer's aim is to discuss one peculiar doctrine — a doctrine to which he no doubt attaches the highest importance, but which does not by any means exhaust his whole presentation of the gospel. Again, his Gnosis by its very nature is supplementary to the normal beliefs of the church. It is intended for those who desire "to press on to perfection," to explore the ultimate significance of the work of Christ. But it presupposes the whole body of belief which they already hold in common with their

Christian brethren, and which in itself is sufficient for salvation. Once more, the doctrine in question is not to be taken as in any sense representative. Attempts have often been made to construe the Epistle as the manifesto of some school or party which rested its Christianity on a belief in the priesthood of Christ. It is true that suggestions of this belief can be discovered elsewhere, but there is no indication that it was widely current, much less that any definite type of doctrine had grown out of it. The writer advances it as his own Gnosis, his new and peculiar interpretation of the work of Christ.

The more we examine the Epistle the more we realize how much is *assumed* in it, and how closely its specific teaching is bound up with those underlying assumptions. For all his boldness in speculation the writer is not an original mind in the same sense as Paul or the Fourth Evangelist. He makes no effort to grasp the Christian message as a whole, and think it over again in terms adequate to a new and profound experience. He is content to stand on the common Christian ground, and to work out the hidden implications of ideas that must be taken for granted. The significance of the Epistle resides no less in all that it presupposes than in the new doctrine which it contributes.

It has been necessary to discuss at some length the nature of the Epistle before considering its relation to Roman Christianity. That it was written to Rome by an accredited teacher of the Roman church may fairly be surmised on the ground of the literary evidence; but the peculiarities of its doctrine seem foreign, at first sight, to anything that we know of Roman thought. The difficulty, however, largely disappears when we make allowance for its specific character as a Gnosis, not a mere popular homily. When we come to examine it with this proviso, we find a number of features in its teaching which seem to have their true explanation in its Roman origin.

In the first place, it reflects a mode of thinking which diverges widely from that of Paul. Every one would now admit that the characteristic Pauline doctrines are absent, that Pauline terms are used in a totally different sense, that the interpretation of the work of Christ has hardly a point in common with Paulinism. But the tradition that this document is somehow connected with Paul is dying hard. In most handbooks of New Testament theology it is still classed vaguely as deutero-Pauline, even when the marks that differentiate it from Paul's writings are set in the clearest relief. It seems to me that the first thing necessary to any intelligent study of the Epistle is to rid our minds entirely of this Pauline obsession. A certain affinity with Paul no doubt exists, but it concerns only the larger assumptions with which the writer works. He accepts the usual apocalyptic scheme; he thinks of Christ as a divine or angelic being and lays a central emphasis on his death; he brings Christian ideas into line with contemporary speculation. But from all this it is futile to argue his dependence on Paul. We can only infer that he too was affected, on the one hand, by the primitive Christian and, on the other, by the Hellenistic tradition. The significant fact is not that the two thinkers have a few broad conceptions in common, but that they throw them into different combinations, each of them unconscious that another construction is possible. On the hypothesis that Hebrews is a product of Roman Christianity, this divergence from Paulinism is capable of an obvious explanation. The Roman church had come into being and grown to maturity apart from the Pauline influence. It had been faced with Paul's problem of adapting the gospel to Gentile conditions and needs, but had solved it in a fashion of its own, and its type of teaching had become more or less fixed before Paul's conclusions could affect it. There may have been other centres of Gentile Christianity outside of the Pauline orbit, but one at least is

known to us; and if the theology of Hebrews is roughly parallel to Paulinism but quite distinct, we have a strong presumption that it arose in the great independent church of Rome.

In Hebrews no trace can be discovered of anything that can properly be called mysticism. There is no suggestion of a union with Christ, or of a new life imparted by him to the believer. The Holy Spirit is viewed simply as the power behind the charismata, or as the source of scriptural revelation. The idea of participation in the divine nature gives way to that of access to God by means of a perfected form of worship. As the Epistle excludes the mystical element generally, so it allows no place to sacramental doctrine. The Eucharist is never even mentioned. To baptism there are several passing allusions, from which we can gather that it marks the formal transition to the Christian life. But it does not appear to be construed mystically, as the act of the new birth, or as the dying and rising with Christ. Its significance is at most that which was assigned to it in the primitive church — a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. As in the early chapters of Acts, it is coupled with the Old Testament ordinance of the laying on of hands. How are we to account for this falling away of the mystical strain, which is elsewhere dominant in Hellenistic Christianity? Its exclusion from Hebrews is all the more remarkable when we bear in mind the relation of the Epistle to Philonic thought, which is essentially mystical. The fact may be explained partly from the writer's temperament, which responded to the Hellenistic influence on its reflective rather than on its mystical side. It may be explained also from his fidelity, in spite of Alexandrian sympathies, to the Hebraic and primitive Christian tradition. But if we may assume that he represents a Roman type of Christianity, there is yet a further explanation, for as far back as we can go the Roman church has shown itself averse to all forms of mysticism. The

Epistle of Clement takes no account whatever of those aspects of religion which were vital to Paul and the Fourth Evangelist. The *Shepherd of Hermas* may be partially modeled on the *Poimandres*, but in place of mystical speculation it offers imagery, symbolism, allegory. From the beginning the Roman church was preoccupied with moral and ecclesiastical interests, and the conception of Christianity as a new life, an inward fellowship with God, fell wholly into the background. In this connection it may be worth remarking that in Hebrews there seems to be nothing which can be related to the Oriental cults, if we except a few doubtful words (*κύριος, μεσίτης, φωτισμός*) belonging to the general religious vocabulary of the time. A similar aloofness from the Oriental ideas is observable in 1 Clement. One is tempted to the inference that in Rome the church assimilated itself to the mystery religions to a far less degree than in Asia Minor. Owing perhaps to a preponderance of the Jewish element, or perhaps to an innate shrinking from mysticism, it took the direction of a reformed Judaism rather than of a Hellenistic theosophy.

The writer of Hebrews conceives of Christianity as a *ὁμολογία*, which it is the duty of the believer to hold fast in spite of all temptations to drift away. This identification of the new faith with a given body of beliefs and practices, which must be accepted once for all, was no doubt a feature of Catholic Christianity in general. But it was congenial in a special degree to the Roman type of mind, and the Roman church seems to have been chiefly instrumental in fixing it. Loyalty to the confession is coupled in the Epistle — and here we can discern another Roman trait — with reverence for the past, for the ancient institutions of Israel and the bygone teachers of the church. From one point of view the writing is nothing but a prolonged plea to live worthily of the past, upholding its traditions and carrying them out to yet higher issues.

Christianity is presented not as a new revelation but as the perfecting of all that was true and significant in the history of the past. More than any other New Testament writer the author of Hebrews stands for the principle of authority; and this, it must be acknowledged, is the theological weakness of the Epistle. For Paul the fundamental truths are the real and vital ones, and he is ever striving to understand them better and grasp them more certainly. For this writer they are so much to be taken for granted, "the rudiments of the doctrine of Christ," from which we must pass on, in the quest for a higher knowledge. In a sense he might be called the first of the scholastics. He sets himself to elaborate a soaring theory on no other ultimate basis than that of authority, the authority of Scripture and of the received "confession." In this feature of the Epistle we may discern not merely the mark of Catholic Christianity, but the individual signature of Rome.

It is not a little remarkable that the polemical motive plays hardly any part in the Epistle. The one reference to "strange teachings" (13 9) is of an incidental nature, and concerns some ascetic tendency which does not seem to have affected any cardinal Christian belief. In other New Testament writings of approximately the same date heresy is already the burning question, but the writer in Hebrews is content to leave it wholly on one side. This may partly be accounted for on the supposition that the Epistle is addressed to a select group of mature converts, in little danger of falling into the extravagances of semi-pagan speculation. But if heresy had begun to be a serious peril to the community at large, some polemic against it could hardly have been avoided. There is fair ground for concluding that the Epistle contemplates a church which as yet had been little troubled by false teaching, and Rome best answers to this condition. All the evidence goes to prove that the effort to drag Christianity into the syncre-

tistic movement began in the East, and did not manifest itself at Rome until a later date. Ignatius does not speak the language of mere compliment when he acknowledges the Roman church to be "filtered clear from every foreign stain." Indeed there are numerous indications that Rome, even when it became the centre of the great Gnostic teachers, did not afford the most congenial soil for their propaganda. It is noticeable that the one reference to false doctrine in our Epistle touches on the same form of error with which Paul deals — in order to condone it — in the fourteenth chapter of Romans. This coincidence must not be pressed, for an interval of about a generation lies between the two Epistles, not to speak of the cataclysm under Nero. At the same time it is not impossible that the ascetic tendency of which Paul is aware had persisted in the Roman church, and had grown to be something of a danger to higher religious interests.

Our Epistle has nothing whatever to say of the cleavage between Jew and Gentile. The old idea that the writer addresses himself to a purely Jewish audience and therefore ignores the alien section of the church, may now, I imagine, be safely discarded. No result of modern criticism seems more assured than that the title, "to the Hebrews," is a misnomer. For the writer the fusion of Jew and Gentile in the new Israel has become so complete that he can transfer to the church, without further question, the prerogatives of God's ancient people. He assumes that the new covenant links itself on to the old and perfects it; that believers, of whatever race they spring, are the sons and heirs of Abraham. This disappearance of the old division is perhaps an evidence of the date of the Epistle more than of its place of origin; but there is reason to believe that at Rome earlier than elsewhere Jews and Gentiles were finally united in one common church. In 1 Clement as in Hebrews the distinction between them is never drawn, and Jewish institutions and ordinances are freely

appealed to as normative for the church. It is easily conceivable that in the larger atmosphere of Rome the early dissensions had rapidly died down, and that the pressure of common danger had also done its part in bringing the two parties in the church together. Moreover, the development of the church as an institution would inevitably work for fusion. At Rome the demand for order and uniformity was always paramount, and ancient lines of division had little chance of maintaining themselves.

Perhaps it is only a matter of accident that the classical passage on the impossibility of repentance after baptism is found in Hebrews (6 4 ff. Cf. also 12 17). The view expressed in the passage was the logical consequence of primitive ideas regarding baptism, and was held, we can scarcely doubt, by Christian teachers generally. None the less, it is the writer of Hebrews who insists on it in emphatic language. Not once only, but on two separate occasions he goes out of his way to declare that repentance after baptism is impossible. One can hardly avoid the impression that between the view so strongly maintained in the Epistle and the polemic in the *Shepherd of Hermas* there is some direct relation. It seems not too bold to conjecture that in the church of Rome the question of post-baptismal repentance had early come to the forefront, and had been discussed with peculiar warmth. The laxer position with which Rome identified itself in the following century may already have found its advocates, and the writer of Hebrews may have felt it necessary to combat it. In this case we should have to reckon him in that succession of conservative leaders who vainly attempted for several centuries to resist the Roman tendency to soften the ancient discipline.

These points of contact with Roman Christianity all belong, as might have been expected, to those larger assumptions which underlie the special thesis of the Epistle. If the doctrine of the heavenly priesthood of Christ is an

example of Gnosis, we may regard it as more or less peculiar to the writer himself. Traces of it may be discovered elsewhere, in early Christian as well as in Jewish apocalyptic literature, and it is more than probable that he avails himself of a conception that was already current. But there is every reason to believe that he was the first who thought of elaborating it into a central Christian doctrine. Not only does he speak of it himself as something new and hard to be understood, but all later versions of it are obviously derived from him, and from him alone. Granting, however, that he works out a speculation of his own, we can well conceive how it might have been suggested to him by Roman influences. In Rome ceremonial aspects of religion were always emphasized. Christianity was not so much a mode of inner communion with God as a purer form of worship, and the whole question of ritual was under constant discussion. Clement, in a passage already referred to, appeals to the priestly ordinances of the Old Testament as still in some measure valid, and as providing a model for the church. Now it is true that the writer of Hebrews has little interest in ecclesiastical order and ceremony. His doctrine of the priesthood of Christ, pushed to its logical conclusion, would make all the external forms of Christian as well as Jewish worship superfluous. Yet it is not difficult to understand how a contemplative mind might be led to this doctrine in a church that was accustomed to think of religion in the terms of ritual. Just as the Fourth Evangelist in the mystical atmosphere of Ephesus conceived of Christianity as an inward divine life, so this Roman thinker would define it to himself as a worship, an approach to God through the ministry of the great High Priest.

The Epistle, whatever may have been its origin, is marked by a curious affinity at once to the earliest and to the latest phases of New Testament thought. On the one hand, it adopts the Alexandrian categories and rests on

the assumptions of Catholic Christianity. Were it not for the definite evidences of its early date we might be disposed to class it with the Apologies of the following century rather than with the writings of the Apostolic age. On the other hand, it is reminiscent of the primitive tradition. In its naïve acceptance of the apocalyptic scheme, its view of Christianity as a perfected Judaism, its interest in the historical Jesus, its rejection of mystical and sacramental ideas, it seems to reflect the attitude of the church in Jerusalem. The two opposite types of thought are never really reconciled. They are interwoven, often with remarkable skill, but the primitive strain can be clearly distinguished from the later one with which it is combined. May we not discover the true explanation of this dual character of the Epistle in the conditions under which Christianity had developed at Rome? It had been introduced, apparently in the very earliest years of the church, by unknown missionaries, who had taught the gospel as it was understood by the mother community. In the church which they founded the original tradition held its own, and was never reinterpreted on Hellenistic lines, as in the Pauline churches. None the less, in a Gentile environment it was bound to come to terms with the Gentile ideas. The primitive type of thought persisted, but was overlaid by a theology with which it had no inner connection. Instead of the fusion which was effected elsewhere by the genius of Paul, there was a process of stratification.

Apart, however, from all debatable questions, there are solid grounds for believing that the Epistle to the Hebrews is our earliest monument of Roman Christianity, and a closer investigation of it from this point of view is much to be desired. No writing in the New Testament has been more unfortunate in its interpreters. Under the influence of false or one-sided theories it has been handed over to specialists in Jewish ritual or Alexandrian philosophy; it

has been treated as the outcome of some obscure side-current in Christian thought, which was destined to lose itself among the sands. A more adequate criticism may come in time to recognize it as a historical document of the first importance, throwing light on the genesis of that type of Christianity which, through the premier church, was at last to win predominance.

THE INTEGRITY OF THE INTELLECT

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It is characteristic of today that the intellect should require such humble allegiance as that which I offer in this lame and halting discourse.

“But yesterday the word of Reason might
Have stood against the world; now lies it there,
And none so poor to do it reverence.”

Among the ancients reason was enthroned as “the ruling faculty” of man, and the essential attribute of God. The greatest of the Christian philosophers, St. Augustine and St. Thomas, were its devotees. The seventeenth-century revolt against mediævalism was conducted in its name. In the eighteenth century, to be sure, reason, in the narrower sense, fell off somewhat in prestige; there was less confidence in the method of logic and mathematics. But this was offset by a heightened confidence in man’s powers of observation, so that the intellectual or cognitive faculties as a whole were greatly increased both in authority and in the extent of their dominion.

Since the eighteenth century the intellect has rapidly declined, until today it actually needs friends. Even those who have nominally acted as its friends have contributed to its downfall. I mean those who, like the Hegelians, have inducted reason into a sort of mock kingship, a sort of British monarchy over the empire of being. For by asserting that the real is the rational, by insisting upon having the sun rise and set in the name of reason, these thinkers have reduced reason to a mere symbol, a mere cloak of respectability, in which reality, such as it is, may still be venerated. From other quarters have come rougher if less fatal blows. Modern psychology, speaking for emotion

and instinct, has reduced intellect to impotence over life. Metaphysics has subordinated it to will. Bergson and his followers have charged it with falsehood and issued a general warning against its misrepresentations; while with pragmatists and instrumentalists it is sunk so low that it is dressed in livery and sent to live in the servants' quarters. It is against this last indignity in particular that I wish to speak a word of protest, to the end that the intellect may be accorded full rights within the community of human activities and interests.

Since doctors disagree, we must leave open the question as to whether the war was the result of too much intellect or too little. Dr. Hobhouse of England felt the pulse of suffering humanity, and issued the statement that the war was the result of the recent neglect of the intellect, the result of too much "will to live," too much "*élan vital*," too much of the "it's-true-if-it-works" sort of philosophy. He recommended a quiet life and as much logic as the system could assimilate. But Dr. Boutroux of France made a very different diagnosis, in fact quite the opposite. He said that humanity was suffering from too much science and too little feeling, especially in its Prussian parts; and he prescribed sentiment and milk of human kindness. So we may for the present pass the application by, and content ourselves with discussing the following question in general terms: Is the intellect to be regarded as autonomous and self-sufficient, as pursuing ends of its own, and as judging by standards of its own? or is it to be regarded as the servant of alien interests which impose their ends and standards upon it?

The modern tendency has been towards the latter or practical interpretation of the knowing faculties. This tendency appears to be divisible into four main phases. First, there is the rise of experimentalism in scientific method. The science of the seventeenth century, reflected in Cartesianism, was confident of the power of the rea-

soning processes to reach indubitable certainties. In the next century, however, experimentalism gradually superseded scientific rationalism, affecting first the empirical sciences, then the pure sciences, and finally, in our own day, even mathematics itself. Experiment rests on hypothesis-making, which is evidently a voluntary operation, a case of trial and error, of success or failure. The results of experiment are subject to correction, and can never be indubitably certain; and yet there must be results, such as they are, because man needs them to live by. Thus practical need, rather than logical necessity, reveals itself as the master motive of science. Second, there is the growth of applied science, the increased interest in the control and reconstruction of nature, accompanied by a decline in the practice of meditation or the vocation of the intellectual life. Third, there is the voluntaristic metaphysics, in which the act or impulse of thought is construed as more real than the ideas, its passive states. Or it is argued that the will to think at all, and the willingness to acknowledge reasons, are deeper than the particular reasons for thinking this idea rather than that. Finally, there is the growing influence of biology and the application of biological principles to the human faculties, thought among the rest. Man is said to have brains because they enable him to survive. Intelligence is construed as an organic function, and reason as developed or evolved intelligence.

Among these influences tending to subordinate the intellect there is only one that can be regarded as fundamentally questionable or likely to be reversed in the light of further investigation; and that is the voluntaristic metaphysics. The rest are influences that in a broad sense have come to stay. We cannot expect to see any decline of experimentalism in science, or in the scope and influence of applied science, nor any abandonment of the view that man and his faculties belong to the field of the biological

sciences and are therefore subject to the methods and laws which are proper to that field. In what follows I shall therefore regard these ideas as prescribing terms on which the status of the intellect must be defined. In particular, I shall cordially accept the biological view of the intellect; partly because I believe such a view to be ultimately and philosophically sound; partly because it is in any case acceptable in the limited scientific sense, so that we may, if we wish, waive these ultimate philosophical considerations and still reach conclusions that are in some sense true. In the biological view of the intellect I find nothing derogatory to that faculty; but on the contrary I find a justification even for the most extravagant claims that have been made in its behalf. Let me state what I find, first in general terms, and then with more circumstance and detail.

If we speak of the intellect as an organ in the biological sense, we mean the central nervous system in its cognitive rather than its motor and affective functions. Now this intellectual organ, like any organ, has its office or rôle in the life of the organism as a whole. As it depends on the nutritive, circulatory, and respiratory organs, so these in turn depend on it. It obtains its share of good only by virtue of contributing its share of service. We are taught by biology to believe that the organism carries no passengers, but only members of the crew, each with an allotted part in keeping the ship afloat and bringing it to port. Let me mention some of these duties of the intellect so that we may have them clearly before our minds. Through its sensory mechanisms the intellect enables the organism to time its responses, to keep in touch with occurrences in the environment, and to act opportunely. Through memory and association the intellect enables the organism to profit by the successes and failures of the past, and to learn better. Through the mechanisms of language and ideation the intellect enables the organism to extend the range and

freedom of its behavior by responding to situations distant in space and time, and by initiating action in the absence of an immediately exciting cause. Through its power of discrimination the intellect enables the organism to deal with those more abstract relations of things which are identical, persistent, and recurrent; and so to acquire a kind of concentrated adaptation and equipment — one that is suited to the multiple and varied emergencies of life while being at the same time light enough to carry. Finally, through the integrative action of the nervous system the organism is enabled to adjust its responses among themselves, and thus to proceed smoothly and consistently toward the execution of larger plans and purposes. These are some of the services which the intellect renders to the organism to which it belongs, and by which it earns its passage. Intellection is in this sense on a par with breathing and fighting and food-getting. Like these other functions it may be said to succeed or to fail according as it does or does not accomplish the specific task assigned to it.

Shall we then say that the proof of the intellect is in the living? that a healthy life argues a healthy intellect? that good thinking is whatever works? or that sound knowledge is whatever stands the test of time — whatever is accepted by the surviving minds that have sustained the struggle for existence?

What should we say if a physiologist were to assert that sound digestion is digestion that works, digestion that causes health, long life, and survival? I think we should be bored. It is an obvious, loose, and irrelevant view of the matter. Suppose an expert in military science were asked to define the standards and criteria of good generalship, and he should say, "A good general is one who wins battles." This might do as a *bon mot*, or as a confession of inability to provide an adequate definition; but in any case it evidently evades the issue by means of a

doubtfully true truism — doubtfully true because it is always possible in special circumstances that a good general should lose a battle, or a man with a good digestion find an early grave. In other words, what is called for is the specification of that particular state or activity which is peculiar to good digestion, or to good generalship, *as such*; the distinctive attainment by virtue of which digestion may contribute to health, or generalship to military success. Each of these functions has a success of its own to achieve, by which alone it is a factor in the success of the more general enterprise in which it participates. And this proper, distinctive success is to be judged by its own proper, distinctive standard.

Now let us apply this to the case of the intellect. This organ is a participant in the general organic enterprise, and the success of that enterprise is a rough and probable index of the success of the intellect. But the intellect has its own peculiar work to do, and it may do that work well or ill. Even though it does it well the life as a whole may fail owing to the failure of some other auxiliary function. In that case we may properly say of the intellect, "*That organ was not at fault. It did what was required of it.*" There is, in short, a distinctively intellectual success or failure, which is to be judged in its own proper terms, which is to be found in the state or activity of the intellect itself, and in its relation to the field and materials in which it operates.

But just as a specific organic function has its own peculiar standard and conditions of success and failure, so it may have and usually does have its own immediately inciting interest. Much of the success of pragmatism has been due to its very properly insisting that thinking is a kind of action, that it is impelled by motives and warmed by passions, like any other kind of action. But in its eagerness to insist on the organic status of the intellect, this theory has strangely neglected the originality and in-

dependence of these motives and passions. The term "instrumentalism," which has largely superseded the broader term "pragmatism," emphasizes the subordination of the intellect to ends beyond itself. But the organic analogy does in fact point to quite a different conclusion. Most organic functions are interested in their own behalf. I may even breathe for the sake of breathing. I may identify my soul with my lungs. I may form a cult of "United Breathers" or "Air Worshippers," and count as the supreme moments of my life those which I pass in profound and reverent respiration. Or consider the predatory instinct. This evidently has its place in the economy of life by virtue of providing food for carnivorous animals; but hunting is also an art and a pastime, which many have thought worth cultivating as an end in itself.

What is true of respiration and huntsmanship can scarcely be denied of an activity so developed, so varied, so self-conscious, as that of the intellect. Nor in this case any more than the others, does the subordinate rôle contradict the autonomous rôle. The devotee of breathing or of hunting need not cease to breathe or hunt for vital purposes; nor need the intellectualist, the scientist, the speculative philosopher, because he has cultivated the art of knowing for its own sake, therefore cease to use his mind for the conduct of affairs.

Such being the general thesis for which I contend, I wish now to set forth some of the peculiar and independent interests of the intellect, some of the autonomous activities in which it may discipline and perfect itself, and which will constitute its own unique contribution to life. I should like to distinguish five interests that seem to me to be capable of being independently sustained and that give rise to activities which may be disciplined and controlled by a methodical technique.

1. *Curiosity* is the empirical interest in particular facts, or the logical interest in implicative facts. Both interests

are explorative in character, tending to the expanding of the field of experience from a given center of attention. There is an impulse to look round the corner, or into the inside of what is perceived externally, or on the other side of this side. This is an impulse that drives men on travels and voyages of discovery for the sake of seeing things "first hand." These interests may be highly refined, and express themselves in systematic observation, microscopy, telescopy, analysis, and the pursuit of trains of implication to their conclusion.

2. *Systematic Thought* has its own independent motive, the interest in trying novel combinations of ideas, in building systems of supposition and conjecture. It is the impulse of intellectual inventiveness. This is the chief sustaining interest in the solution of theoretical problems, that is, in contriving combinations of ideas that shall exhibit certain formal characters, such as consistency and simplicity. It is important to note that thinking is never free in the sense of being lawless or without control. Even the most speculative thinking must "mean something," and possess a structure or coherence that is borrowed from the more fundamental relations of logic. The interest in systematic thought is the interest in creating new applications of fundamental structural principles, or in introducing systematic structure into a given subject-matter. So powerful is this interest that it has driven pedants to strange excesses. Students of philosophy will remember the awful effect upon the later Stoics and others of the paradox of the liar. *If you say truly that you are telling a lie, are you lying or telling the truth?* Chrysippus is reputed to have written five books on such "Inexplicables," six books on the Liar itself, a book against those who professed to solve the Liar by a process of division, three books on the solution of the Liar, and a polemic against those who asserted that the Liar had false premises! It is a wonder that Chrysippus did not die of it, like Philetas of Cos,

whose fate is recorded in his epitaph (as translated by Stock):

“Philetas of Cos am I;
’T was the Liar made me die,
And the bad nights caused thereby.”

3. *Verification* has its own sustaining interest, that, namely, which is felt in the case of fulfilled anticipation. The hypothesis is a determinate expectation, a motor set, which may or may not fit the situation to which it points. It is satisfied when one can say, “I told you so,” “It is as I thought,” “It is as it ought to be.” This is the interest in *truth*; truth being the value which attaches to a hypothesis or idea in so far as it fits the environment. The technique of induction is the technique of contriving such determinate expectations as can bear the ordeal of empirical fact.

These three are the intellectual interests proper. They are the *cognitive* or *objective* intellectual interests, interests which submit to control beyond the mind. They signify interest in that which is independent of and external to the interested mind; they move the mind to adapt itself to its environment rather than the environment to itself; they incline the mind to surrender and conform itself to the facts and necessities of being. With these are to be contrasted two pseudo-intellectual interests, which act as auxiliary incentives but which are indifferent and possibly opposed to the cognitive motive of the first three.

4. *Taste*, in the intellectual sense, is the love of the exercise of the cognitive faculties for its own sake and in ways that are congenial. It leads to a selective rather than an explorative sensuous experience, to a neglect of what is not sensuously agreeable, and to a prolongation of what is agreeable. It is especially likely to control the play of ideas and imagery, which are freer and more flexible than perception. There is, for example, a taste for unity, system,

and harmony. But this is not invariable, as is proved by James's relish for a world which he described in Blood's words as "wild, game-flavored as a hawk's wing, never an instant true, ever not quite." Taste may conflict with the interest in truth, as in the case of the ancients' bias for the circle as applied to the motions of celestial bodies.

5. *Belief* is an interest in confident anticipation, in having things settled. This value also is independent of truth in the stricter sense, as is seen in the desire to find a refuge in faith. There is an interest in beliefs that are congruent with desires, that fit other beliefs or the general trend of aspiration, even when such beliefs are contrary to evident fact.

Governed by one or more of these motives, it is possible to lead an intellectual or pseudo-intellectual life. It is possible to be preëminently, artfully, and methodically an explorer of facts, a speculative thinker, an experimental scientist, a devotee of culture, or a man of faith. One may be a specialist, an expert in any of these vocations, and with no thought of the extent to which his attainment ministers to his material success, his length of life, or to the well-being of society. Meanwhile, the usefulness of the intellect is not contradicted by such specialization, any more than the usefulness of bodily strength and skill is contradicted by the cults of athletics or craftsmanship.

It should be noted that the usefulness of the first three of these attainments is very different from that of the last two. The former or cognitive type of attainment contributes to adaptation and control; the latter, or subjective type contributes to inward satisfactions and volitional energies that must remain precarious and transient, in so far as they take no account of the external forces which condition both survival and achievement. In so far as philosophy, like science, professes an interest in knowledge, it owes its first allegiance to the former or objective interests of the intellect; and should subordinate taste and

credulity to curiosity, logical rigor, and the decrees of experimental evidence. This, however, philosophy has rarely been permitted to do. The demand for religious apologetics has been so strong, and doubtless will always be so strong, as to stimulate the production of the desired commodity. This demand is what the economists call an effective demand. It can offer sufficient inducements, in the shape of popular applause and influence. I do not mean to charge philosophers with any conscious apostasy to truth. But their atmosphere and tradition, and the established standards of judgment incline them by professional custom to seek a hopeful and edifying view of things.

Often it is less the philosopher who is at fault than his readers and hearers, who allow their hopes to color the teachings of the master, and make him in spite of himself the sponsor of some gospel of which he may never even have heard. M. Bergson is notoriously a victim of this doubtful flattery; so much so that he has even been accused of catering to it. Thus Remy de Gourmont wrote as follows in the *Mercur de France* in 1910, apropos of the death of William James:

"I believe that all philosophy that is not purely scientific (negative, that is, to metaphysics), comes at the end of the reckoning to reinforce Christianity under whatever form it dominates the various nations. Most persons who fancy themselves interested in what they call the great problems are moved by self-interested egotistical anxiety. They think of themselves and of their destiny; they hope to find by rational means a solution agreeable to their desires, which secretly conform to the earliest teachings they received. Now since all metaphysical movements are very obscure, or at least difficult of access to most minds, when these movements are confronted with religious beliefs the beliefs are found to be of the same order but clearer, having been known in the past. This phenomenon was exhibited at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The deism of J. J. Rousseau, which seemed so remote from Catholicism, made ready the ground for a renovation of Catholicism. Chateaubriand, thoroughly impregnated with Rousseau, was the first of this description. . . . William James, whose religiousness is indifferent to religious forms, has, without

knowing it, wrought in the same way for the sects. M. Bergson's spiral spirituality, with its scientific but treacherous charm, achieves the same result. The metaphysical clouds it eloquently stirs dissolve in a religious rain, and this rain, as it dries, leaves a sort of manna upon which belief is fed. There are more priests than intelligent free-thinkers at M. Bergson's lectures. The manner of postulating free will in a Catholic country like France takes on an apologetic value. The most illustrious of our metaphysicians must know very well what he is doing."

The aspersion with which this paragraph closes is unjust. But the philosophical masters as a group are nevertheless not wholly guiltless of the apologetic uses to which their work is applied. They have been too much addicted to the use of ambiguities, and to the use of vague terms of eulogy borrowed from the vocabulary in which plain men express their deeper yearnings and hopes. When philosophers write of Spirit and Freedom and God and Eternity, even though, as is usually the case, they employ these terms in peculiar and technical senses of their own, the plain man is scarcely to be blamed if he feels his yearnings and hopes to be confirmed. Indeed the ambiguity of philosophical terminology, a peculiar flabbiness of ideas which renders them incapable of sharply contradicting or excluding anything, and an excessive craving for comprehensiveness and reconciliation, have made it possible for protagonists of quite opposite doctrines to weave the same philosophy into their arguments.

Another French writer, M. Le Dantec, has commented on this last "remarkable property," not without a touch of satire. He says, virtually, that everybody gets out of metaphysics what he puts into it:

"If the speech of metaphysicians, like that of creative artists, is addressed to a restricted public composed solely of their personal 'resonators,' it possesses yet another property which renders it superior to the eminently impersonal language of mathematicians. This remarkable property is that those who perceive it, those who vibrate in harmony with the metaphysician or the artist, are not ordinarily

in accord upon what they understand. They are agreeably affected, and this is their only common ground; but that does not prevent their keeping their first attitude as to other matters, and notably towards religious and social questions. A Catholic and an anarchist who at the same time hear the Symphony in C minor, feel at the same time emotions probably different, and remain the one an anarchist, the other a Catholic, as before. I imagine they do not fancy that in his work Beethoven expressed precisely their religious or social belief; while, when they commune together in Bergson or in James, each of them recognizes the expression of his own thought in the work of these subtle artists; and both draw from the reading of metaphysical productions new reasons for their being — the one more an anarchist, the other more a Catholic than in the past."

Another cause which operates to compromise the intellect, a cause which is undoubtedly operating today, is just plain weariness. If we trace the history of modern thought, we find that one of its striking characteristics is the rejection of axioms. In the past, whenever any prop of faith was removed, the mind leaned more heavily than ever on the props that remained. Especially notable were the tendency in the eighteenth century to count upon the immutable truths of morality after the challenging of ecclesiastical and political authority; and the tendency in the nineteenth century to move the superstructure of belief from the crumbling foundations of religious metaphysics, such as the "cogito, ergo sum" and the proofs of theism, to the supposedly unshakable foundations of mathematics, such as the axioms of Euclid, or that last straw of the drowning mind, "Two plus two equals four." The critical intellect has now invaded every holy place, and spread a disquieting doubt through all the corridors of life. Doubt is a healthy and invigorating atmosphere for a hardy mind; but it is very tiring. The mind craves a place to sit down. It carries its idols about but cannot find any pedestal to support them. It suffers from homesickness, vertigo, and an unquenchable longing for stability and rest. It is little wonder that in such a time the churches

are recruited by those who are willing to shut their eyes if only they can be made to feel *sure* of something again. "It is sad to think," says Sir James Stephen, "how much theology in our days, whether Protestant or Popish, holds out to its disciples this great inducement: Come to me, all ye that are weary of doubt, and I will give you security that, if your creed is false, you shall be the last to discover it."

I would not be uncompromising in this matter. It is as possible to be fanatical on the subject of the intellect as on any other subject. I wish merely to point out that much of the distrust from which the intellectual activities suffer is not owing to their being futile or misapplied but to a circumstance that may discredit any good thing, namely, its difficulty. Thinking is not only, as Adam Bede said, "mighty puzzling work," a strain upon human strength and patience, but it is of all forms of work the most lonely. People act and feel and even believe, in mobs. There is (Professor Cooley to the contrary notwithstanding) no first person plural to the verb "cogito." Observation, verification, and inference are functions which are perfected only in their independent individual exercise. I am not unmindful of the importance of the corroboration of one mind by another; but such corroboration is valuable only in so far as both minds have reached their results alone. Corroboration implies the absence of collusion. The devotee of the intellect must, then, have the strength to work alone, to see things for himself, to stand against the currents of opinion and the winds of passion. He cannot hope to win applause by the easy method of agreeing with others, but only by the more difficult method of bringing others to agree with him. And even then he cannot allow himself to mistake his following for confirmation of his beliefs, but must be ready to desert his converts if and in so far as fresh evidence inclines his judgment to another view. He is as unlikely, then, to be a leader, as he

is incapable of being a follower. For such non-conformists society must make a place. I have little interest in the "conscientious objector"; but I have the greatest regard for the *individual thinker*. The former opposes private conviction to public policy. His inflexibility is symptomatic of will and emotion, rather than enlightenment. The latter opposes freedom of thought to uniformity of opinion. Though he may impede collective action and have in emergencies even to be forcibly suppressed, nevertheless he is the servant of mankind. Standing on his watch-tower and recording what he sees, he does, even though it be unconsciously, succor the community to which he belongs.

I should not thus have apostrophized the devotee of the intellect had I not believed that society needs him, and needs him as never before. The great problems of the present are in fact *problems*. We all want enduring peace and we all want social justice; but we need to be *shown the way*. The great difficulties are difficulties of complexity. Human interests, man to man and nation to nation, are now interrelated and interdependent, extensively and intensively, in a measure entirely unparalleled in the past history of the world. Intellect is the only means by which their tragic conflict may be removed. There seems to be a widespread belief that all we need in order to avoid war and class struggle is a little horse-sense. We shall, however, be fortunate if the cerebrum of some future superman is equal to coping with these problems. They are *the* problems, magnificently, terrifyingly difficult. Therein lies what is hopeful and stirring in the situation. If we fail, we shall have dared the utmost; if we succeed, we shall have won the greatest of all victories in the struggle of man against the death from which he sprang and which circles him about.

If we value what the intellect can do, then we should value the intellect. We all want to live and to prosper in

peace. For these ends intellect is one of the things needful, if not the one thing needful. It does not follow, however, that we should live with the intellect, or practice a trade or profession with it, any more than that we should breathe with it or eat with it. My suggestion is that we should *think* with it, and then use the results as we will. In some measure the intellect must be allowed to lead its own life and perfect itself in its own way if we are to have its indispensable fruits most abundantly. In so far as it is the lot of the intellect to serve, it must be as a trusted and self-respecting servant. As the counselor of the will, it is dangerous if constrained to flatter the will's hopes or to do its bidding, but a mighty ally if taught to speak its mind honestly and fearlessly.

JOHN ROBINSON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

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"In the next place, for the wholesome counsel Mr. Robinson gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great work of Plantation in New England. Amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he used these expressions, or to the same purpose:

We are now, ere long, to part asunder; and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed it or not; he charged us, before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other Instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry. For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word.

He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion; and would go no further than the Instruments of their Reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans: they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. For whatever part of God's will, he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin; they will rather die than embrace it. 'And so also,' saith he, 'You see the Calvinists. They stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented.

'For though they were precious shining lights in their Times; yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living,' saith he, 'they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light as that they had received.'

Here also he put us in mind of our Church Covenant; at least that part of it whereby we promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth; and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth before we received it. 'For,' saith he, 'It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness; and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.'

Another thing he commended to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name 'Brownist'; being a mere

nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the Professors of it, to the Christian world. 'And to that end,' said he, 'I should be glad if some godly Minister would go over with you, before my coming. For, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable Ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the Kingdom.' And so advised us, by all means, to endeavor to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz., How near we might possibly, without sin, close with them; than, in the least measure, to affect division or separation from them."

So run the notable paragraphs in the so-called Farewell Address, delivered by John Robinson to that portion of his Leyden church of Separatists which had elected to become Pilgrims to this new world, the tercentenary of whose landing at Plymouth is soon to be celebrated. It is not clear precisely when or where the Address was delivered, whether as part of the sermon which Robinson preached from Ezra 8 21 when the as yet undivided church held its last meeting in Leyden, or as a fragment of the "Christian discourse" with which the Pilgrims and the friends they were leaving comforted themselves in Delfshaven on the night before the *Speedwell* sailed. But time and place are immaterial, for the words have a timeless and universal character which must endear them and John Robinson who spoke them to lovers of religious freedom and progress everywhere and always. So remarkable are they, all things considered, that one is tempted to suspect their authenticity. Can John Robinson, a Separatist minister, have been so broad-minded and large-hearted as to speak thus in 1620? The doubt was insinuated by Mr. George Sumner in a *Memoir of the Pilgrims in Leyden*, published in 1846 in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, (ser. 3, vol. IX). Without actually denying authenticity, Mr. Sumner pointed out that the argument from silence, taken in connection with the peculiar appropriateness of the words to the argument of the book in which alone the Address appears, justly

arouses suspicion. Both points are well taken. It is true that neither Bradford nor Morton gives any inkling of the Address, and that the sole authority is Winslow's *Hypocrisy Unmasked* which was published in 1646, twenty-six years afterwards. It is also true that in *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, Winslow was defending the Plymouth settlers against charges of intolerance and bigotry, and naturally it was much to his purpose to show that their revered religious teacher had inculcated principles of catholicity on so solemn and memorable an occasion as that of their departure from Holland. But on the other hand every historian knows that the argument from silence is weak and treacherous. Winslow had been with the Leyden company for three years prior to the departure from Holland, and as one of the *Speedwell* and *Mayflower* pilgrims, had full opportunity to know what was said and done. It should be noted, too, that he does not profess to give the precise words used but reports in indirect discourse "these expressions or to the same purpose." As for the *tendency* argument, here too it must be said that no "tendency document" should be rejected out of hand just because it has a tendency, unless it can be proved that the tendency is untrue to the facts. Was Winslow the sort of man to fabricate an address like this, not out of whole cloth but out of no cloth at all, in order to strengthen his argument? One ought to think not once nor twice before accusing Winslow of dishonesty, for really that is what it comes to, if in order to serve his turn and strengthen his plea, he put into the mouth of Robinson words which he never used. It is rather mean to seek to prove that Robinson was not a liberal by insinuating that Winslow was a liar. Besides, as will be shown presently, the words are in entire accord with the sentiments of Robinson as preserved in writings of unquestioned genuineness.

If then the Address must be deemed substantially authentic, precisely what does it mean? It sounds like a

remarkable affirmation of freedom and progress in religion, but perhaps Robinson did not intend that his words should be taken quite so comprehensively. This has been maintained by certain ecclesiastical descendants of the Pilgrims who have been nettled by the use made of his words to shelter liberalism in theology under the protection of an honored name. In the early part of the nineteenth century there appeared among the descendants of the early settlers hereabouts a party which took to itself the name of Liberal Christian, by the members of which the words of Robinson were freely and triumphantly quoted. More conservative opponents might attack religious freedom and progress in a periodical entitled *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, but the Liberals were proud to believe that theirs was the true spirit of the Pilgrims, John Robinson himself being witness. Naturally, this was exceedingly irritating to the Conservatives, but there was no effective rejoinder until the publication in 1880 of Dr. Dexter's monumental book *Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature* in which it was argued that in the famous Address Robinson was thinking solely of church polity and not at all of theological doctrine. Although this view has found little acceptance, Dr. Dexter was a most competent scholar and his case is stronger than has been commonly supposed. Let me therefore put the argument for the narrower interpretation of the Farewell Address as clearly and forcibly as possible before presenting certain other considerations which warrant at least an arrest of judgment.

First then it must be remembered that the Separatists were separatists just because of questions of church polity and not at all on matters of theological dogma. The Puritans, whose left wing they were, differed from the Church of England partly on doctrine — they were stout Calvinists while the Anglicans inclined rather to Arminianism — partly on the score of ritual, for there was much of Rome still clinging to the vestments and ceremonies of

the Church of England which they would fain reform, but partly also on account of their preference for the presbyterial organization of Geneva over the Episcopacy of England. But they believed in the Church of England and wished to remain within its fold achieving the reforms they demanded by working from within. Among them, however, were some who came to believe that on account of its corruptions in organization and ritual the Church of England, in their elegant phrase, was as very a whore as the Church of Rome and consequently no true bride of Christ. Accordingly they took to heart the apostolic injunction, "Come ye out from among them and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing." In their eyes the Church of England was Sodom, Babylon, a cage of unclean birds, within which they could not stay save at the peril of their souls and the dishonor of Christ. Hence they became Separatists, differing from the Puritans not in doctrine, for both alike were Calvinists, but principally in a theory of the church and a method of reformation in harmony with that theory. Their study of the Scriptures had led them to the conclusion that the true church of Christ was a purer and a simpler thing than either Rome or Canterbury acknowledged. It was at this point then that new light had broken for them out of God's holy Word, for which cause they were Separatists.

Secondly, it was again at this very point that new light had recently come to Robinson himself. He had held that because the Church of England was a false church it was sinful for one who had received the new light to have public communion with it, even to the extent of being present at one of its services, or private communion with any of its members. A member of a Separated church in Amsterdam who attended a service of the Church of England was excommunicated for the offense. At this point, however, new light had come to John Robinson following an interchange of views between himself and Dr. William Ames,

the famous Puritan scholar and clergyman. In Robinson's own words:

"But had my persuasion in it been fuller than ever it was, I profess myself always one of them who still desire to learn further, or better, what the good will of God is. And I beseech the Lord from mine heart, that there may be in the men (towards whom I desire in all things lawful to enlarge myself) the like readiness of mind to forsake every evil way, and faithfully to embrace and walk in the truth they do or may see, as by the mercy of God there is in me: which as I trust it shall be mine, so do I wish it may be their comfort also in the day of the Lord Jesus."

The quotation is from a treatise *Of Religious Communion*, published in 1614, in which he upheld the lawfulness of private communion with individual members of the Church of England but still denied that a Separatist could rightfully participate in the public worship of the Church or listen to the preaching of its ministers. Twenty years later, however, nine years after the death of Robinson, there was published another treatise by him, found in manuscript in his desk, entitled *On the Lawfulness of hearing Ministers in the Church of England*, in which public communion also is defended. It must be remembered also that because of this greater tolerance, Robinson's church was condemned by their fellow-Separatists at Amsterdam, one of whom refers to the Semi-Separatists at Leyden as "ignorant idiots, noddy Nabalites, dogged Doegs, fairfaced Pharisees, shameless Shimeites, malicious Machiavellians." These be hard words, Masters, with their pelting alliterations, and perhaps their author would have been puzzled to explain their peculiar aptness, but one can safely infer that he did not wholly approve of John Robinson and his church. But the point is that at just about the time when the Pilgrims were leaving Leyden, new light was breaking upon Robinson's mind on this particular point which, be it observed, is precisely that touched upon in the Farewell

Address when he urges his Pilgrim friends to close with the godly party of the Church of England, seeking unity rather than division, and even expresses his desire that some godly minister would go over with them. Surely then here is good ground for believing that in the Farewell Address he was thinking not of doctrine but of polity, better ground if I may be so presumptuous as to say so, than Dr. Dexter himself has given.

Finally, it is true, as Dr. Dexter insists, that Robinson was a convinced Calvinist and that nowhere in all his writings is there the faintest suggestion of any wavering in his mind with respect to the truth of that system of doctrine. Remember also the source from which the anticipated new light and truth were to come — His holy Word. Certainly Robinson did not look for new religious truth to human reason, or to any other source than the book of God's perfect and final revelation. One must confess that the so-called Liberals have taken Robinson in a sense which he would have repudiated with indignant horror when they have quoted "*more truth and light*" with orotund voice and whispered or even passed over in silence "*God's holy Word.*"

So stands, then, the argument for the narrower interpretation of the Farewell Address, and evidently the case is a strong one although perhaps not wholly convincing. For there are considerations on the opposite side. Robinson bewailed the state of the followers both of Luther and of Calvin who had come to a stand in religion, being unwilling to advance beyond the instruments of their reformation — "a misery much to be lamented." Is it at all reasonable to suppose that here Robinson was thinking exclusively of the teachings of Luther or Calvin concerning church polity? Again, he reminded the Pilgrims of the Covenant by which they had constituted themselves a church, wherein they made solemn promise to God and to one another to receive whatever light or

truth God should make known to them from his written Word. This is plainly a reference to the Bradford Covenant with its memorable outlook clause — “to walk in all *His* ways, made known or to be made known unto us.” Did *all His ways* denote only ways of church polity? Certainly in the administration of discipline upon those who had thus covenanted together, the Pilgrims did not so restrict it — God’s ways were moral as well as ecclesiastical; in the street and home God walked as well as in the sanctuary, and there too men must walk in his ways. Again, it has been said that the distinction which we make so easily and properly between dogma and polity was foreign to the mind of Robinson, since both were of revelation. There is some truth in the contention; nevertheless Robinson did distinguish between them and with remarkable insight put them in their proper places on a scale of values:

“I will, therefore, conclude this point with a double exhortation: the former, respecting us ourselves, who have, by the mercy of God, with the faith of Christ, received his order and ordinances; which is, that we please not ourselves therein too much, as if in them piety and religion did chiefly consist. . . . Of which evil, and over valuation of these things, howsoever great in themselves, we are in the more danger, considering our persecutions, and sufferings for them; but that, as we believe these things are necessarily to be done, so we consider that other things are not only not to be left undone, but to be done much more. The grace of faith in Christ, and the fear of God, the continual renewing of our repentance, with love, mercy, humility, and modesty, together with fervent prayer, and hearty thanksgiving unto God for his unspeakable goodness, are the things wherein especially we must serve God; nourishing them in our own hearts, and so honoring them in others, wheresoever they appear to dwell.”

I find it hard to believe that a man who could write with such fine moral insight and tender grace of style could have been thinking only of church polity when he was speaking words of solemn farewell to friends who were starting on their pilgrimage. Nevertheless, it may be

true that if some one had asked Robinson, point-blank and on the spot, exactly what he meant, it is not improbable that he would have replied by urging peace between Separatist and Puritan. There is no question in view of quotations already made from his published works and especially in view of the Wallaeus-Hommius document that at just this time he was less stout than he had been for the Separation and was yearning for a broader Christian fellowship. Nor is it at all unlikely that he foresaw that his little company would be the precursors of a much larger and more important Puritan migration and that the relations between the two parties in the New World would be, and indeed must be, more fraternal than was the case in England and Holland. It was probably this thought which filled his mind rather than any hope for new revelations of doctrine. And yet, while admitting so much, one must add that to draw from this an inference adverse to Robinson's catholicity of mind, such catholicity as the usual interpretation of the Farewell Address has ascribed to him, would be thoroughly unjust. For although a principle may be consciously recognized at only a single point of application determined by immediate and pressing interests, it may nevertheless be a genuine principle exhibiting a general mental attitude and therefore sure to find other and perhaps more significant applications should occasion arise. And this, I take it, was precisely the case with John Robinson. As one reads his published words in chronological order, he becomes aware of a gradual loss of youthful acridity and a progressive mellowing of tone. He became more open-minded, and when a man's mind is actually open, so it be not merely at the bottom, there is no telling what may find entrance. Nor need the mind be open at all points i' the shipman's card; a man may be perfectly hospitable yet all his various guests may enter by a single door. That Robinson was actually growing into catholicity of spirit

with advancing years of experience and religious thoughtfulness is apparent from the honor paid him by men of various parties. Baillie, whose *Dissuasives* (1645) is bitterly against Separatists, says of Robinson that he was the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that sect ever enjoyed. Bradford both in the *History* and in the *First Dialogue* bears similar testimony. But one need not go beyond Robinson's own writings to be assured of his sweetness and largeness of temper. Take for example the concluding paragraph of *A Just and Necessary Apology* published in Latin in 1619, and in English, translated by himself, in 1625.

"And here thou hast, Christian reader, the whole order of our conversation in the work of Christian religion, set down both as briefly and plainly as I could. If in any thing we err, advertise us brotherly, with desire of our information, and not, as our countrymen's manner for the most part is, with a mind of reproaching us, or gratifying of others; and whom thou findest in error, thou shalt not leave in obstinacy, nor as having a mind prone to schism. Err we may, alas! too easily; but heretics, by the grace of God, we will not be. But and if the things which we do seem right in thine eyes, as to us certainly they do, I do earnestly, and by the Lord Jesus admonish and exhort thy godly mind, that thou wilt neither withhold thy due obedience from his truth, nor just succour from thy distressed brethren. Neither do thou endure that either the smallness of the number, or meanness of the condition of those that profess it, should prejudice with thee the profession of the truth. . . . But now if it so come to pass, which God forbid! that the most being either forestalled by prejudice, or by prosperity made secure, there be few found, especially men of learning, who will so far vouchsafe to stoop as to look upon so despised creatures and their cause; this alone remaineth, that we turn our faces and mouths unto thee, O most powerful Lord and gracious Father, humbly imploring help from God towards those who are by men left desolate. There is with thee no respect of persons, neither are men less regards of thee, if regards of thee, for the world's disregarding them. They who truly fear thee and work righteousness, although constrained to live by leave in a foreign land, exiled from country, spoiled of goods, destitute of friends, few in number, and mean in condition, are for all that, unto thee (O gracious God)

nothing the less acceptable. Thou numberest all their wanderings, and puttest their tears into thy bottles. Are they not written in thy book? Towards thee, O Lord, are our eyes; confirm our hearts and bend thine ear, and suffer not our feet to slip, or our face to be ashamed, O thou both just and merciful God. To him through Christ be praise for ever in the church of saints; and to thee, loving and Christian reader, grace, peace, and eternal happiness. Amen."

I must say that I know of no bit of English prose in the controversial literature of the period which begins to compare with that in tender and appealing grace. It fairly melts in a reader's mouth and is sweeter than honey and the honeycomb. Be the precise interpretation of the Farewell Address what it may, John Robinson himself, in inmost spirit and temper was all that the very broadest interpretation of it has led us to think, and it meant much to our Pilgrim forefathers that they had a religious teacher of such a sort as this. It meant much to them and much also to the future of Plymouth, Massachusetts, New England, and the United States that was to be. For what has been said may seem to be merely of antiquarian or what is sometimes slurringly called academic interest, but in reality it bears upon important issues. The Pilgrims came to Plymouth and for the first few years the future of the little colony hung in the balance. Without were an inhospitable climate and unfruitful soil, disease, famine, and menacing savages, and if within there had been bickerings and dissensions, the little company must inevitably have crumbled. And there was reason to expect internal wranglings, for these people were Separatists, who as a class were a painfully cantankerous lot. By good chance there has been preserved for us an account of the petty quarrels in the church of Separatists in Amsterdam of which Francis Johnson was pastor. He had married, while the church was still in London, the widow of a well-to-do haberdasher, and his brother George Johnson remonstrated with his brother for her extravagance in

dress, wearing three, four, and five golden rings at once, a showish hat, great starched ruffs, an excessive deal of lace and a cod-piece fashion in the breast, and using musk perfumery, while her husband and the church were in prison at home and poverty abroad. The pastor made a spirited rejoinder, and George followed it with an even more offensive letter, in which he said he feared he might quote against her Jer. 3 3 (last clause) which reads, "Thou hast a whore's forehead; thou refusest to be ashamed." This led Francis to threaten excommunication, but George yielded and a truce was patched up which lasted for over a year. In Amsterdam George was told that he would be elected elder if he would confess sin in alleging Jer. 3 3 (last clause) against Mrs. J., but he replied that after mature reflection on sea and land he had come to the conclusion that it was not sinful to allege that Scripture against her. Whereupon there were renewed threats of excommunication. Several church meetings followed, the general tone of which is well indicated by the following quotation from Dexter (*Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature*, p. 287):

"George Johnson was then accused of having charged Mrs. Johnson with musk as sin; and he replied that it was the excess and not the use which he condemned. Then they said he charged her with sin in wearing a topish hat. After much debate the church voted that the hat was not topish in nature. G. J. urged that he spake against the hat in her being a pastor's wife, and he in bonds, and not that the hat was simply unlawful in the nature thereof. Whereat the pastor made a syllogism, thus: What is not in the nature thereof topish, that used by any is not topish: the hat in the nature thereof is not topish: *ergo* being used by her it is not topish. G. J. wanted that reduced to writing, whereat the Pastor changed it two or three ways, and G. J. replied that though velvet in its nature were not topish, yet if common mariners should wear such, it would be a token of pride and topishness in them. Also a gilded rapier and a feather are not topish in their nature, neither in a captain to wear them; and yet if a minister should wear them, they would be signs of great vanity, topishness, and lightness in him. The pastor pleaded that differences of circumstances

and means made dress lawful in one which was not in another, that his wife paid for her own clothes, and that such things might lawfully be worn; whereupon one of the members begged him not so to speak lest it should bring in many inconveniences among their wives. Finally the brethren demanded that the gown with the cod-piece breast should be produced that they might decide for themselves upon its indecency; but the Pastor refused. So the matter worried along until both G. J. and the old father who had come over from England to make peace had been excommunicated — Francis Johnson himself pronouncing the sentence against his own father and brother.”

That is a most instructive glimpse into the inner life of a Separatist church, and when in addition we recall the many distressing schisms which rent the same church over matters of the smallest moment, we wonder what would have been the fate of this little bickering company on the lonely and inhospitable coast of New England. In very truth had the Pilgrims been Separatists of this sort the Plymouth colony could not have survived the first winter; but happily the example and oft-repeated teaching of their Leyden pastor had put another spirit in them, as is evident from the report which Bradford gives of the sweet harmony of their united life in Holland, to which also the magistrates of Leyden gave witness; and hence it was that on these shores the much-distressed company held together in mutual love and confidence.

Furthermore, eight years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth the first spume-flakes of the great wave of Puritan immigration fell at Salem. Now in England, Puritan and Separatist were at loggerheads and vile epithets were bandied back and forth in the name of the Lord, as if the very devil were in them both. We remember the words of Higginson as the shores of old England faded from his view: “We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell, Babylon, Farewell, Rome; but we will say Farewell, dear England, Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there. We do not go to New England as

Separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the Gospel in America." Such an attitude, with the feeling towards the Separatist which it reveals, promises ill for friendly relations between Plymouth and Salem. Yet shortly after landing at Salem that very company of Puritans organized themselves into a church by covenant quite after the Plymouth pattern, and Higginson himself was ordained minister of the church by the church as if he were not already a regularly ordained minister in the Church of England. Moreover, the Plymouth church gave and the Salem church received the right hand of fellowship, and from that time forward the two colonies stood together with consequences of immeasurable importance for the future. What if they had played Kilkenny cats? Would they not have been devoured one of another, even if their savage foes had not annihilated them severally? What then is the explanation of this unlooked-for fellowship? Of course the ocean had actually and literally turned the Puritans into Separatists whether they would or no. The leagues of tossing sea traversed through many weary weeks effected a decisive physical separation. Besides, why talk longer of reforming from within when here there was no without to be reformed. Their occupation as a reforming party within the church was gone, for here they were "the whole thing." What more natural then, since a fresh start had to be made, than to start right, and form out of hand a true Church of Christ after the New Testament model. Robinson had predicted that exactly this would be the course of events, and so it turned out. But deeper than any one of these reasons separately and more significant, I fancy, than all of them together is the fact that the men of Plymouth were of the church of John Robinson. The Amsterdam church of Francis Johnson would have been

in perpetual quarrels among themselves and with the Puritans in Salem. But the advanced Puritans of the Bay and the Semi-Separatists at Plymouth were able to live and work together.

Was it then solely because of John Robinson that this happy result was accomplished? But he never crossed the Atlantic. Was it because he had taught the Pilgrims? But who taught him and who transported his spirit? If I may trot out a little hobby of my own, permit me to say that perhaps the good Leyden pastor learned some of his liberality from certain lay members of his congregation, namely from William Bradford and William Brewster, particularly the latter. Brewster was a man of the world as almost no other of the contemporary Separatists was. He had spent three years in diplomatic service with William Davison, one of which, 1585, was passed in the Netherlands, and both there and also during thirteen years as Master of the Post and caretaker of the Manor at Scrooby, he had learned the ways of men. Moreover, it is expressly stated that he had been in the habit of attending the public services of other than Separatist churches and that Robinson had winked at this before his eyes were permanently open to the legitimacy of the practice. Again, Winslow expressly testified that "if any joining with us . . . held forth separation from the Church of England," Robinson or Brewster would stop them forthwith, showing that we "required no such things at their hands but only to hold faith in Christ Jesus, holiness in the fear of God, and submission to every ordinance and appointment of God, leaving the Church of England to themselves and to the Lord." Both Robinson and Brewster signed the Seven Articles, in the second of which the Leyden Company profess their desire to keep spiritual communion in peace with the Church of England. Hence I strongly suspect that the character of the Plymouth Pilgrims was due quite as much in the last analysis to William Brewster as

to John Robinson. If so, the history of this country was mightily influenced at a critical period by Christian laymen. Certainly it was Samuel Fuller, doctor and deacon of Plymouth, who was the active agent in bringing his colony into friendly relations with Salem and Boston — thus foreshadowing the value of medical missions in the diffusion of Christianity, and perhaps also the means by which eventually Christian unity will be achieved through the leadership of laymen. This would not be the only instance in Christian history in which laymen have taught their professional clerical instructors the ways of a larger, more generous, Christian charity. Indeed, as one distinguished theologian has said with emphasis — Christianity is preëminently a layman's religion, and it is this just because Jesus himself was a layman.

JOHN ROBINSON AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PILGRIM MOVEMENT

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The scope of this article is strictly limited. It takes no account of the great issues, social, national, and international, which, in the course of time, flowed from the few simple folk "in the north parts" of England about Scrooby and Gainsborough who obeyed what they believed to be a divine impulse.

Others far more competent for the purpose have already dealt with, or will deal with, these. Nor does it do more than touch the details of the life into which the exiles passed at Amsterdam and Leyden. For on these, Dr. Dexter and his son — to mention but two of the workers in this field¹ — may almost be said to have spoken the last word. Nor does it follow the Pilgrims into the new world where they struck root with such heroic fortitude, except so far as is required to correct one or two somewhat inveterate mistakes. It is, in fact, limited to the man who, beyond any one else, was the chief spiritual influence in those earliest pioneers whose character and ideals imparted a permanent direction to the development of New England. At the same time, while relating the substance of what is known of Robinson, I have tried to state the truth with regard to the circumstances in which the Pilgrim movement took its start; and if, in so doing, it has seemed necessary to criticize adversely the conclusions of one writer in particular, my excuse must be that his narrative has been accepted, in some high quarters, as that of an authority on the subject whose word is final. It is not by any means final, as the sequel, I think, will show.

¹ See *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 1906. Bk. VI, chap 3.

I

It is known that Robinson's early home and probably his birthplace was Sturton-en-le-Steeple² — a village on the Nottingham side of the Trent, some five miles southwest of Gainsborough on the Lincoln side, and ten miles southeast of Scrooby. His father, also named John, seems to have been a yeoman, or owner and tiller of his own farm; and from the contents of his will as well as from those of his wife³ we may judge him to have been fairly well-to-do.

To the same village belonged another yeoman apparently of greater estate, named Alexander White. Thus, the Whites and Robinsons were neighbors, and their young people grew up together. In the case of two of them, at least, companionship produced affection; for Bridget, second daughter of the Whites, became Robinson's wife. Robinson was born about 1575.⁴ The first seventeen years of his life are a blank. Nothing is clear before April 9, 1592, the date of his admission to Corpus Christi or Benet College, Cambridge. His status as a sizar would not be free from hardships; but we may presume that he faced them with the cheerful courage of an enthusiast for learning. His career, at any rate, was not undistinguished. It extended over nearly twelve years. Besides proceeding to the usual degrees of B.A. and M.A. he was made Fellow of his college and "Prælector Graecus" in 1598, and "Decanus" in 1600. A fellowship entailed ordination, and by 1602 Robinson had become Priest. After a further two years of college life there

² This discovery was made by Rev. W. H. Burgess, B.A. (author of *John Smith the Se-Baptist*) and communicated to the *Christian Life* (February, 1911), London, and to the *Christian Register* (Boston).

³ Wills in District Registry at York. Vol. 33, fo. 236; vol. 34, fo. 324. Cited by Burgess in his *John Smith, etc.*, p. 317. Mr. Champlin Burrage prints Mr. Robinson's will in Appendix D. Vol. I, pp. 326, 327 of his *Early English Dissenters*, 1912.

⁴ An inference from the fact that when admitted to be a member of Leyden University on August 5, 1615, he was in his 39th year.

occurred what seems an abrupt change;⁵ he resigned his fellowship and on February 15, 1603, was married to Bridget White at Greasley⁶ in Nottingham.

The home to which he took her was in Norwich, where, for some short time before, he had been installed as a minister of St. Andrew's Church.⁷ It may be that he was indebted for the appointment to the nomination of Jegon, the Bishop of Norwich, whom he had known as Master of Corpus Christi; but if so, it is not likely that the bishop knew of Robinson's already strong tendency away from the church. Just when and how this originated cannot be traced with precision. There was, however, quite enough to account for it in his Cambridge environment — not to mention the Puritan influences which may have been around him in his home. Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) though a proscribed man, was still a name of power. Francis Johnson (1562–1618), though now a leader of the Brownists, was not forgotten. The Puritan fervor which conduced to Robert Browne's (1550?–1633) popularity as a preacher in 1579 had by no means died out. It was aglow in Emmanuel College, and, with less heat, in St. John's. William Perkins (1558–1602), moreover, at Great St. Andrew's was a lecturer of uncompromising Puritan temper. So too, on the whole, was his successor, Paul

⁵ Might there be a connection between this and the agitation which arose about the Millenary Petition and led Cambridge (June 9, 1603) to pass a "grace that whoever in that University should attack the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England should be suspended from all degrees already taken and forbidden all others"? Dexter, E. H., p. 337.

⁶ An extensive parish about ten miles west of Nottingham. Why this place should have been chosen for the marriage seems to be accounted for by the fact (recently brought to light) that one of Bridget White's brothers occupied a farm in the parish. For entry of the marriage, see Phillimore and Blagg's Nottinghamshire Parish Registers. Vol. VIII, p. 99. Robinson and his wife are entered as Mr. and Mistress.

⁷ He was not himself a member of St. Andrews "having" (he says) "my house . . . within another parish and my children baptized there." Burrage, N. F., p. 17. For names of his family, see Dexter's E. H. P., p. 632. Two of his six children were born in Norwich, John and Bridget. Isaac, the third, was 92 years old in 1702, which gives 1610 as the year of his birth (Arber, p. 160).

Burgess. Nor must we forget the presence at Cambridge of John Smith (d. 1612) — sizar, graduate, and Fellow of Christ's College. For six years at least he was Robinson's contemporary. He, likewise, was from the north country. Nay, they may have been known to each other as natives of the same village and schoolfellows.⁸ Smith, even as late as 1604, was not yet a Separatist; but he was a decided Puritan, and it is most natural to suppose that the two would often, or sometimes, meet and that Smith by reason of his riper knowledge would find in his younger companion a respectful listener. Robinson, in fact, owed much to Smith, and never disowned the debt — however widely or sharply he came to differ. And the debt began at Cambridge. From Cambridge to Norwich was a passage from one Puritan centre to another. There Robert Browne had constituted his church in 1581. There a remnant of that church survived in 1602 and formed a climax to lower degrees of "nonconformity in the city" or its neighborhood. St. Andrew's Church for example, as is evident by the character of its vicars,⁹ had Puritan preferences and is said¹⁰ to have purchased the right of presentation in order to indulge them. Robinson calls himself minister, not vicar, though he may have been vicar all the same.

Mr. Burrage suggests that his position was practically Congregationalist. But this is going too far.¹¹ St. Andrew's by its purchase of the right to present may have been

⁸ Mr. Burgess writes in the *Hibbert Journal*, October 2, 1916, p. 176, "I have . . . come to the conclusion that he was the fourth son of one 'John Smyth,' yeoman, of Sturton-le-Steeple. . . . There are several pieces of evidence which point to this young John Smith as being the man, none of them, indeed, decisive but weighty in their cumulative effect."

⁹ Mr. John More, vicar in Robert Browne's time, was a Puritan — so was Mr. John Yates, vicar after 1616.

¹⁰ Burrage, *N. F.*, p. 21.

¹¹ Burrage, *ibid.*, p. 21. Robinson himself says: "The way by which the ministers of St. Andrew's enter is not the plain way of the Lord but the crooked path of a Lord Bishop's ordination and approbation and of a Patron's presentation, yea whether the people will or no." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

able to secure members inclined to omit or change some ceremonies and preach sound doctrine, but it was no less a part of the established order and subject to episcopal rule. And Robinson was content to have it so for a time. Joseph Hall (1574–1656) says¹² he took his first avowed step towards Separatism when he “refused the Prelacy” and his second when he “branded the ceremonies.” This might seem an inversion of the historic truth. Usually it had been the ceremonies that were first questioned, then the prelacy. But the tyranny of the prelates had thrust itself to the forefront of the Puritan outlook by Robinson’s time, and so their removal had really come to seem the first step in the way of a radical reform. By the middle of 1604, prelatical influence with the king and in Convocation had brought to pass the new canons — one hundred and forty-one of them — which aimed to reconstruct the church, and incidentally to strangle every sign of dissent. No wonder if Robinson was moved thereby to declare his “refusal of the Prelacy.” Then when he refused subscription to the canons, some time after December, 1604, by so doing he virtually “branded the ceremonies.” He paid the immediate penalty in suspension. As a married man, with one or two children, the consequent suffering could not be simply his own, and he had to seek some other means of living. Mr. Hall reports that he sought it by applying for the mastership of St. Giles’s Hospital, and, failing this, for a lease to serve as city preacher.¹³ The same kind pen lays it down as something certain that if the application had succeeded, there would have been an end to his thoughts of separation. This is mere slander. But it is true that failure led to his leaving both city and church.

¹² In his *Common Apologie against the Brownists* . . . Hall, future Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, had probably known Robinson at Cambridge, and was now (1610) vicar of Waltham, Essex.

¹³ A *Common Apologie of the Church of England*, p. 145. Cf. the case of John Smith as Preacher to the City of Lincoln, 1600–02.

The landmarks for the next year or two are few and faint. What there are suggest a state of mental strife. Our clearest glimpse of him is at Cambridge, where he had come in hope to find satisfaction for a troubled heart, and where in fact he seems to have found it. For on a Sabbath, going to hear Laurence Chaderton (1536?–1640) at St. Clemens in the morning, and Paul Baynes (d. 1617) at Great St. Andrew's in the afternoon, both these preachers (as he deemed, providentially) so expounded their subjects as to reinforce the "very reasons," which to his mind, made most surely for the last step.¹⁴ Before his visit he had been "amongst some company of the separation,"¹⁵ perhaps at Gainsborough, and in "exercising," or preaching to them, had "renounced his former ministry." But he was still haunted by misgivings, and the Cambridge "experience" may be taken as marking the hour of final decision. Then he returned to Gainsborough or Scrooby. By this time, 1607, the people of the Separation had become "two bands," though still one church. Their accepted pastor was John Smith, late preacher to the city of Lincoln, who had come to Gainsborough early in 1606. His treatment by the High Commission (in 1606) drove him forward,¹⁶ through nine months of doubt, to the conclusion that the Church of England was not the Church of Christ. There were those in the town and district who inclined to the same view. These — at the end of 1606 or in the beginning of 1607 — he gathered together "as the Lord's free people" into a "covenant," viz., "to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known, unto men, according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them."¹⁷

¹⁴ P. 20 of Robinson's *Manumission*, 1615.

¹⁵ P. 29 of Ames's *Second Manuduction*, 1625.

¹⁶ Whitley, J. S. Vol. I, pp. lvi, lvii.

¹⁷ Burgess, Smith, p. 85. The terms of the covenant are reported by Bradford (*History*, p. 13). If Smith indited the form, he might be indebted for the substance to Francis Johnson or even Robert Browne.

This broad and simple formula, which certainly emanated from Smith, was the basis of the new movement and its bond of fellowship. Robinson took it gladly, and wished for nothing better. With merely verbal alterations and extensions it served him and his people to the end. Why, on his return, he chose to cast in his lot with the Scrooby rather than the Gainsborough group is not clear. Perhaps because those at Scrooby had most need of him, or perhaps because they were more congenial to him. For it was the group which included William Brewster, William Bradford, and Richard Clifton — “the grave and reverend preacher who by his pains and diligence had done much good and under God had been the means of the conversion of many.” But neither Clifton nor Robinson held office in the group. If the two groups made up the church, with Smith as pastor, there would be no need or desire to elect another. The need only arose at a later time when a cleavage between the two groups took place at Amsterdam. While at Scrooby, Robinson’s relation to the group, as also Clifton’s, was that of an unofficial preacher.

II

When Smith appeared at Gainsborough and Robinson at Scrooby, the way had been prepared for them. Bradford relates how “by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God’s blessing on their labours, as in other places of the land, so in the north parts, many became enlightened by the word of God” (*History*, pp. 11, 12). Before 1849, when Mr. Joseph Hunter issued his *Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth*, the vague statement — “in the north parts” — excited mere conjecture. Bradford’s further statement that the north parts meant “sundry villages and towns, some in Nottingham, some of Lincolnshire and some of Yorkshire where they border nearest

together," narrowed the field, but gave no definite clue. It was Hunter who identified Austerfield in Yorkshire as the native place of Bradford, and Scrooby Manor, in Nottinghamshire, as the home of William Brewster and the Separatist meeting-house (pp. 8-11). Other identifications followed naturally and cleared up the question of locality once for all. It was Hunter also who first illustrated Bradford's incidental reference to Richard Clifton by particulars of his ministerial career and family connections (pp. 18 ff., more fully in the revised edition of 1854, pp. 40-98). It was he again, who annotated the general reference to "godly and zealous preachers" by directing attention to such Puritan preachers of the neighborhood as Thomas Toller of Sheffield (p. 20, and in 1854 ed., pp. 48, 49), Richard Bernard of Worksop (pp. 20, 21, and in 1854 ed., pp. 35-40), Robert Gifford of Laughton-en-le-Northen, adjoining Worksop (1854 ed., pp. 49, 50), and Hugh Bromehead of North Wheatley (1854 ed., pp. 51, 52 and App. No. 4, pp. 163-172). Finally, it was Hunter who drew out the story of William Brewster (pp. 21-39, cf. 1854 ed., pp. 53-88) and of William Bradford (pp. 44-51, cf. 1854 ed., pp. 99-120). At the same time, he depicted the physical features of the country (called the Basset Law) and the general character of its population; the prevalence of Roman Catholic religious houses; and the *a priori* unlikelihood, therefore, that it should be the scene of a Puritan harvest (pp. 15, 16; 1854 ed., pp. 24-28). In fine, Hunter had good right to claim that the new facts which he brought to light have "changed the face of the whole history of the movement, so long as the actors in it remained in England" (Preface to 1854 ed.).

Later research has somewhat enlarged the number of "new facts," particularly in relation to Robinson and Smith; but to him is due the praise of a pioneer who cleared a path where there seemed an impasse, and evoked an impulse to follow it up which accounts for the work of

the Dexters and many another. Among the facts brought to light by Hunter was one which he found in a return made to the Exchequer by the Archbishop of York, Toby Matthew on the 13th of November, 1608, to the effect that Richard Jackson, William Brewster, and Robert Rochester, all of Scrooby in the County of Nottingham, Brownists or Separatists, were liable "for a fine of £20 apiece (p. 131, 1854 ed.).

This he speaks of as the single instance of legal proceedings against the "Basset-Law Nonconformists" which he had come across. Dexter (p. 320, note) cited another from the MS. records of the ecclesiastical court at York. This was the case of Joan, wife of Thomas Helwys of Broxtowe, with regard to whom action was taken on January 26, 1607-8, and again later in the same year. After commitment to York Castle, she was brought before the High Commissioners, and, declining to incriminate herself (by the oath *ex officio*) was sent back to prison in the castle; where probably she remained till in due course she was banished the realm. John Drews and Thomas Jessop, "for refusing to take the oath according to law," were remanded to prison at the same time and with the same fate (Burgess, *Story of John Smith*, p. 116). A further case was that of "Gervase Nevyle (or Nevile) of Scrowbie," described as "a very dangerous schismatical Separatist, Brownist, and irreligious subject." He appeared before the ecclesiastical Court at York, on March 22, 1607-8,¹⁸ and, after refusal to take oath and make answer, or to recognize the authority of the Archbishop,

¹⁸ He was arraigned first, by the High Commissioners on November 10, 1607, and committed "to jail in the Castle of York for trial and further proceedings." These took place on March 22, 1608, and, meanwhile he had remained a prisoner; for the indictment on the latter date runs — "Gervase Nevile of York Castle, Brownist or Separatist." Dr. Usher (*The Pilgrims and their History*) seems not to be aware of the trial on March 22, else he could hardly say (p. 261) "Neville was permitted to testify without taking the oath and though committed to prison for a time was, after no long confinement, released without further examination or trial." "Indeed Neville was handled with considerable charity" (p. 21).

he was delivered by "strait-warrant to the hands, ward, and strait custody of the Keeper of His Majesty's Castle of York, not permitting him to have any liberty or conference with any without special license" (Brown, *P. E.*, pp. 94, 95).

In a book entitled *The Pilgrims and their History* by Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. (1918), the writer says: "It must be owned that from what we know of the activity of the High Commission elsewhere, the treatment the Scrooby congregation received was far from severe." There are a number of slight inaccuracies in the context of this summary judgment which do not predispose the reader to receive it with implicit faith. One has been indicated in a previous note; a second is the writing of Richard Johnson for Richard Jackson, and the adding of Francis Jessop of Worksop to the list of those summoned in December, 1607;¹⁹ a third is the saying that no other persons than the five named were accused of Separatism, Baroism, (*sic*?) — apparently in ignorance of Joan Helwys, John Drews, and Thomas Jessop; and a fourth is implied in the assertion that in these cases (the five), the failure of the authorities to pursue them with "fines, excommunications, and attachments," shows that prosecution was initiated not by them but by some private individual. For there was no such failure, if it be true that an attachment was awarded to William Blanchard to apprehend Richard Jackson and William Brewster, and that each of these was fined £20. True, the authorities did not go the length of excommunication. But what would have happened if Brewster had not escaped? ²⁰

¹⁹ I find no other mention of him in this connection, nor does Dr. Usher give any reference. According to Hunter, Francis Jessop seems to have resided at Heyton or Tilne, Scrooby. It was his nephew, Wortley Jessop, who resided at Scrofton in the parish of Worksop. Collections, ed. 1854, pp. 126, 127.

²⁰ One or two other slips may be mentioned. Thus (p. 4) Scrooby is said to be fifty miles north of Lincoln instead of about sixteen miles northwest, and (p. 26) it is said, "Two years before (i.e., in 1606) Smyth's congregation had gone from their own little district to Holland," although the church was not gathered before the end of 1606, and

These, however, are trifles compared with the mistake involved in Dr. Usher's general standpoint. He may be said not unfairly to have taken up a brief for the ecclesiastical authorities and against the Puritans, against the Separatists especially. The outcome of this is insistence upon three remarkable propositions. The first is that what persecution befell the Scrooby congregation before 1607 was occasioned entirely by hostile neighbors. "From the authorities at London and from the ecclesiastics at York had thus far come neither reproaches nor interference." The reason for this lay in the tolerant temper of Archbishop Hutton and their own social or numerical insignificance. There came a change for the worse only with the accession of Toby Matthew, 1607. Even then severity began and ended with the five cases aforesaid. So says Dr. Usher. And I do not deny Archbishop Hutton's tolerant temper nor its effect in sparing the Scrooby people. But their comparative immunity had other causes as well. In part, it was due to the fact that the canons were not enforced in the northern province until the Convocation of York had adopted them, and that this was not done before March 10, 1606.²¹ So the question is, what did the authorities do after that date? And the answer

Smith could still write himself "Pastor of the church at Gainsborough" in 1607 (see Letter of Smith to Bernard. Whitley, S. Vol. II, p. 331) and both companies were in Holland by August, 1608. Dr. Usher's great learning and competence, as exhibited particularly in his *Reconstruction of the English Church* — a work for which every serious student of the subject is thankful — appear to fail him whenever he touches on the Separatists. For a glaring example I may refer to Introduction (p. xxiv) of his *Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1905) where he says, "It was in 1585-86, when there came a sharp discussion over the details of Church government, that Brown, Harrison, Wright, Greenwood and others whom the Congregationalists regard as their prototypes separated from the movement." The Brown here mentioned is (on p. xxxvi) identified with a member of the Oxford Classis. Evidently there is confusion. Neither this Brown nor Thomas Harrison (the noted Hebraist of Cambridge) nor even Robert Wright was a Separatist. Browne and Harrison the Separatists were named Robert, and the first Separatist church was set up by Robert Browne at Norwich in 1581.

²¹ Synodalis, Cardwell. Vol. I, pp. 164-166, note; p. 245, note. Cf. Whitley, S., Introduction, pp. l-li.

seems clear that they did their utmost to make the state of Nonconformists unbearable. John Smith (see above) found this and was driven by it to the last extremity of protest; Richard Bernard of Worksop found it and had his spirit broken thereby;²² while as to the people generally, could words be more explicit than those of Bradford (*History*, p. 14)? "After these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to flie and leave their howses and habitations, and the means of their livelehood."

Such was the experience which Dr. Usher calls lenient. Moreover, according to the same unimpeachable witness, it was the climax of what had been going on for years. "The work of God was no sooner manifested in them [the local Puritans] but presently they were scoffed and scorned by the prophane multitude, and ye ministers urged with ye yoke of subscription, or els must be silenced; and ye poore people were so vexed with apparators and pursuivants, and ye commissarie courts as truly their affliction was not small, which, notwithstanding, they bore sundrie years with much patience" (*History*, p. 12).

But Dr. Usher's contention is that all the trouble thus related — except the five cases — was of private origin. It was the work of malicious and treacherous "relatives and neighbors." He asserts this as if he knew, and speaks of it as a most important fact, and dilates upon it in romantic strain (p. 18). But he cites no authority nor does he seem to have any outside the passage last quoted from

²² He almost "separated" — at first he showed the greatest eagerness to go forward and he actually refused to subscribe — but he soon sued for "reinstatement" in ways which excited Smith's scorn. Whitley, S. Vol. II, pp. 335, 336, 370.

Bradford.²³ Here indeed it is said that the "prophane multitude" scoffed and scorned. It was growing to be a fashion with the "prophane multitude" so to behave towards the Puritan. But was it the profane multitude that urged ministers with the yoke of subscription or silenced them, or vexed the poor people with apparitors and pursuivants and the commissary courts? At any rate, does the profane multitude stand for relatives and neighbours? Are we to imagine these to have been so hostile that there was no living in peace on account of their daily nagging, scoffing, and deriding? Are we to think of them too as traitors, scheming continually to set the officers of law in motion? Dr. Usher would have us think so. But he adduces no evidence — either positive or negative — to bear him out.

2. Even less credible is the assertion that there is no substance in the traditional charge of harshness on the part of the Bishops against the Puritans. "As a matter of fact the Puritan clergy were not persecuted." This categorical reversal of what might have seemed a firmly established judgment is based on facts (says Dr. Usher) which go to show "that the overwhelming majority of the Puritans accepted the established church and remained members of it, read its Prayer Book, and performed voluntarily its ceremonies." Of the sixty Puritan clergy who were temporarily deprived or suspended in 1604-5, "the great majority soon conformed, accepted the tests prescribed by Bancroft and continued to preach in their parishes without molestation." We are asked, therefore, to conclude that Bancroft's régime was not "one of great harshness and injustice." The small number of the ejected proves it, and the Scrooby people in flying to Holland were flying from a shadow. "Indeed the Puritans and Bishops

²³ Unless it be Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*. Bk. II, sec. 3 (as cited by Dexter, E. H. P., p. 391) where it is said that Bradford encountered the "wrath of his uncles" and "the scoff of his neighbours." Mather is not a good witness; but even if he were, what he says refers only to Bradford.

taunted the Pilgrims with running away from a persecution which did not exist."

All this strikes one as a strange misreading of the facts. The king's threat to harry the Puritans out of the land is certain;²⁴ Bancroft's jubilant sympathy with that attitude is certain;²⁵ canon thirty-six of the one hundred and forty-one agreed upon by Bancroft and the rest of the bishops and clergy, in their Synod of London in 1603, is certain; the proclamation enjoining conformity to the form of the service of God established (July, 1604) is certain. Bancroft's circular letter (December 22, 1604) to the bishops of the southern province, urging them to a stringent execution of the king's command, is certain.²⁶ It is certain also that petitions from disaffected Puritans, cleric and lay, beseeching consideration and tolerance, were treated as seditious and their bearers or promoters in some cases imprisoned.²⁷ No less certain is it that resentment, deep and widespread, was in this way evoked, chiefly against the prelates "who have reviled and disgraced both in Pulpit and in Press, their brethren"; and have "also suspended, deprived, degraded, and imprisoned them, yea, caused them to be turned out of house and home, deny'd them all benefit of law, and used them with such contempt and contumely as if they were not worthy to live upon the face of the earth."²⁸ Yet there was no persecution!²⁹ How could there be, argues Dr.

²⁴ Usher, *Reconstruction of the English Church*. Vol. I, p. 327.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁶ The circular enclosed a letter from the Privy Council to say that the time of grace notified "the 16th day of July last," for the recalcitrants having now expired, it is the king's firm determination that since advice has not prevailed "authority shall compel."

²⁷ Whitley, *S.* Vol. I, p. li.

²⁸ A Christian and modest offer of a most indifferent conference. Pamphlet by some "of the late silenced and deprived ministers." Imprinted 1606. Rylands Library (uncatalogued).

²⁹ Dr. Usher's own words may be quoted against him: "The severe penalties attached" (to the canons of 1604) "showed that the canons were meant to be obeyed, that a new day had dawned, when there should not only be law but penalties for break-

Usher, seeing that in a year or two Puritan clamor and revolt died away? One might argue much the same from the effects upon a stricken country of a tyrant's conquest. He makes a desolation and calls it peace. Granted that the Puritans became acquiescent, did they become so willingly? Let their uprising a generation later supply the answer. They became acquiescent because, for the time being, the severity of the pressure upon them was more than they could bear. Only a few here and there disclosed an endurance which refused to be broken, and who were these? They were the people of Gainsborough and Scrooby. Their constancy is glorified by the Puritan surrender. Starting from the same grounds, they advanced to all the successive positions which these involved and took the consequences. That is the plain truth of the matter. Separation was the last step, and its consequences were provided by the act of April, 1593, which decreed that "if any person above sixteen years of age . . . shall obstinately refuse" to go to some authorized church, he, "being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or main prize"; shall be kept there three months, and, if still obstinate, shall then "upon his corporal oath" "abjure this realm of England and all other the Queen Majesty's dominions forever"; and if, having so sworn, he "shall not go to such haven and within such time as is before appointed," or, "shall return into Her Majesty's dominions without Her Majesty's special licence," he "shall be adjudged a felon" and die a felon's death. Furthermore, "all his goods and chattels" shall be forfeit to Her Majesty for ever, and "all his lands" during his own life.³⁰

ing it and a coercive force sufficient to exact them from the guilty." *Reconstruction of the English Church*. Vol. I, p. 383.

³⁰ An act to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience. See Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 1558-1625, pp. 89-92. This act was continued by 39 Eliz. 18; 43 Eliz. 9; 1 James I, 25; 21 James I, 28.

The Scrooby and Gainsborough Separatists could evade this act only by secret flight, as those of the London Church had done in the previous decade. Can it be said that if they had chosen to stand their ground the act would not have been enforced? No one acquainted with the facts will so say. The act was enforced — as often as its victims were caught. It might not be enforced to death by public execution; but it was enforced by a slow death in prison.³¹ What a flash of light is thrown by the following extract from Thomas Helwys's *Mystery of Iniquity* (1612).³² It is addressed to the bishops:

"Let us persuade you in fear to God and shame to men to cast away all these courses we shall now mention. Do not when a poor soul by violence is brought before you, to speak his conscience in the profession of his religion to his God — do not first implore the oath *ex officio*. O, most wicked course! And if he will not yield to that, they imprison him closer. O, horrible severity! And if he will not be forced by imprisonment, then examine him on divers articles, without oath, to see if he may be entrapped anyway. O, grievous impiety! And if any piece of advantage (either in word or writing or by witness) can be gotten, turn the magistrates' sword upon him, or take his life. O, bloody cruelty! If no advantage can be found, get him banished out of his natural country and from his father's house; let him live or starve, it matters not. O, unnatural compassionateness without pity! Let these courses be far from you, for there is no show of grace, religion, nor humanity in these courses. This is to lie in wait for blood, and to lay snares secretly to take the simple to slay him."

3. Dr. Usher's third proposition is that "the Pilgrims *voluntarily* left England" (p. 26). As there was nothing in their treatment which compelled them to leave, why did they go? He answers, because they had reached a state of mind to which "England was unclean" (p. 23). They must, therefore, depart for their souls' sake. "It was

³¹ In 1596 (see Preface to the Confession of Faith of certain people living in Exile, of that year) it was recorded that "twenty souls (including aged men and women) have perished in the prisons within the city of London only (besides other places of the land) and that of late years."

³² Quoted by Burgess, Smith, p. 284.

dangerous to remain there longer, for those who would worship God in all sincerity and purity must guard against the pollution and contamination of the Beast " (p. 23). Their "vital objection to the Established Church was not so much its activity in persecution as its existence. . . . It was all a relic of Paganism, there was no warrant in Scripture for any of it. . . . To remain in contact with it was to risk defilement " (pp. 23, 24). Dr. Usher confounds physical with spiritual contact. Dr. Joseph Hall, Robinson's first assailant, did the same, and was told by Robinson to realize the difference. There was no reason (said he) to separate from England in order to separate from England's church, any more than to escape from Amsterdam in order to avoid its heresies and immoralities. Merely to be let alone was enough. In Amsterdam they were in the world, but not forced to be of it. Heretics and sinners of every sort might be around them, but they were not made to have fellowship with them in worship. In England it was otherwise. There the laws compelled them to be in and of a church which they adjudged to be Babylon. They could not come out of the church except by coming out of their "dear native land." Just that was the distressing grievance — a grievance which would have ceased at once if persecution had ceased. It is a libel to say that in their eyes "there was no one left in England with whom the Pilgrims might hope to have communion. . . . All was wrong, all was uncongenial, unclean, and from it they fled " (p. 25). They were no such churls or Pharisees. But for the severity of the laws and the rigor with which they were administered, it is past all doubt that Robinson, Brewster, and the rest would have rejoiced to stay at home and to let their witness to the "truth " speak for itself. It is one thing to say that they had no right to expect so much tolerance. It is quite another to suggest that so much was offered to them and spurned. It is not "a great

error to stress the hostility of the church toward them and say that they were harried from the land " (p. 22). It is the simple fact.

III

By May, 1609, Robinson and his people were settled at Leyden. They had gone there after a few months at Amsterdam — months of disillusionment. For the sister church of Johnson and Ainsworth was not what they had hoped. Its principles were their own, but not its temper. This had become excited by controversy and enflamed by personal quarrels. There was consequently too little scope for that quiet growth of Christian character and life which to Robinson was the church's chief end. In addition, there was John Smith with his ultra-scrupulous conscience, so keen for the truth but so unable (at present) to mark off what really mattered from what was of comparative unimportance. Already (1608) he had stepped forward with his (six) *Differences of the Separation*, and was exalting them into a touchstone of communion. The effect was to kindle a flame in which love and peace could not live. In the particular points at issue Robinson, on the whole, may have agreed rather with Smith than with Johnson. But they were points which he did not wish his people to agitate. They were not trivial, but they were not essential. The essential things were inward and spiritual. He looked round, therefore, for some quiet resting place where the Church in its worship might attend to these without distraction. This, I am sure, is nearer the truth than to say, with Dr. Usher, that Robinson and his people "decided to seek some place where there were neither heretics nor English, some place where they should live as nearly as might be alone and observe together the ordinances of God whose perpetuation was the prime motive of their exodus from Scrooby" (p. 33).

We have no reports of Robinson's ordinary discourses. His literary record is made up for the most part of con-

troversial writings; and this may easily give the impression that controversial topics were those which absorbed his ministry. But the impression is corrected if we bear in mind that the controversies were of strictly occasional origin. Each was called forth by specific attacks which, in justice to his cause and his congregation he did not feel at liberty to ignore. Moreover, it is clear that he felt constrained to put all his strength into the fray when once he had become engaged; and it is not strange if sometimes (in the manner of the day) he wasted his strength and weakened his argument by violent language. But even so moderation was the prevailing note of his writing, nor did he either love or seek controversy. Hence it is difficult to imagine him engaging his hearers week by week with a defense of "ordinances." It is much easier to imagine him taking the "ordinances" for granted as mercies to be enjoyed with thanksgiving, and devoting himself usually to such subjects of moral and spiritual interest as are treated of in his *Essays*. Indeed, every one of these, as to substance, might well have been a sermon, and lets us deeper into the habitual mind of the man than any of his polemical work. "Disputations in religion," he says in one place,

"are sometimes necessary, but always dangerous; drawing the best spirits into the head from the heart, and leaving it either empty of all, or too full of fleshly zeal and passion if extraordinary care be not taken still to supply and fill it anew with pious affections towards God and loving towards men" (*Essays*, VII).

"Pious affections towards God and loving towards men"—this double aim pervades most of his *Essays*. Does it not indicate a true conception of his weekly homilies? The men and women who looked up to him from the benches in the big room of his house were mostly simple laboring folk, laboring and heavy-laden. They looked up for bread of the kind that would turn to inward comfort, strength, and light. Their daily life was hard and made

them hungry for such bread. May we not regard it as a sign of his wisdom and love in breaking it for them that, unlike the bickering church at Amsterdam, they dwelt in peace to the end of his days, and nourished a wealth of manly virtues which enabled them to survive alike the trials of their lot in Leyden and the rigors of their experience in the new world? Sound doctrine was good, right ordinances of worship were good, but both were means to an end, viz., Christian lives, and the Leyden pastor never lost sight of this. His reward appeared in men and women whose Christian lives were of the heroic strain, and became his "living epistle" to the world.

IV

Robinson lived at Leyden from May, 1609, to his death on March 1, 1625. On one occasion there is a glimpse of him at Rotterdam along with some other members of the church who attended Mr. Brewer so far, on his ominous journey to England;³³ and of course he may have made many other excursions from Leyden. But the inference *e silentio* is that he "dwelt among his own people" in studious seclusion, except for the pastoral duties which were a part of his proper work. According to Bradford "he taught" his people "thrice a week"; and, if his weekly sermons or lectures brought home to them his "singular abilities in Divine things", they did so because of the many hours of thought and prayer which went to their making. Probably his appointment as pastor took place at Amsterdam,³⁴ while William Brewster was "called

³³ Sir William Zouche to Sir Dudley Carleton, Rotterdam, Saturday, November 13, 1619: "About ten of the clock (last night) Master Brewer arrived, conveyed hither by the Beadle of the University, Master [John] Robinson and Master Keble [John Keble] accompanied by two other of his friends: their names, I think, are not worth the asking." Arber, S. P. F., p. 224.

³⁴ See Preface to the Treatise of Religious Communion (Ashton, Vol. III, p. 103), where Robinson says he was "excepted against" by some of John Smith's people, when he was "chosen into office in this (Leyden) Church." This could only have happened at Amsterdam.

and chosen " elder³⁵ on an early date at Leyden (*History*, p. 24). Under their guidance — double in function but single in aim and spirit — the church " grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness; and many came unto them from divers part of England, so as they grew a great congregation " (*Ibid.*, p. 24).

Moreover, though he never sought great things for himself, great influence came to him in the city. Leyden, with its young university, was the centre of a chronic and bitter conflict between Calvinists and Arminians. Polyander for the former and Episcopus for the latter divided " the students and other learned men " into a mutual hostility so great " that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other teach." Robinson, though a high Calvinist, was not a mere partisan. " He went constantly to hear their readings [or lectures] and heard the one as well as the other." Also, in " sundry disputes " he intervened to such effect that " he began to be terrible to the Arminians." In fine, he was induced — much against his wish — to stand up in set debate with Episcopus, who " put forth his best strength," but, according to Bradford, was put " to an apparent non plus . . . in a great and public audience." This occurred more than once, and " procured him much honour and respect from those learned men and others who loved the truth " (*History*, p. 28). Robinson was already a member of the university, and it is hinted that but for the fear of " giving offence to the State of England " some office, presumably as teacher, might have been found for him.

Thus amid tokens of local favor and the warm affection of his people nine years went by. Then there came a change. The fact had to be faced that the church, though

³⁵ Deacons also were appointed, but not a teacher nor a widow or deaconess — which is remarkable in view of Robinson's Appendix to Mr. Perkins' six principles of Christian Religion, questions 12-17, Robinson's works. Vol. III, pp. 429, 430, Ashton's ed.

united and prosperous, was suffering a certain loss. Conditions of life were hard and deterred many of the homeland from coming or adhering to them. "Some preferred and chose the prisons in England rather than liberty in Holland with these afflictions." Among themselves also many "in the best and strength of their years," despite "a resolute courage," were sinking into a "premature old age," while the young were robbed of their youthfulness. Worse still, there were some of the latter who, "getting the reins off their necks," ran away from the daily round of "heavy labours." "Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea and others some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness, and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and the dishonour of God" (*History*, pp. 30-32).³⁶ In short, it seemed probable that continuance at Leyden spelt a gradual approach to extinction. So, warned thus by "the grave mistris Experience . . . those prudent governors [Robinson and Brewster], with sundrie of ye sagest members, begane both deeply to apprehend their present dangers and wisely to foresee ye future and thinke of timely remedy" (*History*, p. 29). There is no need here to recount how the remedy was attempted, delayed, and at length accomplished. It is enough to remark that the final issue from a long series of difficulties was not a little due to the pastor's Christian temper, sagacity, and tact. His

³⁶ Winslow adds as other reasons of unrest: (1) that they felt it grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England; (2) that there was a likelihood of losing the English language, the English names, and the English type of education; (3) that they were conscious of inability "to do good" among the Dutch, particularly in "reforming the Sabbath." Young's *Chronicles*, p. 381. A final compelling motive was "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for ye propagating and advancing of the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work." Bradford, *History*, p. 32. Dr. Usher (p. 44) takes no note of this strong missionary impulse, and he introduces motives for removal — e.g., "active controversy as to the validity of their own fundamental conclusions" — of which neither Bradford nor Winslow says anything. Nay, this is the very libel against which Winslow wrote to protest. Young's *Chronicles*, p. 380.

"singular abilities in devine things" did not prevent him from being "very able to give directions in civill affaires, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpfull to their outward estats and so was every way as a commone father unto them" (*History*, p. 25). When the time came for leaving Leyden, Robinson spent "a good part of the day" in preaching from Ezra 8 2. The rest of the time was given to prayer — though according to Winslow, space was found for a feast in the pastor's house furnished by those remaining behind for those about to sail. The date was Thursday, July 20, 1620. Next day all (or most) went by canal to Delfshaven (twenty-four miles away), where the *Speedwell* lay ready. "That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love" (*History*, p. 73). On Saturday, July 22, "the wind being fair, they who were to sail went aboard and their friends with them."³⁷ When at last the tide called those who were not going to leave the ship, "their Reverend Pastor falling down on his knees (and they all with him) with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them" (*History*, p. 73).

Robinson stayed with the majority at Leyden,³⁸ by desire and decision of the church, but much against his own inclination. He longed for the opportunity of reunion, and hoped it would come soon. Individuals of the Leyden remnant went over from time to time. In 1627 many went. His own turn never came. It was not so much the lack of means that hindered as the opposition of certain persons

³⁷ Winslow says, "We only going aboard" i.e., those about to sail. Young's *Chronicles*, p. 384.

³⁸ "But take notice—the difference of number was not great." Winslow, Young's *Chronicles*, p. 384.

in England, whom he calls the "forward preachers." These "of all others" — he wrote to Brewster, December 20, 1623 — "are unwilling I should be transported, especially such of them as have an eye that way themselves; as thinking if I come ther, thee market will be mard in many regards" (*History*, p. 199). On the 19th of the same month, in a letter to Bradford, he speaks of the comfort there would be in a talk face to face; "but seeing that cannot be done, we shall always long after you and love you and waite God's apoynted hour. . . . My wife with me re-salute you and yours. Unto him who is ye same to his in all places and nere to them which are farr from one another I commend you and all with you." In April, 1626, the two leaders heard of Robinson's death from a letter written by Roger White, his brother-in-law, and dated Leyden, April 28, 1625. He had died on March 1. His illness began on Saturday evening, February 22. Nevertheless, next day he preached twice. In the days of the week following he grew weaker, but felt no pain. "He was sensible to the very last, and his friends came freely to him. . . . If either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence."³⁹ His loss, indeed, seemed irreparable. Looking backward from a later time, Bradford wrote that "though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived and laboured amongst them, yet much more after his death, when they came to feele ye wante of his help and saw (by woeful experience) what a treasure they had lost, to ye greefe of their harts and wounding of their sowls; yea, such a loss as they saw could not be repaired" (*History*, p. 25). Some were inclined to think that his death, occurring "even as fruit falleth before it is ripe,

³⁹ He was buried in St. Peter's on March 4, many university professors and other eminent citizens being present. The church register shows that nine florins were paid for opening the grave. This sum was customary "for burials between the ordinary hours of 12 m. and 1.30 p.m." See Dexter, E. H. P., p. 592. But cf. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d series. Vol. IX, 1846. Memoirs of the Pilgrims of New England, pp. 55, 56, by George Sumner.

when neither length of days nor infirmity of body did seem to call for his end," should be taken, for some reason, as a sign of the divine anger.⁴⁰ At any rate, he passed just when the Leyden section of the church was about to stand most in need of him.⁴¹ This will appear if we glance at the way in which his mind in relation to the matter of Separation had developed.

V

Dr. Usher says that "Robinson's opinions changed from year to year" (p. 192); and implies that his position at any given time is, therefore, difficult to define. It is a reckless statement. He was the very opposite of John Smith in this respect. Substantially he stood at the end of his course where he stood at its outset — I mean that he still maintained the necessity of separating from the corrupt worship and government of the English Church, and of gathering true believers into a true church-estate. But truth was more to him than consistency. Whether we have his exact words or not in the Farewell Address ascribed to him by Winslow, it is certain that we have his meaning. "He charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break

⁴⁰ Letter of Thomas Blossom to Governor Bradford, Leyden, December 15, 1625. Young's *Chronicles*, pp. 480-483.

⁴¹ Of Robinson's six children (John, Bridget, Isaac, Mercey, Fear, and James), one was buried in St. Peter's, Leyden, on February 7, 1621, and another on March 27, 1623, which of them, does not appear. Bridget was married at Leyden in May, 1629, to John Grynwich, student of theology, and her mother attended as a witness. Isaac went to New England in 1631, and was still living in 1702 — aged 92. Mrs. Robinson "is recorded as in Leyden as late as April 6, 1646, and Hoornbeeck states that she and her children, "joined the Dutch church." E. H. P., pp. 591, 592 and Arber, p. 160. There is no good foundation for the Robinson New England pedigree as made out by Dr. Allen. Vol. I, pp. lxxv ff., Ashton. Mrs. Robinson's will, dated Leyden, 1692, has been found.

forth out of his holy word.”⁴² His growth toward wider vision was the reward of this attitude.

At first he had no doubt of the absolutely anti-Christian character of the English Church. In his earliest writing entitled *An Answer to a Censorious Epistle* (by Dr. Joseph Hall), 1609, he will not admit that the English Church is in any point “the Temple of God compiled and built of spiritually hewn and lively stones, and of the cedars, firs, and thyme trees of Lebanon,” but, on the contrary, is “a confused heap of dead and defiled and polluted stones, and of all rubbish of briars and brambles of the wilderness, for the most part fitter for burning than building.” It is, therefore, intolerable; and “we take ourselves rather bound to shew our obedience in departing from it than our valour in purging it, and to follow the prophet’s counsel in flying out of Babylon ‘as he-goats before the flock,’ Jeremiah 50 8.” To the like effect he wrote, but more elaborately, in his *Justification of Separation*, 1610. There is no hint of compromise at this stage. He can see nothing to admire or even endure, in the English “State-ecclesiastical.” His invective is worthy of Henry Barrow — whose arguments, indeed, he often repeats.

On February 25, 1610–11, Dr. William Ames wrote to Robinson a brief letter on the question, “Whether there be not a visible communion out of the visible Church.” In other words, is not evident Christian character a sufficient reason for fellowship with a person? The implication is that Robinson denied this, and made it a condition of fellowship not merely that the person should be a member of some visible church but also a member of the true church. Ames rightly describes this as the “very bitterness of Separation,” and urges Robinson to reconsideration. Surely, he pleads, there “can be no other sufficient reason why we should communicate with visible churches but only because we visibly

⁴² Young’s *Chronicles*, Winslow’s *Brief Narration*, p. 397.

discern that they have communion with Christ." If Christ owns a person inside or outside a visible church, are you to refuse him, or a church so far as it visibly contains the like of him? Robinson, in a belated reply, showed himself not yet able to appreciate so simply Christian a principle. He is still fettered by the formal logic of Separatism. "External communion is a matter of external relation and order, under which men out of the church are not." For example, Christians outside the church may pray together though it is their duty to come inside; but for members of the church to pray with non-members or with members of a false church is a breach of church order and relation (*vitium ordinis et relationis*). Thus the effect of church membership was a deplorable narrowing of Christian fellowship. But by 1614 when he published the treatise *Of Religious Communion, Private and Public*, his view as regards the former has broadened. He has come to see the distinction there is between personal and church actions. He sees that private communion is a personal action which need not infringe "any set order of any church." He sees further that in a subconscious sort of way he has always been of that persuasion, but that a vehement desire of peace, together with some weakness, has deterred him from making his mind quite clear to himself. Now, however, his mind is clear and his will resolute on the point. He is prepared to practise and defend private communion with all visible Christians to the fullest extent possible (p. 65).

But for a man who cherished the desire "to learn further or better what the will of God is" (p. 103), this could not be the end. There was bound to be a further enlargement of insight and tolerance. When, therefore, such a question as the "lawfulness" of occasional attendance at the services of the English Church for the purpose of hearing the Word was thrown up by the course of events, Robinson was at no loss for the right answer. It is signifi-

cant that the question was thrown up in Henry Jacob's church, Southwark, London, for Jacob (1563-1624) was a liberal spirit. Some of his people had felt no scruple in going now and then to a parish church. On this account they were disowned by a majority, including the teacher, and a young woman who did not at once leave off the practice was excommunicated. Two of the liberal minority, on going over to Leyden, were welcomed by the church there as a matter of course. But on being transferred later to Amsterdam, a small violent party prevailed to get one or both of them cast out. Both sides in both churches appealed to Leyden — the one in protest, the other in self-defence. Robinson (for himself and his people) wrote a letter to each and made it clear that his approval went entirely to those of a generous spirit and against those whose spirit was the reverse. As to the "Ancient Church" at Amsterdam he denounced a judgment of withering severity.

In the same year, 1624, he wrote a treatise on the subject,⁴³ stating and reasoning the case with his wonted thoroughness and fairness. The concluding paragraph sums up his final attitude. While reiterating an unchanged conviction that he "cannot communicate with or submit unto the [English] church-order and ordinances there established, either in state or act, without being condemned of mine own heart, and therein provoking God, who is greater than my heart, to condemn me much more," nevertheless he can say, "For myself, thus I believe with my heart before God, and profess with my tongue, and have before the world, that I have one and the same faith,

⁴³ The treatise was found in his study after his death, and held back for ten years because it was perceived that "some, though not many, were contrary-minded to the author's judgment." Then it was published in hope of staying the mischief wrought in the church by four or five men, particularly one, whose obstinate insistence on the same narrow course as Robinson condemned had recently rent the church and even reduced it to a fifth of its former numerical strength. The church still lingered in 1639 and even in 1647. Dexter, E. H. P., p. 593, note. But its members were all gradually absorbed by the Dutch churches or dispersed.

hope, spirit, baptism, and Lord, which I had in the Church of England and none other; that I esteem so many in that Church of what State or Order soever, as are truly partakers of that faith, as I account many thousands to be, for my Christian brethren, and myself a fellow-member with them of that one mystical body and Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world; that I have always in spirit and affection all Christian fellowship and communion with them, and am most ready, in all outward actions and exercises of religion, lawful and lawfully done, to express the same."

VI

Thus, by 1620, Robinson had risen above mere "negation." It was not of Separation that his mind was full but of communion, as far as might be. Hence the character of his last words to those who in that year were setting forth on their Great Adventure. They were not to go as Separatists, or Brownists, still less as Robinsonians, but as children of light, under the guidance of a living spirit who had already revealed to them a measure of truth, and would reveal yet more if they were faithful to His word. This was the principle — a positive, not a negative, principle — which inspired the Pilgrim movement. On the whole, the men and women who bore it in their hearts to the New World remained true to its impulse, and so bore in them, notwithstanding many temporary failures, the seeds of that comprehensive progress in Church and State, which has been a characteristic feature of the American people. Expressed in terms of the Church it meant that all its members (to use the accepted phrase) were Prophets, Priests, and Kings. In other words, all had direct access to God; all were privileged to learn and speak forth his will; all might be endued with his conquering power. So the Church was a spiritual democracy; and when the men who formed it turned to the task of con-

stituting a political State, inevitably they proceeded on democratic lines. Nor was it strange if, at the same time, they conceived Church and State to be, in like manner, a theocracy, for both alike were to be ruled by God's law. It was in respect of this Divine law — its seat and scope and interpretation — that the Church went astray, and for a time led the State astray. By ascribing to the Scriptures an absolute authority for all things pertaining to the conduct of life, whatever its sphere, the Pilgrims put an embargo on freedom of thought and action. But they were not singular in this. They were only singular inasmuch as they applied the rule of scriptural authority more thoroughly than other Puritans or Protestants. And they were more thorough in applying Scripture because their eye was more single. To believe in anything as a word of God was for them but the first step to obedience. And so unwittingly, they were on the way to that higher standpoint of the modern Christian mind which seeks to sift the chaff from the wheat in the Scriptures *just because of its loyalty to the word of God, and its vision that the word of God cannot be inconsistent with any word of truth.*

In short, the positive principle of unreserved loyalty to the known will of God, on which the Pilgrims based their covenant, was a vital principle out of which in due course, was bound to come the light to see and the power to transcend whatever hindered the normal growth of the church or the individual. And if this was the principle which Robinson's men were the first to plant in the New World, then plainly Dr. Usher is wrong when he speaks of them as "choosing the wilderness because it seemed impossible to find anywhere in England or Holland a body of people who *thought exactly as they did.*"⁴⁴ "They maintained unflinchingly at Plymouth an ideal which had long ceased to have a numerous following in England." Hence their "lack of numerical growth at Plymouth." More than its

⁴⁴ Italics mine.

isolated position or its economic drawbacks, the ecclesiastical exclusiveness of Plymouth was the "secret" of its failure to grow. They stood for "a negation, nothing more than an uncompromising hostility to the established Church of England and to the ordination of Bishops" (p. 188).⁴⁵ Thus the Pilgrims were isolated — one might even say boycotted — because of their exclusiveness. And, proceeds Dr. Usher, "nowhere does this isolation . . . reveal itself more clearly than in their difficulties in finding a minister" (p. 189).

Here at last is a point we can test. His only reference is to the mission of Allerton to England in 1626-27, where "he was to find a clergyman, but experienced such difficulties . . . that he finally brought back with him a man who soon gave clear proof of insanity." Turning to Bradford's account of Allerton's mission we find no mention of any mandate "to find a clergyman"; but we do find that when Allerton arrived with one in 1628 he was severely taken to task for his presumption.⁴⁶ In fact, there is not the least proof that the Pilgrims ever went in search of a minister or were "nonplussed" (Usher, p. 190) to find one. So long as Brewster and Bradford lived, they were content with their "ministry of the word," though sorry to miss the sacraments. They were glad of a regular pastor when he could be had, and, if worthy, paid him all due deference. But their church theory did not require him, except for the *bene esse* of a church. The *esse* consisted of the people, and there was nothing of principle to prevent them ordaining Brewster, Bradford, or any other of their

⁴⁵ Cf. p. 193, "So far as they [the Pilgrims] could discover after 1630, there was not in all England one man of real ability who believed as they did, nor were there any laymen of real ability who came to Plymouth in any number to strengthen the Pilgrim State."

⁴⁶ Not 1626 or 1627 — "This year (1628) Mr. Allerton brought over a young man for a minister to the people here, *whether upon his own head or at the motion of some friends there*" (italics mine) "*I well know not, but was without the Church's sending.* . . . His name was Mr. Rogers, but they perceived upon some trial that he was crazed in his brain. Mr. Allerton was much blamed." History, p. 292.

number to the pastorate. If they looked outside for one, it can only have been from a sense of their own insufficient training.

Passing by some other misconceptions,⁴⁷ I will mention what I take to be the greatest — viz., that the Pilgrims and the Puritans who “come to New England in 1630 and after” were sharply antagonistic to each other in their relation to the English Church (Usher, p. 186). For what is the fact? In parting from his friends at Delfshaven, Robinson had said, “There will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you when they come to the practice of the ordinances *out of the kingdom*.”⁴⁸ And so it came to pass. When the first Puritan colonists came to Salem in 1629 they came with a prejudice against the Plymouth Church. It was supposed to be an embodiment of Brownism. But a few weeks sufficed to change their mind. On May 11, Governor Endicott wrote to Bradford a letter of thanks for the service of the Plymouth doctor and deacon, Mr. Fuller, and to say how much he rejoices to have been satisfied by him, “touching your judgments of the outward form of God’s worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me; being far from the common report that hath been spread of you touching that particular.”⁴⁹

This was not mere compliment, for on July 20, the Salem Puritans proceeded to choose a pastor and teacher in a manner nowise different from the Plymouth way —

⁴⁷ Thus, we are told that “we have comparatively few reliable indications” of “Pilgrim belief aside from church government” (p. 93), although we know that their theology was Calvinistic, and that they “assented wholly to the 39 Articles and no less to the public confession of Faith put forth by the French Reformed Churches,” see Arber, pp. 289, 294. Stranger still, we are told that “we have no authentic hint” as to whether they knelt to receive (the Lord’s Supper) “or sat” (p. 197); although the idea of them kneeling is unthinkable.

⁴⁸ Young’s *Chronicles*, Winslow’s *Brief Narrative*, p. 398 and note.

⁴⁹ *History*, pp. 317, 318.

the pastor being Mr. Skelton and the teacher Mr. Higginson, both of whom by submitting to reordination virtually gave up their status in the English Church. Then on August 6, there was a choice and ordaining of elders and deacons, and on this occasion, delegates from Plymouth, including Governor Bradford, were present. Delayed by "crosswinds" they arrived late, but came "into the assembly afterward and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and blessed success unto such good beginnings." What happened to this first company happened also to the second which came over in the spring of 1630 led by John Winthrop.⁵⁰ So with later companies — though it may be going too far to take it for literal truth "that the rest of the churches in New England came at first to them at Plimoth to crave their direction in church courses and made them their Pattern."⁵¹ It was, indeed, not a case of taking the Plymouth church for a "pattern." There were, from the first, features in the Bay churches more or less peculiar to themselves.⁵² But the point is that *so far as the Plymouth Church was Separatist, they too became Separatist* and were moved in that direction rather than deterred by the Plymouth example. Thus not repulsion but convergence is found between the Pilgrims and the main body of the Puritans "who came to New England in 1630 and after" (Usher, p. 186).

And there was convergence because the new comers were at last free to follow the impulse which lay at the heart of Puritanism and had been followed by the Pilgrims all along.⁵³ Bradford (quoting John Cotton) means

⁵⁰ For particulars, see Dexter, C., p. 416.

⁵¹ So W. Rathband in his *Briefe Narration of Some Church Courses*. This was said to him by Mr. W(inslow)?, an eminent man in the church at Plymouth in 1644, and is repeated by Robert Baillie in *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*, 1645 (p. 54).

⁵² The Plymouth church, e.g., had no "teacher" and its idea of what belonged to the function of ruling elder was different.

⁵³ Perhaps the most striking instance of this is John Cotton who before leaving old Boston heard with "grief" and "wonder" of the Puritan decline to Separatist ways in New England, but took to them himself when he got there in 1633. Dexter, C., p. 422.

this when he says, "there was no agreement" (of the two parties) "by any Solemn or common consultation, but it is true they did, as if they had agreed by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up by the help of Christ the same model of churches, one like to another; and if they of Plymouth have helped any of the first comers in their theory, by hearing and discerning their practices, therein the Scripture is fulfilled that the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven which a woman took."⁵⁴ I may restate this important point by saying that the Pilgrims and the immigrant Puritans were able to meet each other half way inasmuch as the former, under the guidance of Robinson, had learned to relax their extreme emphasis on Separation while the latter were driven to become Separatist, notwithstanding their boast of unity with the mother-church, under the influence of a new environment acting upon the inner logic of their creed. And if this be so, then we must say that another view put forward by Mr. Champlin Burrage (*Early English Dissenters*, vol. I, chap. 14), requires considerable qualification. His view is somewhat difficult to summarize; but he seems to maintain that the Puritans went out thinking themselves to be still a part of the English Church. And this may be granted — though the thought was a product of sentiment rather than of understanding. He seems to maintain, again, that they were, at the same time, already Puritan Independents of a presbyterian type. And this also may be granted — though this fact, if they were conscious of it, ought to have suggested to them the absurdity of talking, as some did, of a merely "local secession" from the church. He maintains further that, with the passing years, and even by 1650, the practically congregational, but presbyterianized, churches established by the Puritans had so reacted upon the Plymouth church as to make it "more and more like them." And this too may be granted to some ex-

⁵⁴ Young's Chronicles, Governor Bradford's Dialogue, p. 426.

tent—though the Presbyterian element is hardly traceable down to the death of “the good elder Mr. Thomas Cushman” on December 11, 1691.⁵⁵ But when Mr. Burrage maintains that “the early Puritan congregations were principally, if not wholly, organized after their own ideals, and owed little or nothing to the Plymouth church, whose “influence was evidently infinitesimal,” he is wrong. For he can maintain this only on the assumption, which he appears to make, that the Plymouth church was still rigidly Separatist. This is the assumption of Dr. Usher, and, as I have pointed out, is contrary to the evidence.

There is one respect in which the Pilgrims, whatever else they may have yielded to the increasing dominance of the Puritans, did not yield without a struggle, if at all.⁵⁶ Robinson in one of his essays (the seventh) argues for civil tolerance of error, “considering that neither God is pleased with unwilling worshippers, nor Christian societies bettered nor the persons themselves neither, but the plain contrary in all three . . . and to that of the Father (Augustine) — ‘that many who at first serve God by compulsion come after to serve him freely and willingly’ — I answer, that neither good intents nor events, which are casual, can justify unreasonable violence, and withal, that by this course of compulsion many become atheists, hypocrites, and familists, and being at first constrained to practise against conscience, lose all conscience afterwards. Bags and vessels overstrained break, and will never after hold anything.”

This Christian wisdom of their beloved pastor was not forgotten by those who had known him, and by them, by their leaders especially, the spirit of it became a tradition

⁵⁵ He was more than a ruling elder in the presbyterian sense: “it being a profound principle of this Church, in their first formation . . . to choose none for ruling elders but such as were able to teach; which ability (as Mr. Robinson observes in one of his letters) other reformed churches did not require in their ruling elders.” *An Account of the Church of Christ in Plymouth*, by John Cotton, p. 40. Cushman had held office for forty-two years and had been practically pastor for ten or more.

⁵⁶ During the first two generations probably not at all.

of the church. Severity exercised, after much patience, towards hypocrites and knaves like Oldham, Lyford, and Morton was no departure from it. Nor is there any proof that difference of religious opinion or practice was visited with harsh treatment unless it issued in conduct dangerous to the common welfare. It would be unfair to expect from even the most charitable of the seventeenth century the same liberal view of supposed heresy and the same degree of leniency we have learned to hold and practise. But judged by the prevailing standard of their age, and, still more, by the example of their Puritan neighbors, the Pilgrims can be seen to have sustained a level of self-restraint in their relation to dissidents which does them honour.

The worst trial arose with the incursion of Quakers in 1656. They "much infested the country between the years 1650 and 1660, and proved very troublesome, and subverted many. The church of Plymouth, in particular, was much endangered by them — several of them wavering and trembling, but only one family wholly led astray." But "it may be observed to the honour of the colony that though the provocation of the Quakers was equally great here as elsewhere, yet they never made any sanguinary or capital laws against that sect as some of the colonies did" (Cotton's *Account of the Plymouth Church*, p. 118 and note).

For the most part this is true — though it is also true that even Plymouth caught fire from the prevailing fierceness and assented to measures unworthy of a noble past.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ There were no Quakers in New England before 1656. The first move toward persecution sprang from the General Court of Massachusetts. At its instance the Commissioners of the United Colonies issued circular letters to the General Court of each colony recommending certain action. Thus in 1658 it was recommended that "members of this cursed sect," "male or female," (1) should be banished under pain of severe corporal punishment; (2) should be punished accordingly if they returned and be banished again, under pain of death; (3) should accordingly suffer death if still they came back — "except they do then and there plainly and publicly renounce their said cursed opinions and devilish tenets." All the colonies agreed, including Plymouth. But in the

But there were those of the Pilgrim churches (for by this time the one had become several) who held by it, and it is a fitting close to mention that one of these was Isaac,⁵⁸ John Robinson's son, who let himself be disfranchised rather than be a party to persecution.

NOTE. — Dr. Whitley (in edition of John Smyth's works, Preface, pp. vii, viii) puts forth the startling suggestion that because — according to Morton Dexter — but seventeen of the Pilgrims hailed from Scrooby against thirty-two from Norfolk, the scene of Robinson's activity, the main source of the Pilgrim church has so far been unrecognized; and further that, because most of the emigrants from the North adhered to Smyth, "all the wealth of learning accumulated by Brown, Arber, Dexter, etc., is really introductory not so much to Robinson's story as to Smyth's." Is it not enough to point out by way of answer,

1. That, as a matter of fact, the core of the Leyden church was drawn from Scrooby; and that it was the Leyden church which initiated the pilgrimage to New England.
2. That this fact is not affected by the question how many joined Robinson at Leyden from Norfolk, even if we grant, what is not proved, that these were "mostly" his "relations and connections" — fruit of a problematical Norfolk ministry. Is there any evidence of a Norfolk ministry apart from that in Norwich?
3. That Smith and his group cannot in any real sense be spoken of as Pilgrim Fathers, since the movement they represent drained itself away in Holland. The name can be applied with fitness only to the one or two, like Francis Jessop, who finally joined the Leydenites.

Plymouth Colony, Thomas Hatherly, Captain Cudworth, Isaac Robinson, and some others suffered disfranchisement or "their place in the Government," sooner than consent. Deprived of its nobler element the Court of Plymouth colony passed many laws of great severity but none involving the death penalty. See *History of Scituate*, pp. 47-57, by Samuel Deane, Boston, 1831.

⁵⁸ At this time (1656) he was forty-six years of age and had been twenty-five years in the colony.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Arber, *S. P. F.* Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1887.
 Bradford, *History* History of "Plimoth Plantation," ed. 1910.
 Brown, *P. E.* The Pilgrims of New England, 1897.
 Burgess, *Smith* John Smith and the Pilgrim Fathers, 1911.
 Burrage, *N. F.* New Facts concerning John Robinson, 1913.
 Burrage, *E. E. D.* Early English Dissenters, 1912.
 Dexter, *C.* Congregationalism as seen in its Literature, 1879.
 Dexter, *E. H. P.* England and Holland of the Puritans, 1906.
 Hunter, *Collections* Collections concerning the Early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, 1849.
 Hunter, *Collections* Second Edition, enlarged, 1854.
 Usher, *P. and H.* The Pilgrims and their History, 1918.
 Whitley, *J. S.* Works of John Smyth, 2 vols., 1915.

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. GEORGE FOOT MOORE. Vol. II: Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1919. Pp. xv, 552. \$3.00.

With well-timed entrance upon the stage this second volume of Professor Moore's history is synchronous with the reappearance of the first volume in a second edition, an honor of which it was well deserving and which will doubtless come also to its successor. It is six years since the earlier work was noticed in this Review. The author, being as it were more at home in the province now under consideration, has in the reviewer's opinion here surpassed himself; his second volume is distinctly better even than the first. One walks one's own field more securely and works it with truer understanding, perhaps in all senses more happily. As a succinct exposition of the three religions represented, this volume is worthy of high praise. So far as the reviewer is competent to express an opinion, it is as sound in judgment as it is accurate in details. He has even the feeling that the author's style has improved, possibly in lightness of touch, in the course of the half-dozen years since the first volume came out, although one may find a sentence of no less than one hundred and one words, the reputed significance of the number doubtless having escaped the attention of the learned author, who would not otherwise have devoted this particular number of words to the opening paragraph of his chapter on Christianity!

One reason why this volume is excellent is that it treats of only three religions in five hundred pages as compared with nine religions discussed in the six hundred pages of its predecessor. The author is thus able to do justice to his themes, and one wishes only that he had been permitted to give a whole volume to each of the three. As it is, a fair proportion of his book is devoted to Judaism, a somewhat longer exposition covers Mohammedanism, and these two together do not take quite so much space as does Christianity, to which rather more than half the book is dedicated. Albeit Professor Moore has been so generous to the most important religion of the three, one cannot but lament that, especially in this field, he has been forced to confine himself within the bounds of the 280 pages he has allotted to Christianity. One gets the impression often that he had more to say than he has said, and the reader must regret that anything has been omitted.

Professor Moore, who believes that nothing can be learned about a religion "from ignorance and superstition," has not only in his *His-*

tory of Religions ignored all lower and middle-class religions, such as those of Peru and northern Europe, but has naturally sacrificed in his account of the selected religions which he discusses those elements which make the foundation of the higher faith. So in Judaism a few general remarks dispose of the remote nomadic phase, and no time at all is lost in discussing the kind of cattle in which the tribes were interested, whence these tribes originally derived, or whether their god was at first the moon, a storm-god, or a tree-spirit. The author is obviously more interested in higher things than legends and surer things than theories. Enough to say that Jehovah (Professor Moore retains this form) was the god who fought for the Israelites and had his seat on some mountain, as contrasted with the local Baals, proprietors of fields and cities. A dozen pages thus sweep the reader on to the prophets, whose ideals are embodied in the institution of Deuteronomy. Here one feels inclined to ask, Which prophets? And at this point, despite the circumscribed space, one would have liked to see a distinction made between the various types of prophets, not only in the stereotyped sundering of the prophet of hope and prophet of love, but between the classes of prophets, those who relied on visions and those who did not, the prototype and the later imitator. Some estimate too of their relative value might have been given, and an answer to the modern question whether the prophets represent spiritual or ethical awakening. Jeremiah, the greatest of all the prophets, deserves at least a posthumous appreciation.

The author in speaking of the Law of Holiness says that the notion of sin as defilement is purely sacerdotal, the most heinous sin to the priestly mind being defilement of holy objects and profanation of the Holy Name. But one does not have to wait for the development of a sacerdotalism to find this attitude; it is inherent in all forms of taboo, and some African savages are as fearful of profaning holy names as were the Jews. Ezekiel represents not advance but retrogression. Monotheism, it is well emphasized by the author, not only differs from monolatry but, among the Jews, owes its being to the conception of history as a moral order; it was not the result of philosophical speculation. The origin of the Pentateuch is sketched briefly, so briefly that an unversed reader would hardly realize its historical background. Perhaps some of the space later expended on the brilliant mediæval scholars might have been utilized to make clearer the component parts of the Old Testament. The historical "strands," though mentioned, are left rather twisted. This may be due to the fact that the author regards purely literary questions as beyond his present mark. But this is not so in the case of "Isaiah," in respect of whom it is

religiously of moment whether (but the author does not touch the topic) he represents a single, duplicate, or triplicate personality. A short and sufficient analysis disposes of the stories of creation, paradise, the deluge, and dispersion of nations as "Hebrew mythology," which found literary expression from the ninth century till the Persian time. Literary dependence on Babylon, in the author's view, is suggested by the story of the flood but not by the story of creation. Jewish eschatology, he opines, was developed into a definite scheme under Persian and (or) Orphic influence, but its premisses are to be found "in the religion itself." One would like to see this thesis stated more definitely. The religion itself scarcely seems to have any eschatology save that of ghosts and graves. Sheol is hardly a premiss of heaven.

The closing chapters of Judaism, discussing mediæval and modern Judaism, are introduced by an account of the protestant Karaites, and then present in masterly fashion a summary of Jewish mediæval scholarship with its galaxy of learned men, such as Saadia, Maimonides, and Mendelssohn. Zionism and its prospects are also included in the general subject of Judaism.

In his account of Islam the author tells us that most prevalent opinions about Islam are wrong, and that, for example, contrary to common belief, the prohibitory laws of the Moslem religion have proved as ineffective as have modern Christian experiments. The Eighteenth Amendment is probably not referred to in this remark; but while it is true that, as Professor Moore states, the intemperance of the Bagdad caliphate clings to later Mohammedan literature and a single verse of the Koran has certainly not made all Mohammedans abstainers, yet the verse and later insistence upon it have had in general a far deeper effect than any Christian mandate. One needs only to contrast the abstemiousness of the Moslem world in India with the self-indulgence of Christians there, not to speak of Hindus, to realize that prevalent opinion in this regard, while it exaggerates, is not wholly wrong.

Professor Moore thinks that Sufism was affected not only by Greek and Christian influences but also by Buddhism; that Fanâ is a form of Nirvana. This, though the latest theory, is by no means certain. It would be safer to say that some form of Fanâ (there are various forms) seems to derive from India. According to Havell, who has lately demonstrated how poor a historian a good artist can be, the only question as to the influence of Buddhism on Mohammedanism is whether the Prophet himself belonged to the Hîna or to the Mahâyâna! Professor Moore very properly ignores this absurd theory. He

mentions here, rightly to repudiate it, another opinion formerly prevalent but incorrect, that Sufi pantheism was an Aryan (Persian) reaction against the hard Semitic deism of Mohammedan theology. Another "erroneous notion" is that Moslem law is wholly derived from the Koran. This notion is due to a failure to distinguish between civil and religious law.

In "Christianity" Professor Moore has given an unbiased history of the Church, admirable for its objective presentation, fairness, and fulness of detail; less admirable, if with all respect one may so express it, for its careful reticence. It is, however, seldom that one writes a history of Christianity without saying anything to offend anybody, and that alone is a notable achievement. Yet what the reviewer has in mind can be illustrated by the course of the author's history of Jesus. The story, as told by Professor Moore, repeats in abbreviated, one might almost say expurgated form, the Gospel narrative, expanded occasionally by a scholarly aside ("his mother-tongue was the Aramaic vernacular of Galilee"). But there is no intimation that Jesus is reported to have performed any other miracles than those of healing (including expulsion of demons). There is only a deferred and remote hint (by means of a reference to pages in the preceding volume) that the resurrection story is one of a type of resurrection stories. The history of Jesus himself stops short with the crucifixion. This same attitude of silence is maintained through the history of the Church. The ridicule heaped upon Calvin by his own brethren is ignored. In regard to Calvin's part in burning Servetus it is merely said that "when the Genevans burned him" and the Inquisition burned his books, the heresy of Servetus was ended. This, to be sure, is history so far as it goes. Jesus is said to have performed miracles of healing and "the Genevans" burned Servetus. But there seems to be something lacking to completeness. Thus, too, in another matter, it is not even hinted that the Quakers in England and America made themselves a public nuisance and offended decency, but they are charitably (and truly) described as anti-formalists pervaded by a soul of mysticism. Their honesty, simplicity, and philanthropy are apparently the only traits preserved by history. It is not in reference to them or to any other Christian sect that the general observation is made, "Antinomianism is, indeed, inherent in all mysticism."

In regard to the influence of Paul, Professor Moore holds that the main current of Christian thought did not take its rise in him and did not even pass through him: "Rather it flowed by him as around a rock in the bed of a stream." Thus, so to speak, Peter was the rock on which the Church was built and Paul the rock on which it split.

This review cannot do justice to the acumen and erudition with which the work of the Church in its monastic and mediæval phases is presented, the admirable account of the Protestant Reformation, with the added chapter on the Catholic Reformation, and the clear analysis of the hair-splitting symbols which for generations intrigued the bellicose metaphysicians who thought themselves Christians. If the volume as a whole has any defect, it is the one already noticed. The generous desire to bring into light only the unimpeachable side has here and there led to the picture becoming slightly out of focus. The weaker aspects of Christianity, its fables, superstitions, tragedies, indecencies, no one wishes to see emphasized, but they should not be passed over without a word. Discreet reticence has its place in an apologia rather than in a history. Professor Moore has told the truth about Christianity but not the whole truth, and this is a pity because his work is likely to be popular in those institutions where devout minds that turn with horror from "radical" writers need enlightenment from a source they are bound to respect.

As with the preceding volume, the author has added a well-selected bibliography and (a point rarely noticed in reviews) his index is a real index.

EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS.

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A GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK. JAMES H. MOULTON. Vol. II. Accidence and Word-Formation. Part I. General Introduction; Sounds and Writing. Ed. by W. F. HOWARD. T. & T. Clark. 1919. Pp. 114. 7s.

The first volume or *Prolegomena* of this grammar was published in 1906, and quickly won recognition as a new departure in the field. The MS. for the second volume was about two-thirds finished ten years later at the time of the author's tragic death. This first installment of it is an earnest that it will be completed and published to the satisfaction and service of New Testament scholars. The subjects with which it deals do not generally secure as much interest as do the matters of syntax treated in the earlier volume. But even the comment on sounds and writing presented in this section is made readable by the easy style of the author and by the interest of his evidence from the papyri. Besides, Professor Moulton did not construe his duty as a grammarian to be the cataloguing of all linguistic phenomena, but merely the elaboration of those questions on which new light is needed or is available.

Fortunately also the author has returned again in an Introductory Chapter to reconsider in the light of recent discussions the language of the New Testament writers, in particular their contact with literary language and their Semitic coloring. The last of these sections will especially interest American scholars on account of the present trend of criticism in this country, as will the special appendix on the same subject by the Rev. C. L. Bedale, which is promised for the last part of the volume.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

THE JESUS PROBLEM. A RESTATEMENT OF THE MYTH THEORY. J. M. ROBERTSON, M.P. Watts & Co., London. 1917. Pp. vii, 264. 5s.

Convinced that Jesus is a purely mythical figure, Mr. Robertson undertakes the ambitious task of presenting "a defensible historical view" of Christian origins to supplant the "mythical narrative of beginnings" contained in the New Testament. Modern critical study upon the Gospels is said to have ended in complete failure. Order can be introduced into the chaos only by recognizing that these documents are a mere tissue of myth. Hence the real problem for the historian is simply to propound a suitable theory regarding the rise of the alleged myth. When approached from this angle Christianity is found to have sprung from a pre-Christian Jesus-cult in which the celebration of a crucifixion and the eating of a sacramental meal were central. The crucified victim in the myth is supposed to have been called "Son of the Father," a title which is equated with Barabbas (Bar-Abbas). The occurrence of "Jesus Barabbas" in some manuscripts of Matt. 27 16 convinces our author that originally Jesus (i.e., Joshua, "Saviour") and Barabbas were rival hero-divinities of the same type. Therefore "the hypothesis forced upon us by the whole history, then, is that there had subsisted in Jewry, in original connection with a sacrificial rite of Jesus the Son of the Father, a sacrament of a Hero-God Jesus, whose Name was strong to save" (p. 81). By the year 70 A.D. the cult had become sufficiently distinctive to initiate a definite propaganda in competition with the rest of Judaism. Its relatively rapid growth is credited primarily to the superior efficiency of its organization. Its earliest literary document was the Didache, an adaptation of an older Jewish work. In the course of time fictitious Epistles and Gospels were produced in support of the practices and teachings of the cult. All the New Testament books belong in this class, except perhaps the Epistles of James and Jude. They alone have even the semblance of genuineness.

The position of those who deny the historicity of Jesus has not been materially strengthened by Mr. Robertson's book. It presents no new data of importance and it follows in general the line of argument commonly employed by representatives of this school. The early Christian writings still extant in the New Testament are set aside without any effort to test their reliability by the application of a modern scientific historical criticism. In place of constructive data drawn from these substantial documents readers are offered a congeries of "inferablys" and "manifestlys," supported by only intangible evidence often of more than dubious worth and derived from sources that have no actual historical connection with early Christianity.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

BOOKS ON BABYLONIA AND ITS RELATION TO WESTERN ASIA:

THE EMPIRE OF THE AMORITES. ALBERT T. CLAY. Yale Oriental Series. Vol. VI. Researches. The Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 192.

RECORDS FROM UR AND LARSA DATED IN THE LARSA DYNASTY. ETTALENE M. GRICE, Ph.D. Yale Oriental Series. Vol. V. Babylonian Texts. Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 56. Plates LXXXVIII.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LARSA DYNASTY. ETTALENE M. GRICE, Ph.D. Yale Oriental Series. Vol. IV, 1. Researches. Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 43.

In 1909 Professor A. T. Clay issued *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, in which he maintained that our whole conception of the cultural relations of western Asia must be changed. The commonly accepted view that the Semitic peoples had their home in the Arabian peninsula from which they spread over the more fertile countries to the east, north, and west, he held to be entirely erroneous. Not only did he maintain in that volume that Israel's culture was not of Babylonian origin, but on the contrary that the culture of Semitic Babylonia either originated in the west or had a long period of development there before it was carried into Babylonia. In other words he maintained that the dissemination of the northern Semitic peoples did not move from the east to the west, but from the west to the east. Now, ten years later, he issues another volume whose avowed purpose is to assemble all the facts that bear upon the history and religion of the western Semites, to substantiate further the claims made for the great antiquity of the Amorites, to show that Ur of the Chaldees was the capital of the Amorite empire, and to demonstrate that the generally accepted theory of the Arabian origin of the Semites is utterly baseless.

With acumen and learning Professor Clay assembles evidence from inscriptions scattered over the whole of western Asia, and conjures up the vision of a great Amorite or western Semitic empire, which he believes extended from the southern portion of the middle Euphrates on the east to northern Syria and the Gulf of Akabah on the west, an empire which immediately preceded Hittite ascendancy, having existed in the third, fourth, and fifth millenniums B.C. He maintains that it was a political unity, in which country and capital had the same name, and with this hypothesis in mind he searches for the center from which it was governed. This he finds in the middle Euphrates kingdom of Mari, or Mara of the earlier inscriptions. The city Mari was, according to Professor Clay, "powerful enough to weld together the Semitic peoples of this region into a great nation and give it the name Amurru"; it was the home of the Chaldean antediluvian mythological kings, at whose head stands Aloras; it was the home of the Biblical patriarch Abraham, for, according to St. Stephen (Acts 7 2, 4), Ur of the Chaldees was in Mesopotamia. The hegemony of Mari or Ur he believes to have been established long before the time of Sargon and to have been brought to an end by Hammurabi.

Evidence for the existence of this empire, its history, and its civilization is sought in the influence which it exerted upon other peoples as revealed in the names of countries, cities, temples, deities, and persons. For example, in the names of the antediluvian patriarchs preserved by Berossus he finds Amorite name-elements and in five or six of them the name of the Amorite deity Uru. It may be remarked in passing that he considers the Babylonian and Hebrew lists of antediluvian patriarchs as having nothing in common except the fact that each list consists of ten names and the tenth is the diluvian hero. The inference that Amurru furnished Babylonia with its early inhabitants rests upon Sumerian and Akkadian inscriptions, in which it is difficult at the present state of our knowledge, and frequently quite impossible, to distinguish with certainty between Sumerian and Semitic names. This difficulty is not minimized by Professor Clay; but the fact that a name is written in Sumerian he does not regard as proof that its pronunciation was Sumerian. Hence he is able to regard most of the names of the earliest kings of Kish, Erech, and Ur as Semitic, or more specifically west Semitic or Amorite. The fact that the name of the fifth king of Erech, Gish-bil-ga-mesh (Gilgamesh) contains "mash" or "mesh" as a name-element serves in his opinion to identify the Gilgamesh epic with the Lebanon district. Ea-bani or Enkidu he regards as an Amorite; the cedar forest which surrounded the stronghold of Humbaba he locates with "reasonable certainty"

in the Lebanon mountains instead of in Elam; the mountain Mashu he identifies with Mount Hermon; and Humbaba himself he regards as the earliest Amorite known by name. That the Gilgamesh epic had its origin in the west follows necessarily if the above premises could be regarded as substantiated. Professor Clay has long contended that the names of the rulers of the dynasty of Isin show that they were Amorites, and the complete list of the kings of Larsa which has been recently recovered and published by Professor Clay leads to the same conclusion. It is now generally conceded that the rulers of Isin, Larsa, and the first dynasty of Babylon gained their place as the result of a great racial movement which brought western Semites down the Euphrates and into southern Babylonia. Professor Clay's contention that Assyria received its Semitic population at about this same time as an offshoot of the eastward movement of Amorites is gaining general assent. The business and legal documents found in Cappadocia written in a Semitic language and in the cuneiform script are believed by some to be of Assyrian and by others of Babylonian origin. Professor Clay regards most of the proper names in these Cappadocian tablets as Amoritic, but he does not venture to suggest to what extent western Semites moved into Asia Minor. Neither is he able to assert that the Amorites influenced Egypt politically in the early period; but he calls attention to the Semitic loan-words which were introduced into Egypt at the same time that the western Semitic dynasties were establishing themselves in southern Babylonia, and suggests that it is possible that one or more dark periods in Egyptian history are to be explained by encroachments of Amorites.

Since the Amorites left no written records, knowledge of their language is dependent upon a study of personal names preserved in the inscriptions of neighboring peoples. This has convinced Professor Clay that the Amorite language was the parent language of Semitic Babylonian, Aramean, Hebrew, and possibly Arabic. He also maintains that they had a script of their own, which was used upon perishable material. He argues that had they used the Babylonian cuneiform script for writing their Amorite language, as the Hittites, Mitannians, and Vannic people did for their languages, excavations would have yielded some evidence of it — although excavations have not been conducted in the land of the Amorites except in Palestine. In the writer's opinion he might have strengthened his argument for the early appearance of a western Semitic system of writing by referring to the report of Wen-Amon ¹ (ca. 1100 B.C.) concerning his journey to

¹ See Breasted, *History of Egypt* (1905), pp. 213-218, and Kittel's discussion in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. I, 178.

Byblos, by reference to the fact that Cyprus and Crete had their own system of writing, and that the ostraca from Samaria show that writing in Palestine had a long history before 900 B.C.

A further means by which Professor Clay seeks to substantiate the thesis of the antiquity of Amorite civilization is in claiming that the prehistoric legends which the western Semites and Babylonians had in common originated in the west and that the worship of western gods spread over a wide area but exerted its chief influence upon the Babylonian pantheon. It has long been suspected that such gods as Adad and Dagan are of west Semitic origin; but Anu, Ashur, Ishtar, Ea, Enlil, Marduk, Nabu, Nergal, Nin-IB or Inurta, Shamash, Sin, and many others are likewise claimed for the west, until "it is of course apparent that the trend of what precedes is toward regarding practically everything that is Semitic Babylonian as having its origin in Amurru."

Professor Clay believes that there is no evidence in favor of the theory generally accepted by scholars that Arabia is the center from which the Semitic dispersion occurred. He declines to discuss the hypothesis of the ultimate origin of the Semitic race as being a problem which belongs to anthropology, and chooses rather to confine himself to historical and archæological data and traditions. He points out that Hebrew tradition regards Mesopotamia as the cradle of mankind, and Armenia, the country in which the ark rested, as the second home of the race. The tenth and eleventh chapters of Genesis show that it was the view of the biblical writer that the Arabian nations emanated from the north, and "their opportunity for knowing at least something about the early history of the Arameans — that is, their own ancient history — was at least greater than that enjoyed by those modern scholars who begin the history of Abram and the Hebrews with the exodus of the Arameans from Arabia, or even Egypt, in the latter half of the second millennium B.C." Although he recognizes that the burden of proof rests with those who maintain that the Semitic dispersion occurred from Arabia as its center, his argument against the theory is based chiefly on the following considerations: (a) If in ancient times water was more abundant in Arabia than at present, one can readily understand how tribes with great flocks would pass into it from the north. (b) An examination of the names of gods in Arabic inscriptions and of personal names throughout the Semitic field ought, *ex hypothesi*, to show Arabic influence, which he finds not to be the case. (c) The fact that the Arabic language preserves the characteristics of Semitic speech more fully than other Semitic tongues is taken to indicate that this migration from

the north into Arabia took place before the modifications which differentiate the various Semitic languages from each other had occurred. He concludes therefore that our present knowledge is insufficient for the formation of any theory in regard to the original seat of the Semites.

The present writer is unable to accept many of the conclusions arrived at by Professor Clay. Some of them he himself puts forth as tentative and subject to revision; many are ingenious, and all will stimulate thought and discussion. Doubtless cautious scholars will feel that he has carried his theory much too far, although it is becoming increasingly clear as additional facts are brought to light from excavations that the west influenced the east at an earlier period and more constantly than has been supposed hitherto, and that the cultural relations of the whole of western Asia were more complicated than was formerly deemed possible.

Dr. Grice's publication of the cuneiform text of two hundred and fifty-three tablets of the Yale Babylonian Collection, accompanied by an introduction and the usual indexes, is an imposing volume. About half of the tablets were found at Muqayyar, the site of Ur, and are the "first considerable number to be published from that site." The remainder are from Senkereh, which is the site of the ancient city of Larsa, the biblical Ellasar. They are legal contracts and temple records, written for the most part in the Sumerian language, their chief importance being due to the historical matter contained in the date formulae. To mention the fact that Miss Grice is an apt pupil of so able an editor of cuneiform texts as Professor Clay is sufficient assurance that the text is a faithful and skillful reproduction of the original. A perusal of the list of personal names might at first give the impression that the inhabitants of southern Babylonia at that time all bore Semitic names; but cross references show that names are to some extent listed under both the Sumerian and the Semitic forms. Tested by a page taken at random from the index, the references are found to be reliable with only an occasional error. It is unfortunate that it is not the fashion to give the figures on the seal impressions of dated tablets, for they are valuable in indicating the style of seal used at the time the document was written, the seal impression being contemporaneous with the writing. Neither time nor pains have been spared in getting out a large piece of work which is exceedingly well executed.

From date-formulae of texts published in the above mentioned volume, from unpublished texts of the Yale Collection, and from other texts previously published, Miss Grice had collected and arranged

chronologically all of the facts known in regard to the dynasty of Larsa. Just as her work was nearly completed she received an advance copy from M. Thureau-Dangin of a prism in the Louvre containing the date-formulæ of the Larsa dynasty. She had the satisfaction of seeing conclusions at which she had previously and independently arrived confirmed by this new and unimpeachable evidence, but it was no longer necessary to publish the entire study. Since Yale texts furnish some additional material for the restitution of broken formulæ and of the middle portion of the prism covering a period of fifty-four years, she has published "the part of that study which comprises a list of all the formulæ of the dynasty that are known, so arranged that they may be conveniently used by scholars who are using the Larsa Dynasty material."

Her explanation of the difficult phrase *šàg-mu ki-18* as a reference to the duration of the long conflict which raged between Rim-Sin and the army of Isin, is both clever and reasonable. A comparison of the transliteration of the date formulæ of the Louvre prism by M. Thureau-Dangin with that of Miss Grice emphasizes the need of a uniform system of transliteration which shall be followed by all scholars. Miss Grice's excellent study of the chronology of the Larsa dynasty is indispensable to any one working in that period.

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THE PEOPLE'S FAITH IN THE TIME OF WYCLIF. BERNARD LORD MANNING.
Cambridge University Press (England). 1919. Pp. 155. 2s. 6d.

This little book belies its appearance, which is that of the ordinary prize essay published in a university. At best one may expect that such productions contain a certain amount of information collected with or without method, and perhaps a useful bibliography. But Mr. Manning's book is more than this; it is a real contribution of ideas by a thoughtful man. It may be paid the compliment of hostile criticism by those who are unable to accept its conclusions, which is a high commendation for a young scholar to deserve. The merit of a good style, relieved by terse and epigrammatic utterances, adds to the attractiveness of the book, the object of which is to let the popular writers of the age of Wyclif give their testimony as to the religious condition of England at the time. Mr. Manning wisely declines to begin with a pretentious bibliography, containing much that has been written and little that has been read. He prefers to speak of his "List

of Books," of which he says: "It is intended to serve one purpose only — to elucidate the footnotes. It is not a catalogue of books consulted, nor the beginning of a bibliography."

His chief authorities in verse are *Piers Plowman*, Gower, the *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, Robert Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, and John Myre's *Instructions for Parish Priests*. Most of the minor works are easily accessible, being published by the Early English Tract Society. The prose works of which most use has been made are La Tour Landry, Richard Rolle, Julian of Norwich, Wyclif, Grandisson's Register, and above all the interesting dialogue of *Dives and Pauper*, printed by Pynson in 1493. It is from this last named that Mr. Manning has drawn much of his inspiration. He considers that it is an argument between Dives, a man of Lollard or Wyclifite views, with the orthodox Pauper; and in answer to the objections of Dives our author sees a wise and temperate defense of the orthodox doctrine of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a singular absence of any desire to justify the abuses which had crept into the Church. Indeed, as Mr. Manning himself pointed out in a magazine article,¹ the argument was rather in favor of Pauper than of Dives, whose "protestantism" had nothing constructive about it.

The mediæval church was a marvelous organization, consistent in its aims, its doctrine, and its practice. Its influence permeated the entire population of western Christendom; men, women, and children felt its power as it bore upon every phase of human life. By the time of Wyclif Latin Christianity in England ruled with the prestige and experience of many centuries. The difficulty of today is to look back on this age so remote from us with an impartial eye. It is easy to contrast the merits of our age with the defects of a superstitious one; equally easy is it to regard the days when Christianity ruled through its priests as a halcyon period in which religion triumphed and the world was glad. The difficulty is to enter into the true historic spirit, to study the evidence impartially, and to endeavor to visit the past by its aid as an intelligent traveler does a strange country. That Mr. Manning can accomplish this difficult feat redounds to his credit.

Mediæval religion, as he points out, was neither the religion of a book nor that of family influence. The Christianity inculcated was taught by word of mouth and by appeals to the senses was constantly before the eye. The priest or friar, not the mother, was the first instructor of youth. The Mass, for example, appealed not to the intellect but to the emotion. The worshiper understood little but was taught to feel much. He was given prayers to be used independently

¹ Churchman's Magazine, 1915.

of the service, "admirable" — to quote our author — "for their simple piety. No one could fail to understand them, and the popular religion which they represented cannot be dismissed as a superstition unintelligible even to those who professed it." And he goes on to say, "Not the minutest event in Christ's passion but was commemorated there. From an art symbolism had been transformed into a science. Every faculty of man, every property of nature, had been captured and subdued for that supreme drama of worship." But though he can write thus, Mr. Manning is not blind to the fact that gross superstition was encouraged by the clergy in the interests of the Church. "The Church," he says, "sanctioned any belief, however preposterous, if it tended to exalt the power of the Mass, the dignity of the Host, or the consequence of the priest. . . . To increase the offerings of the devout they were told that a penny offered at Mass would secure an increase of worldly wealth as well as free one from his sins." It is interesting also to note that the sacrament of Extreme Unction was unpopular, because it was a general belief that, if by any chance the recipient should not die, he would have to lead an almost monastic life — an opinion which more than one synod repudiated.

The idea that the observance of Sunday as the Jewish Sabbath was a Puritan innovation is completely dispelled. Till the Lollards began to exalt Sunday as a scriptural festival above others, the tendency was to insist on its sanctity. Sunday traveling was discouraged. Even preachers must beware lest "undre colour of prechying" they were not "to moche about in veyne in the Sunday." Indeed what in England is called "the Continental Sunday" was as abhorrent to the clergy of the fifteenth as to those of the middle of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps the most thoughtful chapter in the book is "The Problem of Free Will." Augustinianism found little favor in the popular religion inculcated by the priests, who rather taught that men could "work out their own salvation." But then came the Black Death, which forced men in their despair to embrace a sort of fatalism. But even Wyclif resisted the doctrine that some men are predestined to damnation, and would not allow to the "elect" the comfortable belief that their salvation was assured.

The conclusion is a really powerful bit of writing and shows the influence of the great modern tradition of the Cambridge school of mediæval historians, of which Maitland was the founder. If the author is spared to do more work on the line on which he has happily begun, he may be the bearer of the torch which Maitland lighted and handed on to Figgis. His last paragraph may justify his claim to seize it:

"The battle with rigid Protestantism and the final discomfiture of the enlightened rationalists a hundred years ago were the necessary preliminaries to the rediscovery of the Middle Ages; but the memory of these historic struggles does not justify the appropriation of mediæval religion by any modern party or the repudiation of it by any other. For the mediæval Church is the mother of us all."

F. J. FOAKES JACKSON.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

IDEALISM AND THE MODERN AGE. GEORGE P. ADAMS. Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 253. \$2.50.

Professor Adams finds that modern democracy needs correction by a religious attitude, a devotion to certain objective ideals quite in the Platonic spirit. The gospel of self-assertion, which in our day has led to the extremes of capitalism and pragmatism, should be replaced by the ideal of the "Great Community." For democracy is the doctrine of the "will to power," the apotheosis of "activity and control," "the conscious conviction that the only social order fit for man to live in is one which he himself has made and can control — and which he can unmake if he so desires. This conviction is but democracy come to a full consciousness of its meaning and its power" (p. 7). On the other hand, "Idealism in philosophy *should* connote a wide understanding of and a generous sympathy for the forces — primarily those of common life and labor — which are rapidly gathering strength to challenge the arbitrary 'will to power' lying at the root of so much within the established order" (p. viii). In fact, by democracy Dr. Adams understands a more or less Nietzschean individualism, and by idealism a belief in the social organism — interpretations which seem decidedly questionable when we remember that Germany stood for the former, that current democracy particularly emphasizes the needs of "common life and labor," and that the founder of idealism did not believe in the social organism. Yet though it is not democracy but self-assertiveness that he is arraigning, he does sincerely and properly attempt to restore a lost balance; and allowing for his strange misuse of terms, we must heartily commend the enterprise.

Religion and idealism, if not one and the same, are for our author closely allied. "At its source religion is the felt participation of the individual in a collective consciousness. . . . The vehicle of group emotion, the source and stuff of that which was sacred and supernatural, was no personal god or spirit, but . . . a 'social force trembling on the verge of Godhead'" (p. 51). And Platonism, with its contemplation of the eternal ideas, is "the spokesman for something

which can only go by the name of religion" (p. 11). Over against these Dr. Adams arrays the present-day naturalism, with its Darwinian struggle for existence, its scientific control of nature, its world "to be controlled, to be made and remade . . . in order that our active human interests and impulses shall find release and satisfaction" (p. 10). Tracing the growth of this democratic spirit, he finds it characterized by increasing emphasis on business for its own sake and mechanical efficiency, and by a decreasing valuation of personality. "Democracy, economic rationalism, science, . . . bid us incessantly create, make our world, and all the objects of value which it shall contain" (p. 87). "Behaviorism and pragmatic instrumentalism are philosophies of an age which no longer has significant structures to possess, to contemplate and to enjoy. . . . Pragmatism is the intellectual form of modern capitalism" (p. 112). The subjectivism of modern philosophy, from Kant on, marks the same accentuation of man's activity. "The Kantian insight sums up a world of activity and democracy" (p. 163). Dr. Adams, true to the Platonic tradition, is an epistemological realist. "Consciousness of reality is as much inalienable and elemental as is consciousness of self" (p. 123). The subjective philosophies have but a subjective origin; the economic interpretation of history is only the reflection of the economic bias of the present age (pp. 136, 137). Not only does pragmatism rest upon a realistic basis, to wit, the science of biology, but if pragmatism is true, "there is no intrinsic meaning or value possessed by any one period of time in its own right" (p. 174). "Childhood is not only a precursor and a means to the attainment of adult life. Childhood has its own interests" (p. 175). *"Every behavior interest is surrounded by a cognitive fringe. . . . It is this cognitive . . . fringe, and not the behavior, . . . which is the source of all the meaning which attaches to an object attended and responded to"* (p. 186).

But though democracy is faulty enough, we cannot abandon it. We must look forward to a combination of it with religion and idealism. "And such a . . . type of order surely is to be found nowhere except in . . . a community, a social and spiritual order" (p. 219). True, no doubt, but uninforming; the real question is, how shall we construct this community? Is it to be republican, monarchic, socialistic, or what? Unfortunately, we are not told. And is religion anything more than fervent social reconstruction? Dr. Adams says little if anything about God, the spirits, or aught but the "social problem." Religion is not allowed even a practical quality; it "will always bungle when it competes with the intelligent and the scientific control of life-processes and their environment" (p. 223). What is left but enthusi-

asm for the future social organism, such as might be shared by any atheistic socialist?

Thus after all, our author has not been able to move out of the magic circle of the subjective. The great Platonic idea of the community — what is it but the epitome of the needs of man, such as all pragmatists desire? No objective principles or ideals except this are mentioned; almost all of the book is concerned with epistemological controversy. Yet though he does not specify them, it is a good sign that he hints of ideals to be followed in the making of the perfect society, that he would right the over-balanced cultivation of activity, and that he defends, if in little more than name, the fundamental importance of religion for human progress.

Dr. Adams' diction is rather obscure, and his paragraphs as a rule lack unity. A Platonist should not use nouns as adjectives: e.g., "idea system," "knowledge situation," "behavior interest," etc. Nor should he employ the barbarous "due to" when he means "on account of" (p. 29). Examples, too long to quote here, of English which is no less than slovenly, are found on pp. 44, 59, 113, 166, 229.

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THE RELIGION OF NIETZSCHE. NIETZSCHE THE THINKER. A STUDY. WILLIAM MACKINTIRE SALTER. Henry Holt & Co. 1917. Pp. x, 539. \$3.50.

The key to Nietzsche's theory of life, Mr. Salter thinks, is the conflict in his mind between piety and knowledge. "Being by nature and by force of early training reverent, finding, however, his religious faith undermined by science and by critical reflection, his problem came to be, how, consistently with science and the stern facts of life and the world, the old instincts of reverence might still have measurable satisfaction, and life again be lit up with a sense of transcendent things. He was at bottom a religious philosopher."

This observation, though not new, has never before been so clearly put, and with such a nice sense of the fact that whatever system and poise Nietzsche in thought attained rests upon a conflict of emotions that grew deeper and more tragic with the years. Neither of these facts seems, to most commentators upon Nietzsche, to have been of particular importance. They respond to his emotional qualities — the beat and rhythm of his style, the great hunger and dream-like gratifications in his ideas. They violently agree with him or they violently disagree with him, according as he lifts the lid or clamps it.

down upon their own subterranean reserves of feeling; they preach him or they denounce him; they do everything but understand him. The fault is not altogether their own. Nietzsche's temperament, method, and style are not such as to evoke understanding. He is the most personal, the most autobiographical and idiosyncratic of the great thinkers of the nineteenth century. His work is more frequently a soliloquy and a challenge than an analysis and an exposition, and his effect upon his readers corresponds. To understand him requires an impersonality, a scientific self-restraint, difficult indeed for those who are in the least sensitive to the subtle and infectious quality of Nietzsche's *élan*. Yet this is very nearly what Mr. Salter has attained. He has written an exposition of Nietzsche's thought without parallel in English, without parallel perhaps in any language, for impartiality, lucidity, and detail. He has done this by attending objectively to the thought of Nietzsche, without obtruding his own reaction upon it. He has classified, arranged, coördinated. Not a remote whimsey in the collection of apothegms and reflections which so largely make up Nietzsche's works but he has studied, appraised, and set under its appropriate concept, not a nuance that he has not caught and fixed.

Withal, the defects of his method can not be separated from its excellences. Intent upon the last things, the endings, dyings-out, realizations, which all thoughts are, of Nietzsche's mental processes, he sets them in the order of their logic and mutual implications which is appropriate to thought. He provides an architectonic of Nietzsche's mind, the most admirable yet to hand. But he does not provide, nor with his method can he provide, the explanation of Nietzsche's mind which his excellent beginning leads the reader to hope for. Very probably he did not intend to do so. Yet the comprehension of Nietzsche involves very much more than the exposition of him, and in a mind like his, thoughts and feelings are so inextricably interwoven that the gain from a genetic approach can hardly be estimated. Behind Nietzsche's thought, motivating and finding self-fulfillment in it, lie not only the conflict of his temperamental and nurtural piety with his mature knowledge, but the whole aggregate of conflicts that made up his diathesis. The entire history of his life is one of disease, of pain, of unremitting strain of body and mind and of the struggle to conquer them. His change in attitude toward existence and its conditions, his break with the Schopenhaurian system, with Wagner, his bitter denunciations of the great mass-movements of his own time, are all implicated in the alterations of his attitude toward his own existence and his own problem. That absorbed him, as it must have absorbed any man, and its heart and vitals were the mastery of pain.

It is this that makes of Nietzsche a religious philosopher, even though — indeed through the very act — he stands what is customarily called religion on its head. But if he stands it on its head, it is not because he differs with the tradition regarding its ultimate end. He agrees regarding its ultimate end. He differs with regard to its tools and means. For Nietzsche is no cosmological philosopher. He is not concerned with analyzing the world into its elements, with understanding its nature and laws. He has no scientific curiosity, and his spirit is one of assertion, not of inquiry. He is bitterly and tragically concerned with that wherewith all religionists more smugly concern themselves. He is concerned with Salvation, and his system, no less than the Christian system, is a system of Salvation. But where Christianity saves *from* sin and pain and evil, Nietzscheanism saves *in* sin and pain and evil. His system is postulated on making his weakness his strength, on the power of self-mastery, self-transcendence, through self-affirmation. Now escape from self is the aim of all religions of disillusion, whether Asiatic or European. But the escape is a self-negation, a suicide, not a self-affirmation. It is escape through denial. In his early philosophizing Nietzsche accepted this way of escape. Indeed, he experienced it in his own life, and he got corroboration of it from his classical studies and his philosophical discipleship. He followed Schopenhauer and Schopenhauer taught the will and the self-destruction of the will in idea, particularly in idea as art and as religion. In these the will comes to rest from its unhappy strain and turmoil of existence; in these it loses itself in the quietude of non-existence. And such non-existence is the goal of being. Hence man's discipline, Schopenhauer deduced, should be one of relaxation in the struggle for life, of self-surrender, and thus of self-transcendence and salvation. Unreligious though this doctrine seemed, it breathed the esoteric spirit of Christianity, and for a time Nietzsche found repose in it. But for a time only. The pain which opposed itself like a charged wire fence against his every impulse, shut him in and kept him prisoner. His every effort to get beyond it intensified it, and his every labor was not merely an achievement in itself but a mastery over pain. His life, in a word, was not an escape from and assuagement of pain, but an increase and a wrestling with it, like Israel's with the Lord. Such growth as he had attained, came in pain and through pain, and after a time he came to see it as the sole condition of life and achievement, came indeed to have something of a masochistic preference for it, and to see salvation not beyond it but within it.

This realization was of course primarily emotional, not intellectual. But it got rationalized, inasmuch as his feeling sucked into its vortex the substance of all the knowledge which his mind touched, and made of it an aid and a comfort. The knowledge was derived particularly from the world of classical philology and, in a much less degree, from evolutionary science. The modern industrial and economic world he could neither apprehend nor appreciate, and he had a certain emotional blindness to its implications which rendered it irrelevant to him. Indeed, there has rarely been a man of so profound and widespread an influence with so complete an obliviousness to the realities of his time.

But the very emotional blindness which rendered him oblivious on the one side, made him acutely perceptive and original on many others. It enabled his "transvaluation of all values," his postulation of the Superman, his vivid and biting analysis of the "decadence" of Europe. Truth disappeared for him; knowledge became a matter of "vital lies"; morality a question of continental health or of the lack of it; the history of philosophy the history of a misunderstanding of the body; salvation ceased to be vicarious and became a process of painful, self-affirming self-transcendence, ending in an unknown goal — the Superman — and the unknown goal became a substitute for the known God. God, for Nietzsche, died, and his own life became that of an agonist, if we may trust Andreas Salomé, of "emotion over the death of God." The good of life was to be found in an inversion of all things the dead God had been the symbol of — in the repudiation of society, of "morality," of all that relaxation of danger and vigilance which had turned men into a herd and God into a shepherd. Whereas men had anciently been lords, and God an ideal of isolated Epicurean autonomy and self-sufficiency, they are today weaklings and slaves and God is an indulgent master. The future yearns to something deeper, more vital, more tragic, and altogether unprevisible; not the serene divinity of the ancients, but the agonized divinity of the unborn. Says Zarathustra, "Once when men looked on the far-stretching sea, they said God; but I teach you to say, Superman." And since he taught the Superman, who is salvation, he taught also the life which attains to salvation. That life is tragedy and transition. Man is no resting-place but a bridge; as the ape is to man, a reproach and a burning shame, so man is to the Superman. The true duty of man, the right morality, is a duty and morality of pain and struggle, of self-transcendence by pain, of power by self-transcendence. Against the "decadent" and "slavish" "Love thy neighbor as thyself," Nietzsche sets the power-generating "Destroy thyself and the neigh-

bor as thyself," so that the unknown Superman, better than both, may come to be.

That this is an idealism without precedent or parallel can hardly be denied. Nor can it be denied that it is a religious idealism, having its source in the same motives and conditions, autobiographical and social, which the more orthodox religious derive from and gratify. To a large extent it is a simple contradiction of tradition, amplified and given the semblance of reasonableness by a more or less relevant assemblage of observations from history and culture. To this extent it may be dismissed as an idiosyncratic instance of a type of thinking I have elsewhere had occasion to describe as compensatory—i. e., as the mind's projection in idea, in imagination, of a world or system that makes good the felt insufficiencies of reality; a compensation for the shortcomings of reality. And how Nietzsche's philosophy of self-sufficiency was compensatory to his dependent, invalid's life, he who runs may read. In another dimension, however, in the dimension of the dialectic of values, Nietzsche has brought a unique gift to the treasure house of philosophy. He has to some degree exemplified and has powerfully preached a doctrine that envisages an ignored great residue of human life. He has done this out of a love of excellence which led him to the joyous acceptance of the most arduous and cruel of its conditions; he has done this, seeking to spread a firmer pedestal for a perfection, devotion to which is the more remarkable in that it is the most transhuman and undefined perfection which human idealism records. Nietzsche's philosophy is thus a religious philosophy with a vengeance.

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- THE IDEA OF IMMORTALITY, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND VALUE. The Baird Lecture. 1917. GEORGE GALLOWAY. T. & T. Clark, 1919. Pp. viii, 234.
- IMMORTALITY, AN ESSAY IN DISCOVERY, COÖRDINATING SCIENTIFIC, PSYCHICAL, AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH. B. H. STREETER and Others. The Macmillan Co. 1917. Pp. xiv, 380. \$2.25.
- THE FUTURE LIFE IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN INQUIRY. SAMUEL MCCOMB. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1919. Pp. xii, 240. \$1.50.

Of the many recent books on Immortality, testifying pathetically to the interest in the subject awakened by the tragedy of the war, Dr. Galloway's is the most deliberate, and is likely to prove of most enduring value. "On God and Godlike men we build our trust" is his unannounced text. Science reveals in the world a principle of organization, which, in man, philosophy recognizes as the soul, al-

though at this point the author's thought is highly speculative in character (reminding one of the theological doctrine of the impersonal Logos) and confused in statement. Within the soul arise commanding ideals of justice and perfection, which are not fully realized on the level of this world and hence call for a transcendent world of life and progress which theism alone can assure. If there be a God, the source and guarantee of moral values, then personality, wherein alone such values inhere, becomes supremely precious and individual immortality certain. This follows, however, only if God be conceived of as transcendently personal instead of pantheistically immanent; but such a thought of God is given by Christianity and in religious experience. Only in man's faith in God can his hope of immortality be securely rooted.

It should be evident, although in fact it seems not to be, even to Dr. Galloway, that this argument outflanks the chief obstacle to belief in immortality, which is, of course, the complete dependence within our experience of psychical life upon physical structure. Yet, unless we think of God as having a physical substratum (and who does so think of Him nowadays?), those who believe in Him affirm the actual existence of psychical apart from physical being and thus deny the necessity and the universality of the connection. Accordingly, faith in a spiritual God opens wide the door to hope of human immortality. Since this is not always clearly seen and since there are those who appear to find immortality more credible than theism, those who advocate immortality devote much space to attempts at the removal of the psycho-physical obstacle. One of the most interesting is in the book by Streeter and others, entitled *Immortality*, which contains nine essays of very uneven merit, all of which, however, accept to a greater or less degree the genuineness of the phenomena dealt with by the Psychic Research Society and explain them by the hypothesis of telepathy and the operations of the subliminal mind. Of these essays, the second is by J. A. Hadfield, Surgeon in the Royal Navy, who discusses from the point of view of a surgeon and with professional knowledge the relations between mind and brain; arguing that the progressive emancipation of the former from the latter in the history of development indicates the possibility of its survival when the connection shall be completely broken by physical death. That is to say, the facts of psychic research are interpreted as evidence of extraordinary mental powers, natural to man but as yet only partially developed and in a few individuals, which demonstrate the ability of the mind even here to transcend physical limitations and so promise survival after death.

If, however, the psychical phenomena to which Mr. Streeter and his collaborators refer are indeed genuine, may they not be accounted for in another way and regarded as proofs of the survival after death of those who thus seek to manifest their discarnate existence? This is the view of Dr. McComb, whose book is more popular (in a good sense) than either of the others just mentioned. It presents skillfully and persuasively the arguments commonly urged, but rests the case mainly upon what are deemed the assured results of psychic research. This is the line taken by many recent writers — Lodge, Hyslop, Hill, Doyle, to mention only a few. It seems to depend very largely upon one's habitual temper and attitude of mind whether he gives more credence to isolated psychical phenomena or to considerations based upon the significance of God and Godlike men.

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SHORT NOTICES

A BOOK ABOUT THE ENGLISH BIBLE. JOSIAH H. PENNIMAN, Ph.D., LL.D. (Religion, Science, and Literature Series.) The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xii, 444. \$2.25.

These lectures to the students of the University of Pennsylvania must have discouraged intelligent interest in the Bible. They show, to the man who is growing away from the traditional attitude towards the Bible, hardly a trace of modern biblical study — the newer theory of the composition of the Pentateuch is not mentioned — and at the same time they do not present the traditional attitude with the glow which alone can give it attraction. The best they do is to furnish a brief summary of the contents of each book of the Bible, and an account of the different English Versions.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS. A JEWISH INTERPRETATION. JULIAN MORGENTERN. Published by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Cincinnati. 1919. Pp. x, 335.

This is a manual for teachers, tracing many of the stories of Genesis back to early folk-tales, giving expository notes on the text, with illustrations of oriental life taken often from the monuments; reverent in treatment; as to the results of modern study, limited; so far as it goes, intelligent.

WHAT DID JESUS TEACH? FRANK R. GRAYES. The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xii, 195. \$1.75.

The Christian Associations of the University of Pennsylvania recently organized a campaign to induce two thousand students to

read during Lent the life of Jesus, as given in its simplest form in the Gospel of St. Mark. Seventy-two groups, composed of Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and numerous other forms of belief, with some self-styled agnostics, met once a week for discussion. The campaign was thought to have been a conspicuous success.

This book embodies the studies which were followed. It is clear in thought, swift in style, reverent, modern in scholarship, necessarily passing over many grave problems, but excellent as a text-book for thoughtful minds, whether in college groups, Sunday schools, or in individual study. There is much valuable material and stimulus in condensed form.

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THE EARLIEST MINOR ACCOUNTS OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION

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The story of the voyage of the Mayflower in 1620 and of the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth has been told again and again, and in this year of the tercentenary celebration will be repeated in still further varying forms; but we are certain that it will never be more graphically narrated than by the Pilgrims themselves and their friends during the twenties, thirties, and forties of the seventeenth century.

In this paper I do not intend to venture to give any new version of that narrative. It is my purpose rather to recall certain phases of the story as they appear in the vigorous and terse English of the earliest accounts, and to note especially also the interesting archæological information concerning the Indians of New England which they furnish.

In recent years Governor Bradford's monumental *History of Plimoth Plantation* has overshadowed these minor accounts, and this is quite understandable, owing to its undoubted value, its comparatively recent recovery, and its publication in several editions. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the *History* has superseded the more fragmentary literature. Quite the contrary is the case, for that work was only commenced in 1630 and was

written with an entirely different purpose in view. Consequently it lacks much of the freshness and detail of the first contemporary narratives, though it also occasionally supplements them with other facts of considerable interest. Sometimes, however, Bradford in the *History* abbreviates, alters, or even passes over in silence incidents or details which at the time of the arrival of the Pilgrims seemed interesting, if not important.

In reintroducing the subject of the early Pilgrim literature I shall consider almost entirely certain documents published in 1622 under the title of *A Relation or Iovrnall*, and Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England* issued in 1624. Brief reference will also be made to John Pory's *Description of Plymouth Colony* of 1622, to Captain John Smith's *Advertisements* of 1631, to William Wood's [Sir William Alexander's?] *New Englands Prospect* of 1636, and to Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* of 1637.

It may be doubted if there is any early document relating to the Pilgrims equal in vivacity and graphic power to John Pory's *Description* of 1622. Pory was a friend of Governor Bradford and one of the best letter-writers of his time; and his quaint and delightful account of Plymouth gives a picture of the infant colony and its neighborhood and of the life there in those early days such as no other known writer of the period has left behind. An occasional touch of humor adds to its readability. The document as a whole furnishes us with the earliest description of Plymouth of any extent which still exists in a contemporary manuscript, and with information on various historical points little or not otherwise known, and clears up one matter which has proved a puzzle to historians and editors for two and a half centuries.¹

¹ I refer to the word Angoum or Anguum, which is here shown to stand for Anquam (Annisquam) on Cape Ann, and not for Agawam (Ipswich), as heretofore supposed.

As Pory's narrative has recently been published in full,² the following extract will suffice here, and will give some idea of the breezy manner in which this debonair adventurer noted his impressions of the new colony and its neighborhood:

"Oysters there are none, but at Massachusett some 20 miles to the north of this place there are such huge ones by salvages report, as I am loth to report. For ordinarie ones, of which there be manie, they make to be as broad as a bushell, but one among the rest they compared to the greate cabbin of the Discoverie, and being sober and well advised persons, grew verie angrie when they were laughed at or not beleaved! I would haue had Captaine Jones to haue tried out the truth of this report, and what was the reason? If, said I, the oysters be soe greate and haue anie pearles in them, then must the pearles be answerable in greatnes to the oysters, and proving round and orient also, would farre exceed all other jewells in the world! Yea, what strange and pretious things might be found in so rare a creature! But Captaine Jones his imploying his pinnace in discoveries, his graueing of the ship, his hast away about other occasions and busines, would not permit him to doe that which often since he wished he could haue done."

The earliest experiences of the Pilgrim Fathers after their eventful voyage across the Atlantic are first recorded in the previously mentioned *Relation or Iovrnall*, 1622, and Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England*, 1624. In America for many years the *Relation or Iovrnall* has been erroneously styled *Mourt's Relation*. Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter was, no doubt, chiefly responsible for perpetuating the title, but recent writers occasionally employ it, in spite of the fact that for more than fifty years scholars have justly suspected and stated, though without perfectly satisfactory evidence in the first instance, that Governor William Bradford and Edward Winslow were the true authors respectively of the two separate Relations really included in that work. Until the publication of Professor Edward Arber's *Story*

² Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918.

of the *Pilgrim Fathers* in 1897, indeed, definite proof was wanting to show that Bradford had ever written such a *Relation*. Twenty years and more, however, have gone by since then, and yet our historians and editors are still referring to *Mourt's Relation*.

On pages 506 and 507 of Arber's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* will be found the following complaint, of the date 1622,³ the contents of which when taken in connection with certain well known facts prove that the first (and only real) *Relation* published concerning the Pilgrims in 1622 was written by Bradford, and that there is no reason whatever for attaching to it the name of an unknown person of the period called "Mourt":⁴

"THE COMPLAINT OF CERTAIN ADVENTURERS AND INHABITANTS
OF THE PLANTATION IN NEW ENGLAND

Sheweth

That a ship belonging to them, named the *Fortune*, of the burden of between 40 and 50 tons or thereabouts, being upon their way homeward, and near the English coast, some eight leagues off Use, called by the Frenchmen Ile d'Use [= Yeu, off the coast of Poitou], was, the 19th of January last [1622], assailed and taken by a French Man-of-War, the Captain whereof was called FONTENAU DE PENNART de *Brittannie* [*Bretagne*]; and carried to the Isle of Use.

³ Mr. Worthington C. Ford reproduces this document in full in his Massachusetts Historical Society edition of Bradford's History (I, 268, 269), but fails to draw the obvious conclusion, and (I, 177, note 6) speaks of "Mourt" and of the "authors of the *Relation*."

⁴ Consequently, a historical blunder has been made in calling this work Mourt's *Relation*. In the first place, Mourt is a ghost-name, since it never existed except by mistake. In the original printed edition the name stands as "Mourt.", the period at the end naturally indicating an abbreviation by suspension, as well as the conclusion of the preface. The name "Mourton," "Murton," or "Morton" (compare the similar phonetic spellings Crumwell and Cromwell) is manifestly intended, but there is nothing to prove that George Morton wrote much more than the preface. In the second place, according to the printed title-page, the work known as Mourt's *Relation* contains not one *Relation* but two *Relations*, the second chiefly composed, it would appear, of letters or parts of letters written by Edward Winslow. In the third place, we have the best of reasons, both from internal evidence and from the definite statement in the complaint just mentioned, that the first *Relation* was written by Governor Bradford, or perhaps we might say more accurately, was compiled by him from his own observations and possibly the narrative of some eye-witness of occasional events not noted by himself.

That FONTENAU presented the ship, and company thereof, being 13 persons, as prisoners to Monsieur le Marquis DE CERA, Governor of the Isle. . . . That thereupon Monsieur DE CERA kept THOMAS BARTON, Master of the ship, seven days, close prisoner in his Castle, and the rest of the company under guard; and commanded his soldiers to pillage them. . . . That he sent for all their letters, [and] opened and kept what he pleased; especially, though he was much intreated to the contrary, a letter written by [WILLIAM BRADFORD] the Governor of our Colony in New England, containing a general Relation of all matters there.”⁵

Accordingly, we know definitely that about 1621-22, Bradford did write “a general Relation of all matters” pertaining to the colony at Plymouth; that it was carried to Europe in the *Fortune*, which on January 19-29, 1621-22, was captured by a French war vessel and taken to the Isle of Yeu, off the coast of Poitou; that here the ship-master and all on board were kept prisoners for some days.

To supplement this document, we may add a statement from Mr. Ford’s edition of Bradford’s *History* (I, 178), namely, that *Mourt’s Relation* “was carried to England by Robert Cushman, who, sailing in the *Fortune*, did not reach London till February, 1622”; and that on June 29, 1622, the *Relation* was entered in the Stationers’ Register under the title, *Newes from neue England*. Elsewhere (I, 268), in the same edition of the *History* Bradford further gives a letter from Cushman, in which he says that the vessel was kept in France for fifteen days, and that he and his fellow-passengers did not reach home until February 17-27, 1621-22.

Thus we obtain the final link in the chain of evidence which proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the first section of *Mourt’s Relation* is really Bradford’s Relation, for two distinct Relations treating of exactly the same matters would hardly have been carried from Plymouth

⁵ S. P. Colonial, Vol. V, No. 112, E. Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1897, pp. 506, 507.

on the same vessel at one time, one of them by Governor Bradford and the other by an entirely unknown person bearing the ghost-name "Mourt"; and furthermore in case there had by any chance been two such Relations and one of them by Bradford, it is certain that Cushman would have carried that by the Governor and not that by the utterly unknown "Mourt." The same evidence makes it also probable that after the manuscript had been taken away, and very likely some time between February, 1621-22 and June 29, 1622, the first Relation was returned to Cushman or at least sent on to England as the outcome of the Complaint which had been issued. Thus we obtain a better understanding of the wanderings of the manuscript of Bradford's earliest description of the settlement at Plymouth.

The second so-called Relation printed with that by Bradford, as I have previously indicated in a note, is made up chiefly of letters or parts of letters by Winslow, and consequently was also not composed by "Mourt," though in England Morton may perhaps have added the headings to the several sections and may have given the extended title to the book when it was sent to the press.

Unless we are mistaken, the first *Relation or Iovrnall* gains a new historical value by our present definite knowledge that it was certainly written by Governor Bradford himself. Well might Professor Arber, who by the way did not believe that the original document by Bradford had really survived, and who concluded by a rather bad process of reasoning ⁶ that Edward Winslow was the probable author of the first Relation as printed, assert with much feeling, that "Posterity will always owe a grudge to this noble thief [Monsieur le Marquis de Cera] for his robbery of Governor Bradford's despatch, unless it should happily

⁶ Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1897, p. 416, note. If Winslow, or any other Pilgrim besides Bradford, had been the author, he would have written "Master William Bradford," not simply "William Bradford."

be recovered from among the existing French archives; and then posterity would bless him forever";⁷ and that "Doubtless, the Marquis kept it in order to send it up to the Court at Paris"! But in this opinion Dr. Arber was certainly wrong, unless indeed the document was sent back from Paris before June 29, 1622.

The Pilgrim Fathers upon their arrival on American shores were very much interested in their natural surroundings and in the neighboring Indians, and fortunately were very keen observers and reporters of the primitive objects and strange customs which they saw. Perhaps, indeed, they might not inappropriately be called the first archæologists of New England, and some of the details noted by them are of value even today. For convenience, I have grouped the subjects treated in this early literature to which I wish to call attention under three main headings, namely, I, The Story of the Voyage and of the Pilgrims' Choice of a Site for their Settlement; II, The Earliest Descriptions of Plymouth Plantation and an Account of its Gradual Fortification; and III, The Pilgrims and the Indians.

I. THE STORY OF THE VOYAGE AND OF THE PILGRIMS' CHOICE OF A SITE FOR THEIR SETTLEMENT

Bradford's *Relation or Iovrnall*⁸ opens with the following familiar but informing account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod and of their search for a suitable site upon which to found their settlement. The description, though wanting the literary charm of a writer like John Pory, is straightforward and graphic, and gives

⁷ Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 507, note. Winslow's letter [the second so-called Relation] and Bradford's Relation were no doubt both published without the consent of their respective authors, but that fact would not prove that these were not the genuine and original accounts.

⁸ This rare and valuable work as published bore the following title: A | RELATION OR | Journall of the beginning and proceedings | of the English Plantation settled at *Plimoth* in NEW | ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both | Merchants and

some archæological details of real interest. For instance, in one place mention is made of the fact that the Pilgrims found in some of the Indian graves quantities of red powder, which had a strong but not offensive odor and was manifestly employed for purposes of embalming. Perhaps, indeed, this is the earliest reference now known to the so-called "Red-Paint People," to whom Mr. Warren K. Moorehead of Andover has paid so much attention in recent years.⁹ It would be of considerable value if we could learn whether the occupants of such graves came originally from Maine. Bradford's suggestion that the red powder was used for embalming is of interest, since it readily explains one feature of the so-called Indian Red-Paint burials in Maine which hitherto, I fancy, has not been understood. Some other important characteristics of Indian burials also are given in this narrative which, I believe, may help us to explain certain hitherto puzzling remains of the so-called Mound Builders.

A RELATION OR IOVRNALL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
PLANTATION SETLED AT *Plimoth* IN NEW ENGLAND ¹⁰

Wednesday, the sixt of *September*, the Wind comming East North East, a fine small gale, we loosed from *Plimoth* [England], hauing beene kindly intertained and curteously vsed by diuers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boysterous stormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of *Nouember* following, by breake of the day, we espied land which we deemed to be *Cape Cod*, and so

others. | With their difficult passage, their safe ariual, their | ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them- | selues in the now well defended Towne | of NEW PLI-MOTH. | . . . London, 1622, 4°.

There is evidence in the work as printed to show that Winslow's letters were written in the secretarial hand of the period. Various misreadings by the compositor make this point clear. A statement in Robert Cushman's preface suggests that Bradford may have inserted in his narrative reports by others of certain events, not witnessed by himself.

⁹ See his writings entitled *The Red-Paint People of Maine*, 1913; *The Problem of the Red-Paint People*, Washington, 1916; and *Prehistoric Cultures in the State of Maine*, Washington, D.C., 1917.

¹⁰ The punctuation and capitalization of the citations, for convenience in reading, have been to some extent normalized.

afterward it proued. And the appearance of it much comforted vs; especially seeing so goodly a Land and woodded to the brinke of the sea, it caused vs to reioyce together and praise God that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West, purposing to goe to a Riuer ten leagues to the South of the Cape [i.e., the Hudson River]; but at night the winde being contrary we put round againe for the Bay of *Cape Cod*, and vpon the 2 of *November* we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land, compassed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Sassafras, and other sweet wood. It is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride. There we relieued our selues with wood and water and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the Bay to search for an habitation. There was the greatest store of fowle that ever we saw.

And euery day we saw Whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if we had [had] instruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great grieve we wanted. Our master and his mate and others experienced in fishing professed we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle. They preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing & purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here. For Cod we assayed but found none; there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there but some few little ones on the shore. We found great Mussles and very fat and full of Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers. . . . The bay is so round & circling, that before we could come to anchor we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow-shoot or two in going a-land which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather. . . .

The same day, so soon as we could, we set a-shore 15 or 16 men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left, as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of Land; on this side where we lay is the *Bay*, and [on] the further side the Sea; the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better; the crust of the earth a Spits depth excellent blacke earth, all woodded with Okes, Pines, Sassafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; the wood for the most part open and without vnder-wood,

fit either to goe [on foot] or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any person nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which smelled very sweet & strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there. . . .¹¹ When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee were (as we had direction), and so marched on towards this supposed River; and as we went in another valley we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad and twise as long. There grew also many small vines, and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Sasafras. From thence we went on & found much plaine ground, about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the *Indians* had formerly planted their corne. After this . . . we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a woodden thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof. We musing what it might be digged & found a Bow, and as we thought Arrowes, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things [there], but because we deemed them graues,¹² we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines. Passing thus a field or two which were not great, we came to another which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had beene and foure or fiue old Plankes layed together; also we found a great Kettle which had beene some Ships kete and brought out of *Europe*; there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done. We might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further & found a fine new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36 goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight. The Basket was round and narrow at the top. It held about three or foure Bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst wee were busie about

¹¹ Pp. 1-4.

¹² Dr. Dexter thinks these graves were "somewhere in what is now the village of Great Hollow."

these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged vp the corne. We were in suspence what to do with it and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation we concluded to take the Kettle and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs, and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, . . . we would giue them the Kettle againe and satisfie them for their Corne. So we tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by some Christians, . . . so we returned leaving the farther discovery . . . and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire and a Baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, euery one standing when his turne came, while five or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proved a very rainie night. . . . In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high aboue the creak, where we saw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them! Wee also did spring three couple of Partridges, and as we came along by the creak, wee saw great flocks of wild Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water vp to the knees, till at length we came neare the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs. . . . This was our first Discovery . . . but the discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from, the shore but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the midle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; some did it necessarily and some for their owne pleasure, but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather prouing sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed.¹³

When our Shallop was fit . . . there was appointed some 24 men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the rivers [Pamet River and its three branches] before mentioned. Master *Iones* was desirous to goe with vs. . . . Wee made master *Iones* our Leader. . . . When we were set forth, it proued rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the

¹³ Pp. 5-8.

Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neerest shore the wind would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out about the knees. The wind was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night. . . . It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and frose withall; some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about 11 a-clocke . . . we sayled to the river . . . which we named *Cold Harbour*. . . . We landed our men betweene the two creekes . . . and our Shallop followed vs. At length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills and deepe vallies which lay halfe a foot thicke with snow. Master *Iones* wearied with marching was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out wee got three fat Geese and six Ducks to our Supper, which we eate [= ate] with Souldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day. . . . In the morning . . . we turned towards the other creeke, that wee might goe over and looke for the rest of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before. When we came to the creeke, we saw the Canow lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of Geese in the river, at which one made a shot and killed a couple of them, and we lanced the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, she carryed vs over by seaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had [found] the corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill*, and digged and found more corne, viz., two or three Baskets full of *Indian Wheat* [= Corn] and a bag of Beanes with a good many of faire Wheat-eares.¹⁴ Whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for seed. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we should haue done. . . . Also we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Iourney, for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Toolles. . . .

The next morning we followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts [= tracks] of the *Indians* into the Woods, supposing they would haue led vs into some Towne, or houses. After wee had gone a while, we light [= came] vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two

¹⁴ That is, a good many faire eares of Corn.

foote broad, when we lighted all our Matches, and prepared our selues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in when the *Indians* hunt, as wee supposed. When we had marched fīue or six myles into the Woods and could find no signes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as [= so that] we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp; where we found first a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters [of a yard] long finely carued and paynted, with three tynes or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Traves, Dishes, and such like Trinkets. At length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse. We opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The Skull had fine yellow haire still on it and some of the flesh vnconsumed. There was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Casacke and a payre of cloth breeches. The red Powder was a kind of Embaulment and yeelded a strong but no offensiue smell. It was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found [some] of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe. About the leggs and other parts of it was bound strings and bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters [of a yard] long and some other odd [nic]knacks. We brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs and covered the Corps vp againe. After this we digged in sundry like places but found no more Corne nor any things els but graues. There was varietie of opinions amongst vs about the embalmed person. Some thought it was an *Indian* Lord and King. Others sayd, The *Indians* haue all blacke hayre, and never any was seene with browne or yellow hayre. Some thought it was a Christian of some speciaall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him. Others thought they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him. . . .¹⁵

Others againe vrged greatly the going to *Anguam* or *Angoum*,¹⁶ a place twentie leagues off to the Northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships [with] better ground and better

¹⁵ Pp. 9-12.

¹⁶ Hitherto Angoum or Anguam has been interpreted to mean Ipswich, but Ipswich can hardly be said to have an excellent harbor for ships. Furthermore, it now becomes

fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better seate, and it should be a great hindrance to seate [= settle] where wee should remoue againe. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched vp a steepe hill; but to omit many reasons and replies vsed heere abouts, it was in the ende concluded to make some discovery within the Bay, but in no case so farre [north] as *Angoum*. Besides, *Robert Coppin* our Pilot, made relation of a great Navigable River and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay, almost right over against *Cape Cod*, being a right line, not much aboue eight leagues distant, in which hee had beene once. . . .¹⁷ The narration of which Discovery followes, penned by one of the Company.

Wednesday, the sixt of December, we set out, [it] being very cold and hard weather. Wee were a long while after we launched from the ship before we could get cleare of a sandie poynt, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time two were very sicke, and *Edward Tilley* had like to haue sounded [= swooned] with cold; the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death . . . and so remained all that day, and the next night. At length we got cleare of the sandy poynt and got vp our sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron. Wee sayled sixe or seaven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke. At length wee mett with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shore with a sandy poynt. We bore vp to gaine the poynt & found there a fayre income or rode of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs, and left the discovery of this *Income* till the next day. . . . In the morning . . . we found it onely to be a Bay without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as *Cape Cod*, for they that sounded it found a ship might ride [there] in fve fathom water. Wee on the land found it to be a levill soyle, but none of the fruitfullest; wee saw two beκες [= brooks] of fresh water, which were the first running streames that we saw in the Country, but one might stride over them; we found also a great fish called a *Grampus* dead on the sands. They in the Shallop

manifest from the recently discovered letters of John Pory, that *Angoum* or *Anguam* does not stand for *Agawam* at all, but for "*Anquam*, scituate within *Cape Anna*, aboute 40 leagues from *Plimouth*," evidently now known as *Annisquam*.

¹⁷ P. 14.

found two of them also in the bottome of the bay, dead in like sort. They were cast vp at high water and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some fīue or sixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleshed like a Swine. They would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it. . . . We then directed our course along the Sea-sands, to the place where we first saw the *Indians* when we were there. We saw it was also a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp; they cut it into long rands or peeeces about an ell long and two handfull broad; wee found here and there a peece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for hast. This place the most were minded we should call the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there. Wee followed the tract [= track] of the *Indians* bare feete a good way on the sands; at length we saw where they strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond [Great Pond] . . . so we light [came] on a path, but saw no house, and followed [the path] a great way into the woods;¹⁸ at length wee found where Corne had beene set, but not that yeare. Anone [= Anon] we found a great burying place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large Palazado like a Church-yard, with yong spires [= saplings] foure or fīue yards long set so close one by another as they could [be], two or three foot in the ground. Within, it was full of Graues, some bigger and some lesse, some were also paled about, & others had like an *Indian*-house made over them, but not matted. Those Graues were more sumptuous then those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them and went our way. Without the Palazado were graues also, but not so costly. From this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged, we light [came] on foure or fīue *Indian*-houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but they were vncovered and had no matts about them, els they were like those we found at *Corne-hill*, but had not beene so lately dwelt in. There was nothing left but two or three peeeces of old matts [and] a little sedge. Also a little further [on] we found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had beene Corne, when we beganne to dig the same. We cast earth thereon againe & went our way."¹⁹

With this account of an Indian burying ground we may compare the description given by Edward Winslow of the house and burial-place of the Indian king, Nanepashemet.

¹⁸ Dr. H. M. Dexter (*Mourt's Relation*, Boston, 1865, note 175) suggests "in the direction of Enoch's Rock and Nauset light."

¹⁹ Pp. 15-18.

It is to be noted that the house was situated on the top of a hill or mound, as was probably the case likewise with the houses of the kings of the Mound Builders in the Mississippi valley. Nanepashemet, we are told, was buried within a circular earthwork forty or fifty feet in diameter, having a trench breast-high both on the inside and on the outside. The enclosure was surrounded by a strong palisade of poles thirty or forty feet long sunk firmly in the ground as close to each other as possible. The only approach to the enclosure was a bridge, and in the centre of the palisado stood the frame of an Indian house, beneath which the king was buried. Had the country not been invaded by European settlers, and had there been time for the last resting-place of the king to become venerated, a mound might later on perhaps have been heaped above the house, and then the fortification would have strikingly resembled some of the mounds in the Mississippi Valley:

"On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Hauing gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence [? near Medford], *Nanepashemet* their King in his life-time had liued. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built with pools [= poles] and plancks some six foote from [the] ground, and the house vpon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome [? now near Mystic Pond, Medford,] wee came to a Fort built by their deceased King, the manner thus: There were pools [= poles] some thirtie or fortie foote long stucke in the ground as thicke as they could be set one by another, and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breast high was digged on each side. One way there was to goe into it with a bridge. In the midst of this Pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buried.

About a myle from hence, we came to such another [? house], but seated on the top of an hill. Here *Nanepashemet* was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death.²⁰

²⁰ A Relation, 1622, p. 58 (in the second so-called Relation which was not written by Bradford but which consists of several sections probably for the most part written

II. THE EARLIEST DESCRIPTION OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION AND AN ACCOUNT OF ITS GRADUAL FORTIFICATION

The following descriptions of Plymouth (formerly Patuxet) by Bradford and by Winslow respectively may very fittingly be compared with Pory's similar description of 1622.

[Bradford]

"On the fifteenth day we waighed Anchor to goe to the place we had discovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome againe towards *Cape Cod*, our course lying West; and the wind was at North west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday, the 16 day [of December, 1620], the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came safely into a safe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, so as [= so that] if we had beene letted [= hindered] but a little, we had gone backe to *Cape Cod*. This Harbour is a Bay greater then *Cape Cod*, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay 2 fine Islands vninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood — Okes, Pines, Walnut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other trees which wee know not. This Bay is a most hopefull place, [containing] innumerable store of fowle, and excellent good, and [there] cannot but bee [an abundance] of fish in their seasons — Skate, Cod, Turbot, and Herring. Wee haue tasted of abundance of Musles, the greatest & best that ever we saw, Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a Cikle [= sickle] or Fish-hooke.

Monday, the 18 day [of December], we went a-land, manned with the Maister of the Ship and 3 or 4 of the Saylers. We marched along the coast in the woods, some 7 or 8 mile, but saw not an *Indian* nor an *Indian*-house, only we found where formerly had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne. We found not

by Winslow). In this connection we will add the following instructive passage from Winslow's Good Newes, p. 58, which shows how the sachems were buried:

"When they bury the dead, they sow vp the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the party bee a *Sachim*, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the graue with a pale. If it bee a childe, the father will also put his owne most speciall iewels and ornaments in the earth with it. . . . If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull downe the mattes and leaue the frame standing, and burie them in or neere the same, and either remoue their dwelling or giue ouer house-keeping."

any Navigable River, but 4 or 5 small running brookes of very sweet fresh water that all run into the Sea. The land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth excellent blacke mold and fat in some places. [There are] 2 or 3 great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts, Beech, Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp[en?], Sasifras in abundance, & Vines euerywhere, Cherry trees, Plum-trees, and many other which we know not. Most kinds of hearbes we found heere in Winter as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, Yarow, Caruell, Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-cresses, great store of Leekes and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe. Here is sand, gravell, and excellent clay (no better in the Worlde), [which is] excellent for pots and will wash like sope, and great store of stone though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever wee drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fish. That night many being weary with marching, wee went aboutd againe.”²¹

[Winslow]

“[As] for the temper of the ayre here, it agreeth well with that in *England*, and if there be any difference at all, this [country] is somewhat hotter in Summer. Some thinke it to be colder in Winter, but I cannot out of experience so say. The ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beene reported. I neuer in my life remember a more seasonable yeare then we haue here enioyed, and if we haue once but Kine, Horses, and Sheepe, I make no question but men might liue as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowle, we haue great abundance; fresh Codd in the Summer is but course meat with vs. Our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of other Fish. In September we can take a Hogshead of Eeles in a night with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds all the Winter. We haue Mussells and Clams²² at our doores. Oysters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the *Indians* when we will; all the Spring time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs; here are Grapes, white and red, and very sweete and strong also, Strawberies, Gooseberies, Raspas, &c., Plums of three sorts, with blacke and red, being almost as good as a Damsen; abundance of Roses, white, red, and damask, single, but very sweet indeed. The Countrey wanteth onely industrious men to employ, for it would grieue your hearts (if as I) you had seene so

²¹ Bradford, *Relation*, pp. 21-22.

²² Printed text, “Othus.” Dr. Dexter suggested the reading, clams, as is certainly correct. This part of the MS., therefore was manifestly written in the secretarial or decadent Court Hand of the period, which was in this case misread by the compositor.

many myles together by goodly Riuers vninhabited, and withall to consider those parts of the world wherein you liue to be euen greatly burthened with abundance of people.”²³

The Pilgrims planned their settlement with great speed when once they had chosen a suitable site. And haste was necessary, for it was already almost Christmas time, and they were faced by the rigors of a New England winter. By combining these first accounts of Plymouth we may obtain an excellent idea of the appearance and life of the little colony in its earliest days, and various interesting details concerning its defense and enlargement during the first two decades of its history:

“That night [December 19–29] we returned againe a-ship-board, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places; so in the morning [of December 20–30], after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to goe presently ashore againe and to take a better view of two places which wee thought most fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our Beere, and it being now the 19 of *December*. After our landing and viewing of the place so well as we could, we came to a conclusion by most voyces, [namely,] to set[tle] on the maine Land on the first place,²⁴ on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hathe beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and [where] there is a very sweet brooke [i.e., Town Brooke] [which] runnes vnder the hillside, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this brooke much good fish in their seasons. On the further side of the river also much Corne ground [has been] cleared; in one field is a great hill [i.e., Burial Hill], on which wee poynt to make a platforme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the *Bay*, and farre into the Sea, and we may see thence *Cape Cod*. Our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an English myle [distant], but there is enough so farre off. What people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue seene none, so

²³ Relation, p. 58 (second Relation, written not by Bradford but evidently by Winslow).

²⁴ That is, Patuxet or Plymouth.

there we made our Randevous and a place for some of our people, about twentie resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses. . . .²⁵

Thursday the 28 of *December* [or January 7, 1620–21], so many as could went to worke on the hill where we purposed to build our plat-forme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine and the *Bay*, and from whence we may see farre into the sea, and [which] might be easier impayled, having two rowes of houses and a faire streete. So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and first we tooke notice how many Families they were, willing all single men that had no wiues to ioyne with some Familie as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to 19 Families. To greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length, and so Lots were cast where euery man should lie, which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at first for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at *Cape Cod* had brought much weakenes amongst vs, and after[wards] was the cause of many of their deaths.²⁶

Tuesday, the 9 [or 19] *January* [1620–21], was a reasonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne in two rowes of houses for more safety. We devided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne. After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course men would make more hast[e] then working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our Randevous, being neere finished wanted onely couering, it being about 20 foote square. Some should make mortar and some gather thatch, so that in four days halfe of it was thatched. Frost and foule weather hindred vs much; this time of the yeare seldome could wee worke halfe the weeke.²⁷

Munday, the 22 [January or February 1], was a faire day. We wrought on our houses, and in the after-noone carried vp our hogsheds of meale to our common store-house.²⁸ Saturday, the 17 [or 27] day [of February], in the morning we called a meeting for the establishing of military Orders amongst our selues, and we chose *Miles Standish* our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres; and as we were in consultation here abouts, two Savages

²⁵ Bradford, *Relation*, p. 23.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

presented themselves vpon the top of an hill over against our Plantation about a quarter of a myle and lesse [distant]. . . . This caused vs to plant our great Ordinances in places most convenient. Wednesday, the 21 [or 31] of *February*, the master came on shore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a *Minion*, and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with another Peece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller [= saker] and two bases. Saturday, the third [or thirteenth] of *March*, the wind was South, the morning mistie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather. The Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the first wee heard in that Countrey. It was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight. Wednesday, the seaventh [or seventeenth] of *March*, the wind was full East, cold, but faire. That day Master *Carver* with fve other[s] went to the great Ponds, which seeme to be excellent fishing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they saw none. Amongst other foule, they saw one, a milk white foule, with a very blacke head. This day some garden seede were sowen.²⁹

Referring you for further satisfaction to our more large Relations (of which the greater part of this book is composed), you shall vnderstand that in this little time that a few of vs haue beene here, we haue built seauen dwelling houses, and foure for the [common] vse of the Plantation, and haue made preparation for diuers others. We set the last Spring [1621] some twentie Acres of *Indian* Corne and sowed some six Acres of Barly & Pease, and according to the manner of the *Indians* we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds [*i.e.*, alewives], which we haue in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doores. Our Corne did proue well, & God be prayed, we had a good increase of *Indian*-Corne, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Pease [were] not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sowne. They came vp very well and blossomed, but the Sunne parched them in the blossome. Our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours. They foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beside served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations we exercised our Armes, many of the *Indians* coming amongst vs, and amongst the rest their greatest King *Massasoyt*, with some ninetie men, whom

²⁹ Bradford, Relation, pp. 31, 32.

for three days we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and bestowed on our Governour, and vpon the Captaine, and others. . . . Wee haue found the *Indians* very faithfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleasure vs. We often goe to them, and they come to vs; some of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them. . . . They are a people . . . very trustie, quicke of apprehension, ripe witted, iust. The men and women goe naked [with] onely a skin about their middles.”³⁰

Apparently it was only gradually that a sense of insecurity became keenly felt by the Pilgrims, for it was not until February, 1621–22, that the little plantation was impaled and fortified, while the fort was not made fit for service until March 25, 1623. On that day a watch was first kept:

“In the meane time, knowing our owne weaknesse, notwithstanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them [the Indians], and still lying open to all casualty, hauing as yet (vnder God) no other defence than our Armes, wee thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all our expedition wee accomplished in the moneth of February [1621–2] and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill vnder which our Towne is seated, making foure bulwarkes or ietties without the ordinarie circuit of the pale, from whence wee could defend the whole Towne; in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. . . .”³¹

Now [*i.e.*, March 25, 1623] was our Fort made fit for seruice and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke, it being ten moneths since it [was] begun, yet wee must note that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring [it] to perfection. . . . Thus was our Fort hanselled, this being the first day as I take it that euer any watch was there kept.”³²

Captain John Smith gives the following singularly complete though brief, description of Plymouth in 1624:³³

“In this Plantation [of New-Plimouth] there is about an hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry.

³⁰ Relation, pp. 60, 61 (section by Edward Winslow).

³¹ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes*, 1624, p. 4.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40.

³³ *Advertisements*, London, 1631, pp. 18, 19.

Their Towne contains two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile,³⁴ within which a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three years; yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth* for want of good take heed, . . . [they] spent six or seven weekes in wandring up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks, and swamps, forty of them died, and three-score were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth*, where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed, whose misery and variable opinions, for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them."

As the settlement of the colony became better established, the inhabitants naturally, for their own convenience, began to occupy new land and to build new houses, so that apparently even as early as 1636 some of the families owned more than one house, as the following passage shows:

"And whereas some gather the ground [of New England] to be naught, and soone out of heart, because *Plimouth* men ³⁵ remove from their old habitations, I answer, they do no more remove from their habitation, than the Citizen which hath one house in the Citie and another in the Countrey, for his pleasure, health and profit. For although they have taken new plots of ground, and build houses upon them, yet doe they retaine their old houses still, and repaire to them every Sabbath day; neither doe they esteeme their old lots worse than when they first tooke them. What if they doe not plant on them every yeare? I hope it is no ill husbandry to rest the land, nor is alwayes that the worst that lies sometimes fallow. . . . This ground is in some places of a soft mould, and easie to plow; in other places so tough and hard, that I have seen ten Oxen toyled, their Iron chaines broken, and their Shares and Coulters much strained; but after the first breaking up it is so easie, that two Oxen and a Horse may plow it; there hath as good *English* Corne growne there, as could be desired; especially Rie and Oates and Barly; there hath been no great triall as yet of Wheate, and Beanes.³⁶

³⁴ John Pory says that the palisade about the plantation in 1622 was "2700 foote in compasse" (John Pory's Lost Description, 1918, p. 42).

³⁵ Text, *meu*. ³⁶ William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, London, 1636, p. 11.

III. THE PILGRIMS AND THE INDIANS

During their first years in America the Pilgrims were more troubled by a shortage of food supplies than by the Indians. Indeed, the Pilgrims were not much disturbed by them until the spring of 1621, when they began to receive visits like the following. These descriptions seem to us of importance, since they show that the Indians known to the Pilgrim Fathers must have dressed and painted themselves in a manner very similar to that practised by the Aztecs in Mexico, whose surviving manuscripts in brilliant colors still preserve for us their general appearance and dress, together with some of their peculiar customs. Conversely, our partial understanding of the significance of the dress and of the colors of paint employed by the Aztecs suggests the possibility, if indeed not the probability, of a similar or even identical meaning for the same dress and the same colors of paint as used among the Indians: ³⁷

"Thursday, the 22 of *March*, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met again about our publike businesse, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but *Samoset* came againe, and *Squanto* [= *Tisquantum*], the onely natiue of *Patuxat*, where we now inhabite, . . . with three others, and they brought with them some few skinnes to trucke, and some red Herings newly taken and dried but not salted, and signified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore *Masasoyt* was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over against vs, and had in his trayne sixtie men, [so] that wee could well behold them, and they vs. We were not willing to send our governour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, so *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winsloe*, to know his mind,

³⁷ One may most conveniently consult the so-called Codex Nuttall for comparison. Here, together with an excellent facsimile of the codex, one finds discriminating suggestions by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall upon the significance of dress and colors among the Aztecs.

and to signifie the mind and will of our governour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We sent to the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with a Iewell at it. To *Quadequina* we sent likewise a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted. Our Messenger made a speech vnto him, [saying] that King IAMES saluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Governour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drunke himselfe and giuen the rest to his company, he looked vpon our messengers sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our messenger shewed his vnwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came over the brooke, and some twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept six or seaven as hostages for our messenger. Captaine *Standish* and master *Williamson* met the King at the brooke with halfe a dozen Musketiers. They saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cushions. Then instantly came our Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and some few Musketiers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the King kissed him, and so they sat downe. The Governour called for some strong water and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after. He called for a little fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, . . . all which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the Governour he trembled for feare. In his person he is a very lustie man, in his best yeares, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech. In his Attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great Chaîne of white bone Beades about hie necke, and at it behinde his necke hangs a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke [*i.e.*, smoked] and gave vs to drinke. His face was paynted with a sad red like murry, and [he was] oyled both head and face, [so] that hee looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces in part or in whole painted — some blacke, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses and other Antick workes, some had skins on them,

and some [were] naked, all strong, all men in appearance. So after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed. We diligently keeping our hostages, . . . expected our messengers comming, but anon word was brought vs, that *Quaddequina* was comming, and our messenger was stayed till his returne, who presently came and a troupe with him. So likewise wee entertained him, and conuayed him to the place prepared. He was very fearefull of our peeces, and made signes of dislike, that they should be carried away. Whereupon Commandement was given [that] they should be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemely countenance, and he did kindly like of our entertainment. So we conuayed him likewise as wee did the King. . . . When hee was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. . . . One thing I³⁸ forgot. The King had in his bosome hanging in a string a great long knife. Hee marveled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. *Samoset* and *Squanto*, they stayed al night with vs, and the King and al his men lay all night in the woods not aboue halfe an English myle from vs, and all their wiues and women with them. They sayd that within 8 or 9 dayes they would come and set corne on the other side of the Brooke and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs.³⁹

Saturday and Sunday [March 17–27 and 18–28, 1621–22], reasonable fayre dayes. On this [Sun]day came againe the Savage, and brought with him fiae other tall proper men. They had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall [one] of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme. They had most of them long hosen vp to their groynes, close made; and aboue their groynes to their wast another leather. They were altogether like the *Irish* trouses. They are of complexion like our English Gipseys — no haire or very little on their faces; on their heads long haire to their shoulders, onely cut before, some trussed vp before with a feather broad wise like a fanne. . . . These left . . . their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne. . . . They made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amite; they song & danced after their maner . . . they brought with them in a thing like a Bowcase (which the principall [one] of them had about his wast) a little of their Corne pownded to Powder, which put to a little water they

³⁸ The word "I" suggests that one person wrote this narrative, and the word "Squanto," instead of *Tisquantum*, a line or two below indicates that that person was William Bradford.

³⁹ Bradford, *Relation*, pp. 35–38.

eate. He had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke [= smoked] but when he listed. Some of them had their faces paynted black from the forehead to the chin foure or five fingers broad; others after other fashion, as they liked.”⁴⁰

Winslow, who had been a printer in London, seems to have been known as a physician among the Indians and to have become rather better acquainted with them than the other colonists. His book, *Good Newes*, 1624, indeed, is very largely taken up with picturesque and entertaining accounts of the life of the Indians and of the Pilgrims’ experiences among them. The following incident may be cited here:

“After[ward] wee came to a Towne of *Massasoyts*, where we eat [= ate] Oysters and other fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*, but *Massasoyt* was not at home. There we stayed, he being sent for. . . . *Massasoyt* being come, wee discharged our Peeces and saluted him, who after their manner kindly well commend vs and tooke vs into his house and set vs downe by him, where having delivered our foresayd Message and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe and the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so brauely attyred. . . . This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs and fell to discoursing of *England* & of the Kings Maiestie, marvayling that he would liue without a wife. . . . Late it grew, but victualls he offered none, for indeed he had not any, [the reason] being [that] he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest. He layd vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being onely plancks layd a foot from the ground and a thin Mat vpon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs, so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our iourney.

The next day being Thursday many of their Sachims or petty Governours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for skins and kniues. There we challenged them to shoote with them for skins, but they durst not. . . . About one a-clocke *Massasoyt* brought two fishes that he had shot. They were like Breame but three times so bigge, and better

⁴⁰ Probably not as they liked, but according to their rank or standing in the tribe. Bradford, *Relation*, p. 34.

meate. These being boyled there were at le[a]st fortie [that] looked for [a] share in them [and] the most eate [= ate] of them. This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of vs b[r]ought a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney fasting. Very importunate he was to haue vs stay with them longer, but wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home, and feared we should . . . be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savage barbarous singing (for they vse to sing themselues asleepe), lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoos without, we could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there, we much fearing that if wee should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength, so that on the Fryday morning before Sun-rising we tooke our leaue and departed, *Massasoyt* being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertaine vs.”⁴¹

One's interest is always aroused by the early statements concerning the primitive religion of the Indians. Winslow appears to have devoted some time to the subject. According to his later statements it would seem that they were familiar with the idea of one supreme God above all their minor gods, whom they called Kiehtan. Thomas Morton in his *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637) presents still further particulars as to the native religion, and by giving a different spelling for the name of this divinity, Kytan, makes its certain how it should be properly pronounced. According to his belief, the Indians were also familiar with the tradition of a flood, and were “perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits”:⁴²

“A few things I thought meet to adde hereunto which I haue obserued amongst the *Indians*, both touching their Religion and sundry other Customes amongst them. And first, whereas my selfe and others in former Lettres (which came to the Presse against my will and knowledge) wrote that the *Indians* about vs are a people without any Religion or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better, for as they conceiue of many

⁴¹ Relation, pp. 44-46 (section by Winslow).

⁴² By this last statement it might appear that the Indians worshipped the sun under this name; but Winslow says that no man had ever seen Kiehtan.

divine powers, so of one whom they call *Kiehtan* to be the principall and maker of all the rest and to be made by none. He (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein; also that he made one man and one woman of whom they and wee and all mankinde came; but how they became so farre dispersed, that know they not. At first they say, there was no *Sachim* or *King* but *Kiehtan* who dwelleth aboue in the Heavens, whither all good men goe when they die to see their friends and haue their fill of all things. This his habitation lyeth farre Westward in the heavens, they say. Thither the bad men goe also and knocke at his doore, but he bids them *Quatchet*, that is to say, Walke abroad, for there is no place for such, so that they wander in restles want and penury. Never man saw this *Kiehtan*; onely old men tell them of him and bid them tell their children, yea to charge them to teach their posterities the same and lay the like charge vpon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meete together and cry vnto him, and so likewise for plentie, victorie, &c., sing, daunce, feast, giue thankes, and hang vp Garlandes and other things in memorie of the same.⁴³ Although these Salvages are found to be without Religion, Law, and King (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed,) yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically) for they haue it amongst them by tradition, that God made one man and one woman, and bad them live together, and get children, kill deare, beasts, birds, fish, and fowle, and what they would at their pleasure; and that their posterity was full of evil, and made God so angry that hee let in the Sea upon them, & drowned the greatest part of them, that were naughty men (the Lord destroyed so.). And they went to Sanaconquam, who feeds upon them (pointing to the Center of the Earth, where they imagine is the habitation of the Devil); the other, which were not destroyed, increased the world; and when they died (because they were good) went to the howse of Kytan (pointing to the setting of the sonne), where they eate all manner of dainties, and never take paines (as now) to provide it.⁴⁴

Kytan makes provision (they say) and saves them that laboure, and there they shall live with him forever voyd of care. And they are perswaded that Kytan is hee that makes corne growe, trees growe, and all manner of fruits.

Many sacrifices the *Indians* vse, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little dis-

⁴³ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes*, pp. 52, 53.

⁴⁴ Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, Amsterdam, 1637, pp. 45-50.

tance and grow more and more cold in their worship to *Kiehtan*; saying in their memory hee was much more called vpon. The *Nanohiggansets* [= Narragansetts] excede in their blinde devotion and haue a great spacious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may tearme them Priests) come. Thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people and offer almost all the riches they haue to their gods, as kettles, skinnes, hatchets, beads, kniues, &c., all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house and there consumed to ashes. To this offering euery man bringeth freely, and the more hee is knowne to bring hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other Indians about vs approue of as good and wish their *Sachims* would appoint the like.”⁴⁵

The fact that the Indians, like the Aztecs, sometimes sacrificed human beings suggests that their traditions must have descended to them from a very remote period.⁴⁶ The account of the “spacious house” mentioned in the last passage, wherein the priests of the Narragansetts were accustomed to build a great fire, into which the people cast at certain times as offerings of sacrifice their kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, etc., reminds one also of the charred and broken remains of similar articles found in recent years beneath certain of the Ohio mounds constructed by the so-called Mound Builders.

Here we may conclude our study of these early accounts of Plymouth Plantation. Other points, indeed, relating both to the Pilgrims and to the Indians might be discussed, but I shall be satisfied if this paper shall once more call attention to, and stimulate interest in, the valuable archæological information contained in these narratives, and the desirability of undertaking further archæological investigations, before it is absolutely too late, in the neighborhood of Plymouth and upon Cape Cod.

⁴⁵ Edward Winslow, *Good Newes*, p. 55.

⁴⁶ One is reminded of the frequent references by classical authors to the fact that Kronos or Saturn, the reputed father of Zeus or Jupiter, ruled in the West; and that he is said to have required human sacrifices in his worship.

PLYMOUTH'S DEBT TO THE INDIANS

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In considering the relations of the early settlers of Massachusetts and the Indians it is greatly to be regretted that the Red Men possessed no civilized method by which they could leave a record of their own ideas, their own thoughts, and their own reasons for their actions, and that consequently nothing has survived except through tradition or through the medium of records compiled and written by the invaders of their country. All that we really know is the White Man's version; he has always been the judge, the jury, and the advocate for the plaintiff, all in one. The defense has had no means of being heard except through the plaintiff's lawyers, whose knowledge, even of the Indian language, was very slight. Certainly a unique trial. When we stop for a few minutes in our present energetic, busy, hurrying everyday life, and consider the luxury in which we now live, our comfortable homes, our variety of food, our steam cars, our motor cars, our telegraph and telephone, all of which we now demand as necessities and as our lawful rights, it is almost impossible to realize that three hundred years ago in this same land, in our own Massachusetts, for one winter and more or less for two years, our ancestors were absolutely dependent on the Indians for food sufficient to sustain life.

An anecdote from Mr. James Fletcher's *History of the Town of Plymouth*, which I quote, is perhaps the Indian idea of the earliest relations between the two races.

"In the year 1789 a number of Indians, assembled in New York on a mission to President Washington, were invited to dinner by General Knox, Secretary of War. A little before dinner two or three of

the Sachems, with their chief or principal men, went into the balcony at the front of the house from which they had a view of the city, the harbor, Long Island, and the adjacent country. They appeared dejected, and General Knox noticing this said to the Chief, 'Brother, what has happened to you? You look sorry. Is there anything here to make you unhappy?' He answered, 'I will tell you, Brother. I have been looking at your beautiful city, the great water and rivers, your mighty, fine country, producing enough for all your wants. See how happy you all are. But then I could not help thinking that this fine country and this great water was once ours. Our ancestors once lived here, they enjoyed it as their own possession in peace; it was the gift of the Great Spirit to them and their children. At length the white people came here in a great canoe. They asked only to let them tie it to a tree, lest the waters should carry it away. We consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land them, and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came, and they could not get away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter; we granted it to them. They then asked for some corn to keep them from starving; we kindly furnished it to them, they promising to go away when the ice was gone. When this happened and the great water was clear, we told them they must now go away with their big canoe; but they pointed to their big guns around their wigwams and said they would stay there and we could not make them go away. Afterwards more white people came. They brought spirituous and intoxicating liquors with them, of which the Indians became very fond. They persuaded us to sell them some land. Finally they drove us back from time to time into the wilderness, far from the water and the fish and the oysters. They destroyed the game; our people have wasted away, and now we live miserable and wretched, while you are enjoying our fine and beautiful country. This it is that makes me sorry, Brother, and I cannot help it.'

The earliest relations established between the Indians and the colonists had, from the standpoint of the settlers, only two objects in view — self-protection and personal gain; personal, as applied to the various units of colonization as they were attempted. When the welfare and prosperity of the Englishman had been practically assured, then the spiritual welfare of the Indian became an important factor in the relation between the two races; but

the material welfare alone of the Indian was not then considered, except by comparatively few, and it never has been otherwise.

Although the Pilgrims came to the new world for the freedom of worship, even their relations with the Indians were founded, through necessity, on personal gain, as well as on personal safety. Their leaders possessed little worldly wealth, and they had committed themselves to send back to England the valuable commodities which were supposed to be obtained easily in the "Paradise of all these Parts" — so called by Captain John Smith — in order to compensate those from whom they had been obliged to seek financial aid and who had given it only from speculative motives. Without this aid from the "Merchant Adventurers" (and the name itself defines their understanding of the situation), of whom Thomas Weston was the treasurer, the whole project would necessarily have been abandoned, at least for the time being. Their creditors were hard taskmasters, as is shown by a harsh, unjust letter written by Thomas Weston about seven months after their landing, stating that "the life of the business depends on the lading of this ship." Governor Carver, to whom this letter was written, had died some months before its arrival at Plymouth, and the reply which Governor Bradford wrote shows how pitiful was the whole situation of the colonists. The result, however, was that still harsher terms were insisted upon by the business partners of the enterprise.

Pilgrims, freedom of worship, merchant-adventurers, beaver skins, sassafras, and codfish — and the Indians! No ideal situation, surely.

It would almost seem that Plymouth was predestined to become the Mecca of the New World (to which all good Americans make pilgrimage), and that the Pilgrims were the chosen people, so many apparently accidental events occurred many years before their landing which

were of vital importance to the survival of the colony, and during the first two years such critical situations owed their fortunate solutions to apparently accidental causes. It was the result of accidental events, which took place before 1620, that made it possible for the Pilgrims to come to a better and more equitable understanding with the Indians than was obtained by any of the other early colonists, and also made it possible for a longer continuance of this relationship.

Plymouth owes its existence, in my opinion, to two Indians, and possibly to a third, Massasoit, Tisquantum (or Squanto as he is more generally known), and Hobomok. They have never been given their rightful place in the history of our country. Of Tisquantum Charles Francis Adams wrote, "If human instruments are ever prepared by special Providence for a given work, he was assuredly so prepared for his." It was through the influence of these three men alone that any mutual understanding or relationship was created and maintained between the Indians and the Pilgrims, and to the three the Pilgrims were indebted, certainly during the early years, for their food, their existence, and even their lives. Something of Indian history must be told in order to understand how events had shaped themselves or fate had intervened (call it what you will) to achieve the desired end.

For some years before and at the time of the Plymouth settlement, five different confederacies, each having its own territory and each governed by its own chiefs, occupied a large part of New England, not including Maine. The Pawtuckets peopled southern New Hampshire, the Pequots the eastern part of Connecticut, the Narragansetts Rhode Island and certain islands, the Massachusetts the country about Massachusetts Bay, and the Pokanokets a large part of the counties of Bristol, Plymouth, Barnstable, and a part of Worcester county and exercised some authority in Nantucket and Martha's

Vineyard. The Pokanokets included at least nine separate tribes, each governed by its own Sagamore, but all subject to one grand Sachem who was also the principal chief of the Wampanoag tribe, living about Mount Hope (Montaup), and he was Massasoit. The principal occupations of the Indian men were hunting, fishing, and fighting, while the women cultivated the fields. And there was no continuance of peace in the whole land.

Four or five years before the coming of the Pilgrims the Indians suffered terribly from a strange and unidentified epidemic which spread over a large part of the Massachusetts coast and was felt most severely in Cape Cod Bay. It was so very fatal among the Indians of the Pawtuxet tribe, a tributary of the Pokanokets, who inhabited the land in and about Plymouth, that they were practically annihilated, leaving their land vacant and uninhabited, ready and waiting for new inhabitants. It was this land that Massasoit practically gave to Governor Bradford for the new colony.

Two months elapsed after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth before they came into close contact with any large number of the natives. The Indians, however, had been keeping close watch, and it is believed from circumstantial evidence, had been consulting together on what course to pursue and what relationship on their part should be established. Governor Bradford states in his *History of the Plymouth Colony*, "Before they" (the Indians) "came to ye English to make friendship they gott all the Powachs of ye cuntrie for 3 days together in a horid and devellish maner to curse & execrate them with their conjurations, which asembly & service they held in a darke & dismale swampe." This was the colonists' version of what probably was a Grand Council of all the tribes of the Pokanoket Confederacy, for before deciding any question pertaining to peace or war it was the custom among the Indians to call such a council. In the "dark

and dismal swampe" was assembled probably the first Congress of Americans to consult on foreign relations.

No record of what actually took place was ever written or known, but imagination can paint the picture: A forest council-chamber of which nature alone was the architect, with wigwams scattered among the tall pines, and the light of camp fires partially dispelling the almost impenetrable darkness of the woods and swamps and making weird shadows of the swaying branches of the leafless trees; the Indians wrapped in their blankets seated as age or rank prescribed around a great fire, passing the ceremonial pipe, and harkening to the conjurations and lurid spells with which their medicine men exorcised the Pale Faces, and then listening to the advice of their Sachems and their Sagamores. Neither they nor their chiefs could realize or even imagine the fateful consequences of this decision to themselves as well as to the colonists.

Massasoit was the great Sachem ruling over all that part of Massachusetts. He was a noble and wise chief, and on his decision and action depended the relations which should prevail. His ability, his wisdom, his justice, and his loyalty were always acknowledged by the Pilgrims, and as good a relationship and friendship as could possibly exist between two races whose objects were so diametrically opposed, was created and established by him. I believe that during the two months of apparent inactivity on the part of the Indians, Massasoit knew well all that took place among the Pilgrims, as well as among the Indians, and before that memorable first meeting on Watson Hill, he had decided what course he thought best and wished to pursue.

That first meeting was too important in respect to what its consequences might be not to have been in a measure previously conceived by the Indians. The terms of the treaty then signed, that embryo League of Nations

between the nine Indian tribes owning Massasoit as their Sachem, and the Pilgrims, subjects of King James, was so Indian-like, so simple and yet so powerful in its material, direct conditions, that although it may have been indited by Governor Carver it must have been conceived, although perhaps vaguely, by Massasoit. It was completed, agreed to, with no reservations, and executed in half a day. But that was three hundred years ago.

I think we have always underestimated the mental capacity of many of the great chiefs of the American primitive race before it was "civilized." How would a desired understanding of like nature be conceived or consummated today? There would be more diplomacy, more necessary safeguarding, more controversy and less sincerity, less honor and more delay, but the same fundamental ideas and methods would prevail.

Samoset, as a messenger, appeared with his salutation of welcome to the strangers, and remained a whole day and night, giving and obtaining all possible information. The next day he returned with five companions, subjects of Massasoit's own tribe, possibly to confirm the reports of the first messenger, for Samoset was of a northern tribe and was probably selected on account of his rank, although not of the Wampanoag tribe, and for his partial knowledge of the language of the white men. These messengers announced the near presence of their King and made way for his coming, and then four or five days later Massasoit himself appeared with a retinue of sixty subjects, bringing with him Squanto, an Indian who knew the English language and the English people better probably than any Indian in the whole country. Presents were exchanged, and after some ceremonies were observed a treaty was confirmed, and a peace and a friendship were established which lasted more than fifty years and as long as Massasoit lived.

The treaty is impressive in its simplicity and brevity, and yet it contains all necessary provisions for good relationship and states clearly in seven short articles all that was required. Only two of these articles stipulated any reciprocal action on the part of the Pilgrims, but one of these, the fourth, read as follows: "That if any did unjustly war against him [Massasoit], they [the Pilgrims] would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them" (A requirement in most treaties, but seldom so plainly understandable).

This was probably the one essential condition that influenced Massasoit, for his confederacy had been much weakened, having been reduced by the epidemic, as is supposed, from three thousand fighting men to five hundred, and with the neighboring confederacy on the west, the Narragansetts, he was continually at war. They had escaped the ravages of the plague and were stronger than ever, and he recognized, to a certain extent, the power of the English and wished to seize the opportunity of obtaining so promising an ally; also he may have had ambitions for a greater and more extended power.

Fortunate it was for the Pilgrims and fortunate it was for the Indians that the new colony possessed such men as Carver, Bradford, Miles Standish, and Winslow. They understood and respected Massasoit, and by their personality were able to make Massasoit respect and partially understand them. He admired and approved of their stern and harsh justice, and was impressed by, although not understanding, their many merciful actions and decisions. Through this mutual friendly relationship the colonists probably escaped a massacre similar to that which befell the Virginia Colony in 1622, in which nearly four hundred white men were killed in a single day, and probably postponed until 1665, several years after Massasoit's death, a King Philip's war, which the united colonists were then strong enough to defeat.

Although Massasoit himself was never a convert, to a certain extent he prepared the ground unconsciously for Reverend John Eliot and Daniel Gookin, who many years after the making of the treaty attempted their good work of converting the Indians. In 1639, when renewing the compact and bringing his oldest son, Wamsutta (Alexander), to join with him in the renewal, he endeavored to make his allies agree to leave to his people their own religious faith. As the English expressed it, "He wished to bind us never to draw away any of his people from their old pagan superstition and devilish idolitry to the Christian religion." He died faithful and loyal to his allies, to his religion and his God.

Although the story of Tisquantum (Squanto) has often been told, I must refer briefly to several incidents in his life and recall a part of his history, in order to make clear the process of the shaping of the corner stone on which rested, certainly at first, the desired relationship between the Pilgrims and the Indians. His mission in life seems to have been the welfare of the colonists, and his training to prepare him for this work apparently began fifteen years before the arrival of the Mayflower. His adventures and narrow escapes are almost incredible. He was a native of Patuxet, the Indian name of Plymouth, and he belonged to the Pokanoket tribe. If we are to believe Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he was kidnapped by Captain Weymouth, who happened to come into Plymouth in 1605 on his voyage to the Penobscot, "from whence he brought five of the natives, one of whose names was Tisquantum"; and Sir Ferdinando Gorges also states that he had Tisquantum with him for three years in London.

Captain John Smith in his *Second Voyage to New England* writes: "The main assistance, next God . . . was my acquaintance amongst the saluages, especially with Dohoday, one of their greatest Lords, who had liued long in England, and another called Tantum I (had) carried

with mee from England and set on shore at Cape Cod." Among historians Gorges' statements in regard to Squanto have created much controversy as to their accuracy; but Captain John Smith's narrative appears partially to confirm them, for other notes seem to identify Tantum with Tisquantum. We know certainly that in 1614 he was kidnapped (for the first or second time) by Captain Thomas Hunt with a number of other Indians and taken to Malaga, where Captain Hunt tried to sell his captives for slaves, but was prevented by the priests, who took possession of the savages in order to convert them. It is not known how Squanto got to England; but in the beginning of 1615 he was living with a Mr. John Slany in Cornhill or Cheapside and remained two years, and then in some manner found his way to Newfoundland and there met Captain Thomas Dermer. Dermer was impressed by his account and his knowledge of Cape Cod and Plymouth and wrote to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in whose interests he was associated, "of the good use that might be made of his employment"; with the result that Captain Dermer took Squanto with him again to England. Gorges almost immediately sent Squanto with Captain Dermer back again to New England, wishing to use him in his own colonization scheme, and the "Saluages own country" was their destination. So after many years' wandering Squanto was returned to his native place, Plymouth. It was a sad home-coming, for not one of his own tribe was alive. All had been swept away by the plague.

This was the summer of 1619, and Squanto probably passed the following winter on the coast of Maine. But in the summer of 1620 he was again at Cape Cod; for according to Bradford he was with Dermer at Martha's Vineyard when in a conflict with the Indians Dermer was mortally wounded and all in his party killed, with the exception of one man. Bradford does not state that this one survivor was Squanto, but from inference it must have

been he. This was only a few months before the landing of the Pilgrims, and there are reasons for believing that under instructions from Sir Ferdinando Gorges Captain Dermer and Squanto were in this locality in order to intercept them, for if the plans of the Pilgrims had not miscarried, they would have reached their destination in the autumn.

In March, 1620 (o. s.), Squanto came with Massasoit as an interpreter, probably the only Indian who, prepared as he was by strange experiences, could convey to both parties a clear understanding of what each desired. It is natural to suppose that Massasoit would take advantage of Squanto's knowledge of the white man, for Squanto was one of his own subjects, and could tell him much of their numbers, of their power, and of their habits, and it must have influenced him somewhat in regard to the relations best to be established.

After the treaty was made Squanto remained with the Pilgrims, either by order of Massasoit or by his own wish, and became an indispensable factor in the life of the little colony, for, quoting Governor Bradford again, "Squanto continued with them and was their interpreter, and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corne, wher to take fish and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profit, and never left them till he dyed. He was a native of this place, & scarce any left alive besids him selfe." Corbitant, a Sachem, an ally of the Narragansetts and an enemy of the English, wishing to kill him, said, "If he were dead, the English had [*i.e.*, would have] lost their tongue."

Squanto lived less than two years after his coming to the Pilgrims, and died in their service on an expedition to procure corn, of which the colony was in sore need. When dying he "desired the Governor to pray for him that he

might go to the Englishman's God in heaven, and bequeathed sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends as remembrance of his love; of whom they had great loss."

It would almost seem that Squanto's whole mission in life was fulfilled in these two short years, by giving that service which he alone could render to the founders of New England. When we remember that to prepare this savage for his task he was the only one of his whole tribe to escape death from the plague, that he was sold as a slave and was obliged to live in a strange land for many years, that he was sent back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean, and that he was saved from violent death at the hands of his own kindred, we stop and consider and ponder, and cannot help but realize that in this world of ours a guiding hand directs.

A few months after the treaty was made and before the death of Squanto the Plymouth colony was joined by Hobomok, an Indian from Massasoit's own tribe, the Wampanoags, who was held in high esteem by Massasoit. His coming proved to be of great value to the Pilgrims in maintaining the established relations, especially after Squanto's death. Much jealousy always existed between Squanto and Hobomok, which although very beneficial to the colonists, because each of the twain was striving ambitiously to make himself the more important, nearly resulted in costing Squanto his life. Hobomok was able apparently to prove that Squanto had made false statements in regard to Massasoit's loyalty, and Massasoit, learning of this, declared Squanto to be his enemy and demanded that by the terms of the treaty he should be delivered to him to be dealt with as he thought best. This meant that Squanto would be beheaded. Governor Bradford endeavored in vain to evade this demand, for he appreciated to how great an extent the colonists were indebted to Squanto and that they could ill spare him;

but finally, true to the spirit of the contract, he agreed to accede.

Squanto, knowing this decision and his probable fate, then proved his strong character. He went to the Governor, not attempting to flee, "and accused Hobomok as the author and worker of his overthrow, yielding himself to the Governor to be sent or not, as he thought meet." But at the instant he was to be delivered to his executioners, a boat was seen outside the harbor, and deeming that it might be a vessel from France Governor Bradford told the messengers who had been sent for Squanto he must first know what this boat was before delivering him into their custody. The Indians, angry and impatient at the delay, departed, and thus once again Squanto's life was spared. For some unexplainable reason the demand was not repeated, and Winslow states that before September of the same year peace had been wrought between Massasoit and Squanto. As an Indian characteristic is never to forgive or forget an injury, this occurrence remains still more unexplainable.

One of the most critical periods in the life of the colony was in the winter and early spring of 1622-23 (o. s.). The Plymouth colony in aiding the Weston colony at Wessagusset (Weymouth) had depleted its own stores and was obliged to depend largely on the Indians for its supply of corn. The relations between the Wessagusset colony and the Massachusetts Indians had always been antagonistic, and now, through that colony's own evil doing, was nearly at the breaking point. The Massachusetts tribe and the Narragansett tribe, realizing the weakened condition of the Weston colony, were endeavoring to influence some of the Pokanoket tribes to unite with them and massacre all the white men in both colonies.

At this time two incidents occurred, very dissimilar in their nature but each of vital importance, which serve as faithful witnesses to testify to the true relationship and

even friendship which existed between the Pilgrims and the Indians who acknowledged Massasoit as their Chief.

In March, 1622 (o. s.), news came to Plymouth that Massasoit was very ill. The Pilgrims, knowing it was a custom among the Indians that all who professed friendship to a dying chief should visit him in person or send some accredited messenger, decided it would be a friendly and humane act to observe the custom and possibly render aid. Therefore Winslow and one companion, with Hobomok as a guide, started immediately for Packanokik where Massasoit was. It was a long, hard journey of forty miles over the frozen forest trails and through swamps and streams, and was taken with the knowledge that probably they would be too late. They found, however, that Massasoit was still alive but unable even to recognize them. Fortunately Winslow had brought with him remedies which he thought might be of service, and he sent back a messenger to Plymouth for other medicines. By his prompt action and skilful treatment he undoubtedly saved Massasoit's life and he remained with him until he was entirely out of danger. Massasoit, before Winslow's return to Plymouth, expressed himself in these words, "Now I see the English are my friends and love me; and whilst I live I will never forget the kindness they have showed me."

This good action on the part of the Pilgrims received its own reward much sooner than experience has taught humanity to expect, for on their journey back to Plymouth Hobomok delivered to Winslow a message of advice which Massasoit had instructed him to give, in order that Governor Bradford should be informed immediately on their arrival at home. This message revealed the plot of the Massachusetts Indians, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony and so against the Pilgrim colony. He [Massasoit] named seven tribes who had joined with them, and also said that he himself "was earnestly so-

licited, but he would neither join therein nor give way to any of his." He advised Governor Bradford, if he respected the lives of his countrymen or his own safety, to kill the men of the Massachusetts who were the authors of this intended mischief. He also advised him to strike first and not wait until they began, or Bradford would rue the delay.

Governor Bradford, on receiving this message, called the Pilgrim company together and informed them of Massasoit's message and advice. It was decided that Captain Miles Standish should go immediately to Wessagusset with as many men as he might select but enough to make the Massachusetts tribe powerless, to strike first and to bring back the head of Wituwamat, their Chief, as a warning to the other hostile Indians. No other than Miles Standish could have been entrusted with this all-important undertaking. He was their military commander, and no man could have been better equipped for it. Charles Francis Adams, analyzing his character, says, "He seems to have been gifted by nature with a quick ear as well as eye. . . . His instinct told him, and told him correctly, how a savage should be dealt with, and he seems never to have made a mistake. . . . Seeing what the occasion called for, he did not hesitate." He took with him eight of the Pilgrim company and Hobomok.

It is needless to repeat the happenings of these eventful few days, for Edward Winslow in his *Relation* has vividly depicted the minute details. But I will recall that scene of the final encounter, when with about an equal number of men Miles Standish and Wituwamat, the Sachem of the Massachusetts, met in a small room of one of the log cabins at Wessagusset. Miles Standish with his few followers, all brave and determined, although weakened by a winter of hunger and privation; Wituwamat, who only a day or two previously had audaciously sharpened his knife before Standish, and flourishing it, had pointed to

a woman's face carved on the handle and had boasted that he had another knife on which a man's face would soon be carved and the two would marry; and Peksuut, an Indian who, boasting of his great size and strength, had taunted Standish with his small stature — the Indians in their picturesque costumes, and the Pilgrims in dilapidated and worn clothing — all watching for that favorable moment which, although unrecognized, was so momentous in deciding the fate of the colony. It made a historic picture to be remembered by all Pilgrim descendants.

Miles Standish followed Massasoit's advice. He struck first. No guns were used, only the familiar weapon of the savage, the knife. No quarter was asked nor given. The English knew they were fighting for the future existence of the whole colony, and the Indians, although they did not know, were fighting for their homes and for the lands that Manito, their God, had given them. It was the old story of the progress of civilization, the survival of the fittest; and the Englishmen won. Wituwamat, Peksuut, and another Indian were killed, a brother of Wituwamat was taken prisoner and immediately hung, and the next day the remainder of the Massachusetts tribe either fled or were killed.

That "first stroke" delivered by Standish was a bold, hazardous stroke. It was as essential as the kindly visit to Massasoit in order to make secure the foundation upon which was being laid the structure of peace and understanding and friendly relationship between the Pilgrims and the Indian Pokanoket confederacy. The treaty had been sanctified by blood and by mercy, and it endured for almost fifty years, until many of those who had made it had gone to the Happy Hunting Ground.

Such is the history, briefly told, of the relations of the Pilgrims and the Indians for the first two years of the life of the Pilgrim colony. On a tablet at Plymouth should be

written the names of Massasoit, Squanto, and Hobomok, Indians only, but men worthy to be in company with Carver, Bradford, Miles Standish, and Winslow. Squanto died in their service, Hobomok remained faithful and devoted to their welfare until his death, and Massasoit, living many years, was true and loyal to the last.

THEOLOGY AND ROMANTICISM

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The widespread reaction towards the Church of Rome by which the first half of the last century was marked, has been subjected to a multitude of more or less intelligent explanations. It was to be expected from poor human nature that each critic should explain in accordance with that law of human development which he had himself embraced, and in illustration of that moral which he deemed it most salutary to draw. In this field the disciple of Bossuet will be forever at issue with the disciple of Comte. From the one we hear how the eyes of Europe had been providentially opened by long years of anarchy and bloodshed, how the spirit of schism had been at length unmasked, how the exhausted nations were taught once more to value a unified spiritual control, and how amid the wreck of thrones and the desolation of kingdoms the very dullest of mankind must have been awed by the spectacle of the Chair of Peter standing fast, an authentic token of the Mighty Hand and the Outstretched Arm. From the other side we listen to the cold comment that world disasters are apt to drive back the less robust sort of mind to the solace of old superstition, that mental progress like all things human has its ebb and flow, and that we need not be surprised if a season of shivering credulity alternates with a season of fearless rationalism. The philosophic historian may well be left to wear himself out in this profitless debate with the brethren of his own craft. *Non nostri est tantas componere lites.*

But there is a side to the question which should repay more serious thought than it commonly receives. The recoil towards Rome was not merely a fact of history. It

was associated with a new and very suggestive type of theological and philosophical thinking, a type which extended itself far beyond the bounds of the Roman communion. Histories of literature dismiss the subject with the abrupt remark that we have here yet another aspect of the many-sided "Romanticism." But historians of literature are too seldom either philosophers or theologians, and they have left this very fruitful germ of thought quite undeveloped. No one could fail to suspect a common principle in two movements that were so nearly contemporaneous, that left so deep a mark upon just the same quarters of Europe, and that in so many cases were promoted by precisely the same men. Yet the common principle needs to be defined and limited with great care, unless it is to confuse rather than illumine the twin impulses, literary and religious, which it thus brings into relation.

For the *prima facie* resemblances are not more striking than the *prima facie* differences. For example, one could not select three men more typical of the Romantic spirit than Rousseau in France, Frederick Schlegel in Germany, and Coleridge in England. The religion of Jean Jacques was changed more than once, and whether we take as its characteristic expression the mystical reverences of the Savoyard vicar or the proposed State establishment of deism in the *Contrat Social*, we can detect little sign of renewed homage to the Holy See. It was as the author of *Lucinde*, the companion of the divorced Dorothea, and the bold apologist of *mariage à quatre*, that Schlegel was acclaimed by the Romanticists of Jena; not an auspicious beginning, one would say, for him who would re-subjugate the moral disorders of Protestantism to the government of an infallible Church. And if there is one tenet which, more constantly than any other, was proclaimed and emphasized by Coleridge, it was that of England's unique blessing among the distracted peoples of the Continent,

in her spiritual heritage of the Reformed faith. Nor does the later growth of the Romantic school in any one of these countries lend unqualified support to the view that it made for religious reaction. If in France it was championed by a Chateaubriand, it also found representatives in a de Musset, a Lamartine, and a Hugo. If in Germany it explains Stolberg and Tieck, it must also bear the load of Heine and Schopenhauer. If in England we count in its train a Wordsworth and a Keble, we must not omit a Shelley and a Swinburne.

Not less notable is the fact that Romantic influence was at work in the so-called "Broad" section of the Protestant churches. Schleiermacher was at least as much determined by it towards his religious individualism, his suspicion of mere intellect, and his reliance upon the data of feeling, as de Maistre towards a system of spiritual authority, under which the individual is controlled, reason monopolized, and the feelings often held in such restraint as to be virtually suppressed. A hundred years ago in the English Church the heresy that looks towards Rationalism was far oftener traced to Romantic sources than the heresy that looks towards Rome. The new ideas by which Maurice and his circle appalled one side and revived another within the Anglican establishment had been mediated to themselves by Coleridge, but Coleridge's ultimate inspiration was in Königsberg and Jena.

Thus the threads are obviously tangled. At first sight it seems no less easy to maintain that a Romanticist as such would favor the liberal than that he would favor the conservative side in theological development. And if any general conclusion is to be reached, it must be by way of a very cautious analysis. One might almost predict that two results will follow: first, that Romanticism will reveal within itself elements not all of which were found in any single Romanticist, and of which some tended to reaction while others tended to progress; and, second,

that the common element, present in all Romanticists alike to whom the name is properly applied, acted in furtherance of that which modern liberal and modern conservative theology cherish alike. This may sound a truism. But I trust to be able to show that the historical considerations by which it is confirmed, so far from being truisms, are as yet quite insufficiently recognized as truths.

I

Romanticism had its birth before the eighteenth century closed; yet if we describe it as "the revolt of the nineteenth century against the eighteenth," we shall have spoken with a larger degree of justice than is usually compressed into an epigram. No doubt nature never makes a leap, and the zealots for continuity can point to many a foreshadowing of what was to come in the spiritual tendencies that were passing out of sight. But the passage marked by the calendar has seldom corresponded with such exactness to a real change of epoch. Three new ideas were especially in the air, and each of them was represented in some form by writers of the Romantic school. There was a startling and widely prevalent distrust in the strength of human reason. There was an immensely deepened interest in the past, and at least the beginning of a far more adequate appreciation of history. And there was the assertion as a definite principle of the trustworthiness of feeling, of instinct, of the "impulses of the heart," against dialectic, ratiocination, intellectual "proof" or "disproof."

In 1829 Carlyle wrote *Signs of the Times*, in which he reproached his age as having become utterly mechanical, as having lost its capacity for wonder, and as pinning its faith to empirical science. But John Stuart Mill had a far deeper insight into the time when he declared two rival forces to be working in English thought — Jeremy Bentham as the apostle of progress, and Coleridge as the

exponent of the "wisdom contained in the sacred traditions of the race." In the end the conservative influence proved no less significant than the radical. The two great Romantic poets who collaborated in the production of *Lyrical Ballads* were at once the representatives and the stimulators of a profound disbelief both in the perfecting of the world through science and in the salvation of souls through philosophy.

The general literature of the period has an unmistakable tone of despair both about the possibilities of higher knowledge and about the value of knowledge for life. Multitudes felt with Coleridge that metaphysic had become like the trees in the shadowy world of Vergil, bearing a dream upon every leaf.¹ Byron laughed at the builders of a new Babel, who were so much less honest than the builders of the old that they would not disperse even when no man could understand his neighbor.² Again and again in his poetry we meet with such laments as that all science is but the replacing of one sort of ignorance by another,³ that the tree of knowledge has not fulfilled its promise,⁴ that happiness can be the lot only of those like the sleeping babe in *Cain*, who have not plucked the fruit and know not they are naked. Such ideas of the so-called "Satanic" school are echoed by others with a very different purpose. Wordsworth would abjure imaginations high on questions deep,⁵ bids us trust the simplicity of the child on whom those truths do rest which we are toiling all our lives to find,⁶ and reminds us that wisdom is oftentimes nearer when we stoop than when we soar.⁷ The advance of chemistry seems to have filled some minds a hundred years ago with just the same dread of *abiogenesis* which investigators such as Tyndall and Sir William Schäfer were destined to arouse among ourselves. Shel-

¹ The Statesman's Manual.

² The Deformed Transformed. Vol. II.

³ Manfred. Vol. II, p. iv.

⁴ Cain. Vol. I, p. i.

⁵ Excursion. Vol. III.

⁶ Intimations of Immortality.

⁷ Prelude. Vol. II.

ley's furtive research with test tubes was spoken of as a presage of his atheistic future, and his wife's *Frankenstein* was composed with the avowed object of horrifying. The myth about the gift of fire to mankind and the consequences for both weal and woe that had resulted from it, began again to haunt the imagination. Rousseau's first *Discours* on the uselessness of the arts had no more suggestive page than that presenting an emblematic vignette — the torch of science being handed to men by Prometheus, who warns a satyr that it burns.

In France also philosophic enthusiasm in the old sense was waning. The return of the Bourbons had indeed been followed by a relaxation of that iron censorship upon literature which Napoleon, who did nothing by halves, had used to entrench his own authority. Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert might be read again. But those who continued the traditions of the *Encyclopédie* were men like Cabanis, reducing thought to a secretion of the brain and poetry to a function of the smaller intestines, or missionaries from outside like Gall and Spurzheim, preaching the significance of bumps on the skull as a clue to capacities of character. One here and there, like Maine de Biran or Jouffroy, attempted a more adequate account of consciousness than had satisfied a D'Alembert and a Condillac, and for a time it seemed possible that psychology was about to lead its investigators beyond itself. But on the whole, French thought avoided the ultimate issues, limiting itself to such work as the empirical tabulation of correspondences between mental and neutral phenomena.

In Germany alone, as has been so often pointed out, the fine frenzy of metaphysic survived. There the ampler philosophic minds retained a faith in the competence of intellect for ultimate problems, and there for at least a few pioneers Romanticism and Intellectualism were not found incompatible. In 1807 Hegel published his *Phaenomenologie des Geistes*, in 1816 his *Logik*, and in 1817 his

Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften. Probably never before or since has the complete adequacy of reason for any task that might fall to it been asserted at once so explicitly, so daringly, and on the whole so productively. "Metaphysic," said Novalis, "bakes no bread, but it can give us God, Freedom, and Immortality." It was the supposed allegiance of Fichte and Goethe to the same conviction which misled Carlyle into acclaiming them as the restorers to mankind of a faith which the Encyclopædists had almost destroyed. Whether Hegel rendered a real service of this kind to the church is still matter of dispute between the Hegelian "Right" and the Hegelian "Left." And as early as 1811 in Germany itself the school of Jacobi was in revolt against transcendental idealism, declaring the intellect forever incompetent when acting alone for those problems which it most concerns us to solve.

A second main idea to which the men of the Romantic impulse gave expression was a deepened feeling for history. The hard rationalists of the classical tradition had been far too contemptuous of the past to be at any pains in understanding it. It had been a time when Pope's *Homer* was much admired, with its chariot of Priam conceived like the equipage of an English noble, and when formal French tragedy had its Iphigeneias and its Andromaches decked out in the mode of the Rue de la Paix. Glib talk had gone round about a social contract in which primitive men had decided after public debate that Civilization should now incorporate itself, and the articles of indenture which bound the individual to the State had been so drawn that no attorney could find a flaw. Such anachronisms could have had no vogue at all except at a time of profound historical ignorance and no historical sympathy. The life and ideals of one period were freely projected into another, and bygone ages were reconstructed with the utmost arbitrariness to buttress some

favorite dogma or programme. As Lord Morley says in speaking of Rousseau, history was less a teacher than the meagrely nourished handmaid of the imagination.

The revulsion from a period in which men spoke of believing only what they could see produced a new sympathy with that long-derided time when it was the pride of faith to leave evidence far behind. Imaginative writing which brought back again donjons and cloisters, crusades and troubadours, was welcomed with an almost childish delight. The rage in England for Scott's mediæval romances and Byron's pictures of life under a Venetian Doge was typical of the time, though it was no less typical of the prosaic English mind that such a mood passed rapidly away. In France an Alfred de Vigny revived once more the faded glories of the old feudal aristocrat, and a Hugo denounced the profane modernizers of the fabric of Nôtre Dame. Carlyle complained that even German literature had come to be thought of as dealing only with wizards and ruined towers, with mailed knights, secret tribunals, monks, spectres, and banditti.⁸ Yet even this extravagance was symptomatic of a nascent feeling for history. For it implied a broader conception of the possible sources from which the past could be recovered, and a truer standpoint from which its movements could be appreciated.

This discord between the tone of the two centuries, appearing almost at the moment of transition from the one to the other, is among the great significant things in the history of thought. We must not, indeed, fall into the error of giving the whole credit to Romanticism, least of all if we take the type of all Romanticists to have been Rousseau. It would be a strange estimate of historical progress which should find in the author of *Contrat Social* an improver of the historical blemishes in Robertson or Gibbon. But the sympathetic feeling for mankind as such

⁸ State of German Literature (1827).

by which that famous book was inspired was destined sooner or later to make the past an object of more searching scrutiny, and to outlive its own first blundering embodiments. The word "romantic" is perhaps ill chosen to describe the new spirit that spread over Europe just one hundred years ago, but it has the sanction of long usage, and for want of a better it may still serve. Alike in art, in literature, in philosophy, in religion, a single impulse had revealed itself. It was the impulse to look backward rather than forward, reverence for the primitive, distrust of "march of intellect," a dim yet insistent faith that there had been no age of darkness towards which a philosophic age of light could rightly be contemptuous, a suspicion that science was about to overleap its limits to the eternal undoing of the human spirit, a passionate return to the natural instincts against the artificial contrivances of an arrogant Reason.

II

How did these tendencies act upon theology? When one's despair of human knowledge is intensified, his appreciation of history deepened, and his new respect for feeling supersedes his old respect for reasoning, will he become more amenable or less amenable to the direction of the church? The result is sure to vary in part at least with individual temperament.

We know how Shelley used to speak about the disappointment of the friends of intellectual progress. But Shelley was not typical. There was a widespread belief that authority is mankind's sole refuge, and it was inevitable that in France return to authority should mean return to Rome. Some of the leaders of this movement were priests, and — at least until the July Revolution of 1830 — the sacerdotal hand is conspicuous in French politics. Monasteries were restored, sacrilege was punished with a rigor almost unknown since the Middle

Ages, even the applicant for poor-law relief was required to produce his certificate of attendance at confession. The divine right of the monarchy was reasserted by Polignac, the last minister who served the ill-fated Charles X, and whose constantly recurring visions confirmed his faith that he was himself appointed by God to restore the kingship and the Church. It is an obvious suggestion that all this was the work of Jesuits, and we know well that the Jesuits as usual were busy. But the two most important figures for our present purpose were both laymen, one a cultivated diplomat of the old *noblesse*, who for fourteen years represented the Sardinian kingdom at the Russian capital, the other a man of letters, formerly an emigrant of the Revolution, but afterwards high in favor at the restored court of Louis XVIII, and for many years French Minister of Public Instruction. Both were reactionary in politics, eager to reëstablish autocratic rule in things spiritual no less than in things temporal, and ready to take advantage of that failure of public nerve which gave its chance to the propaganda of absolutism.

De Maistre is very generally known to all students of the period, and it is needless to recall his famous argument in *Du Pape* or in the *Soirées de Saint Petersbourg*. We have the usual picture of that moral anarchy which calls for a supreme spiritual head, even as political anarchy can be dealt with only by a supreme head of the state. We have the usual arraignment of that whole theory of life which, according to the Roman view, had begun at the Renaissance, developed in Lutheranism, found its expositors in the *Encyclopédie*, and reached its practical culmination in the September massacres.⁹ But, although

⁹ How persuasive this line of thought appeared, even to some thinkers who never joined the Roman Church, may be seen from A. W. Schlegel's letter to M. de Montmorency: "The Protestant system does not satisfy me any longer. . . . I am convinced that the time is not far off when all Christians will reunite in the old faith. The work of the Reformation is accomplished, the pride of human reason which was evident

much less familiar than these books by De Maistre, the *Recherches Philosophiques* by the Vicomte de Bonald can cast more significant light on the movement of thought that was in progress. The author concentrates attention on two facts, of which each taken by itself is quite intelligible but whose combination is a curious enigma. The first is the prolonged failure of philosophy to reach any secure solution of its cosmic problems, a failure which in the hopeless discord of philosophers from Thales to Kant seemed long since as well attested as historical evidence could make it. The second is the unquenchable ardor with which, despite the disappointments of two thousand years and the demonstrated impotence of our intellectual machinery for the task, mankind refuses to draw the inference that seems so obvious, and the fruitless effort continues to be tried again. The rolling of the stone of Sisyphus was no mere poet's dream; it was rather a quite inadequate parable of the metaphysician's sublime folly.

How is this persisting impulse to be explained? De Bonald suggests that the human mind had imprinted upon it at the beginning certain truths of capital importance for moral and social development. Providence, duty, future rewards and punishments, were ideas not reached by reasoning, but implanted — as Descartes said about the notion of an Infinite Being — by God Himself upon our race at the first. The mythopoetic imagination corrupted them, and the grotesque legends by which they became overlaid called for that repudiation with which philosophy has been so copious. But philosophy destroyed good and evil alike. It discredited not only the myths but the principle round which the myths had grown up. It presumed, for example, to demand proof

in the first Reformers, and still more in their successors, has guided us so ill, especially during the last century, that it has come into antagonism with itself and has destroyed itself. It is perhaps ordained that those who have influence on the opinions of their contemporaries shall publicly renounce it, and then assist in preparing a union with the one Church of former days."

for that purposive structure of the universe which must be assumed as often as we prove anything, and which consequently cannot itself be proved at all. Small wonder then that *petitio principii* should abound in theistic argument. "We take within ourselves the resting-place on which we want to climb up; in a word, we gauge our own thought by itself, which puts us in the position of a man who wished to weigh himself without scales or weights. Playthings of our own illusions, we interrogate ourselves, and we take the echo of our own voice for the response of truth." Thus for De Bonald the spiritual anarchies of private judgment are like the social anarchies of individualism. In speculations purely theoretical, like some parts of astronomy for instance, each inquirer has to depend on his own gift of reasoning. But in ascertaining the truths by which we have to *live*, no such desperate task is laid upon us. We are not forced to make an independent chemical analysis before we eat our food, and neither have we to conduct for ourselves a logical investigation into the ultimate things we are to believe. The Most High has implanted convictions in mankind for the life of the spirit, just as He has made the earth yield her fruit for the life of the body. In each case tradition, common consent, verification by long trial, are our sufficient guides.

De Bonald is a most persuasive writer, and, if he were better known, much of his argument would have a cordial reception from the anti-intellectualists of our own time. Mr. A. J. Balfour's defense of authority, for example, is at many points almost indistinguishable from it. Ten years after the publication of *Recherches Philosophiques*, and probably in complete ignorance not only of its tenor but even of its existence, the youthful Newman hit upon just the same line of thought. A speculative system of Traditionism became elaborated. And it was but natural that where reason fell into such disrepute credulity should

advance by leaps and bounds. The view that the Most High looks with disfavor upon mental shrewdness, that He has actually taken means by frustrating the struggles of intellect to drive us back upon a higher oracle, had the result of re-establishing the mediæval notion of belief as a virtue, and of the mind's virtuousness as proportioned to its receptivity. It is not strange, of course, that in Catholic countries a hundred years ago the illiterate and the unscientific should have been willing to accept every sort of marvel. But it does seem a little odd that in Paris itself, as late as the middle of the last century, educated people should have had no critical sense at all when a saint's wonder-working was reported. Mark Pattison found on a visit there in 1843 that in religious circles every miracle was believed just because it was miraculous, that the idea of truth seemed to have vanished, that whatever tended to the Church's glory was taken as self-evident, and all else dismissed as "a fiction of the Voltairians."¹⁰ Minds of the highest training and of the finest endowment among the Catholic laity had abjured the whole lesson of the French and German Enlightenment, and had reopened to all kinds of ecclesiastical myth with a readiness like that of the Channel Islanders in Hugo's *Travailleurs de la Mer*. The reaction in England was no less striking. It was actually the same man who wrote *The Idea of a University* and who defended the tale of the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood; the same who produced *A Grammar of Assent* and who gave thanks for the *grazia* that had been vouchsafed in the healing of disease through the relics of St. Philip Neri; the same who shivered Charles Kingsley to fragments in one of the keenest of dialectical encounters and who exulted in the thought of the Virgin's joy in Paradise when she knew that her immaculate conception had been decreed by Pius IX. In these matters Newman was no extremist, rather a moderate Catholic, the culti-

¹⁰ Cf. Pattison's *Memoirs*, pp. 211, 212.

vator of a "wise and gentle minimism." Compared with men like Louis Veuillot he seems almost a freethinker. And he had certainly none of the diabetic thirst for the supernatural which marked such a zealot as W. G. Ward.

Herein a problem confronts those who would explain so curious a union of mental strength and mental subservience. Its strangeness is immensely reduced when we remember that the presupposition which for most of us renders at least a modern miracle wholly incredible had been swept out of sight for the men with whom we are here dealing, and that they were thoroughly logical in pursuing their new view to its last consequence. That the sun should have stood still on Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon had scarcely for them any greater antecedent improbability than that an earthly monarch should suspend a law by order in council. If such things were done for Joshua, why should not similar interference be witnessed still? If Ward and his friends had been as muddle-headed as the average, they would no doubt have taken refuge in the very popular expedient of first acknowledging a principle and then ignoring it. What Matthew Arnold called the withering of miracle at the breath of the *Zeitgeist* had no existence for them. They had faced the *Zeitgeist*, had definitely repudiated it, and were resolved that it should not further influence them unawares. To a Frederick Schlegel or a Tieck what we call marvels were common occurrences. They had brought back again into the atmosphere they breathed that vision of Moore:

"When earth was nearer to the skies
Than in these days of crime and woe,
And mortals saw without surprise
In the mid air angelic eyes
Bending upon this world below."¹¹

Again, a deepened historical imagination, combined with relaxed severity of historical criticism, obviously

¹¹ Loves of the Angels.

favored a new view of the old Church. This revealed itself in one respect which strikes the observer now as supremely absurd. The Reformation began to be resented on purely *artistic* grounds, for it had broken the spell under which the finest æsthetic masterpieces had been achieved. It had been lacking in that "sweetness" which Matthew Arnold demanded as the accompaniment of "light." Franz Horn roundly declared that no one can be a poet unless he is a Christian, nor does he condescend even to explain away the somewhat plausible poetic claims of a Sophocles or a Lucretius.¹² The natural inference was drawn by those artists who were by nature far from religious but who thought of Catholicism as Christianity raised to its highest power. Heine tells us with a savage sneer that swarms of German painters were turning papists because they felt that the greatness of a Fra Angelico depended on his belief in the sacred objects he depicted, and they hoped that if they too could school their souls to a Roman devoutness they might recover the lost secret of mediæval art.¹³ Such a variation of the "will to believe" was probably never contemplated by William James, but the craftsmen of the brush have seldom been careful about their logic. The *Aufklärung* was condemned as philistinism, and recoil from the *Aufklärung*, with whatever intellectual change this might involve, became the artistic creed.

One is struck too with the discontent with traditional histories of the Protestant Reformation that began to spread so rapidly in England. It appeared in many a surprising quarter, it was expressed by men who had not the least dogmatic sympathy with the Church of Rome,

¹² Cf. Carlyle's comment in *State of German Literature*: "The meaning here is very good; but why this phraseology? Is it not inviting the simple-minded (not to speak of scoffers, whom Horn very justly sniffs at) to ask when Homer subscribed the Thirty-Nine Articles; or whether Sadi and Hafiz were really of the Bishop of Peterborough's opinion?"

¹³ Essay on "The Romantic School" in the *Review Europe Littéraire* (1833).

it began even to be turned to purposes of political intrigue by those who cared nothing for it in itself but whose choice of it as a weapon attests its congeniality with the mood of the hour. William Cobbett cannot be suspected of having been — in Charlotte Brontë's bitter phrase — a "tool of the Propaganda,"¹⁴ for Propaganda would have found reason for sore offense in many a passage of the *Political Register*. Nor can Benjamin Disraeli have been such, as *Lothair* is enough to remind us, for he was much more given to fashioning a tool for himself out of whatever popular sentiment his lynx eye detected, and he must have seen a real chance in the anti-Reformation spirit which he voiced in the years of his political apprenticeship. And if anyone suspects a leaning to Romanism in Thomas Carlyle, it will be enough to refer to his *Cromwell* or to his *Historical Sketches* in almost any chapter which one opens by chance. Yet these three so widely different men began to celebrate once more the blessings of monastic rule, to set it in favorable contrast with the age of brass in which they were themselves so unfortunate as to live, and thus indirectly to win a new respect for the sort of faith under which monasticism had been possible. *Sybil* suggests to us a most unorthodox view of the glorious Revolution of 1688. The Lord of Marney Abbey is there spoken of as having joined with other Whig nobles to call over the Prince of Orange, because of a general alarm among the aristocrats that their landed interest was in peril. There was "a prevalent impression that King James intended to insist on the restitution of the Church estates to their original purpose, to wit, the education of the people and the maintenance of the poor."¹⁵ Cobbett, filled with the idea that in the good old days tithe had been applied to the relief of distress, that under feudalism the lords spiritual and lords temporal had cared for those whom *laissez faire* would permit to starve, and that in

¹⁴ Shirley. Vol. I.

¹⁵ Sybil. Vol. I, p. iii.

particular the abbots and priors had acted as a kind of earthly providence to their children, produced a *History of the Reformation* at which men like Thomas Arnold stood aghast.¹⁶ Its burden, to use the lurid language of the author, was that the change in the sixteenth century had been "engendered in beastly lust, brought forth in hypocrisy, cherished and fed by plunder and devastation and by rivers of English and Irish blood." Even Carlyle, in fierce disgust with the radical poor-law, the gospel of unrestricted competition, and the creed of "No Government," set up in contrast the benevolent régime of an old Catholic monastery, with a real governor of men at its head: "This is Abbot Samson's Catholicism of the twelfth century; somewhat like the *ism* of all true men in all centuries, I fancy! Alas, compared with any of the *isms* current in these poor days, what a thing."¹⁷

None of these authors, except the last, can be definitely classified as a Romanticist, but they had caught the spirit which the Romantic movement had diffused. The Industrial Revolution was typical of an age of contract and individualism, just as feudal manners belonged to the age of status and the clan. The new-born middle class marked that breach with the past which no good Romanticist could bear, and it found its natural defenders in men like Mill who inherited the tradition of the *Encyclopédie*, just as it found its natural assailants in men like Carlyle to whom the *Encyclopédie* was anathema. What Disraeli called the "spirit of rapacious covetousness"¹⁸ and "the Altar of Mammon blazing with triple worship"¹⁹ stimulated comparison with a remote golden age of priestly benevolence that was, no doubt, largely mythical. Charles Kingsley, though he had no patience with compliments to pre-Reformation days, did not scruple to join in the onslaught upon the "Fathers of the Scrip Church"²⁰ who

¹⁶ Cf. Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, p. 59.

¹⁷ *Past and Present*.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ *Sybil*. Vol. I, p. iii.

²⁰ The phrase is from Dickens.

were leading modern industrialism, and declared his own to be perhaps the most sensual generation since Alaric sacked Rome.²¹ Mill felt impelled to insert in his *Principles of Political Economy* a reference to the "would-be revivers of old times which they do not understand," pointing out that the fabric of patriarchal and seignorial influence which it was proposed to restore would be shattered against the necessity of enforcing a stringent Poor Law.²² Even Macaulay was so moved by Manzoni's picture of the ancient church as to record in his diary that he had read it with tears, and that if he could believe it to be a true representation of what the Roman communion had been, he should be tempted to follow Newman's example.²³ We realize perhaps best of all how keen was the new antagonism, and how strangely it affected historical judgments, when we find so fanatical a Protestant as the editor of *Cromwell's Letters* turning aside to glorify the government of a mediæval monk.

III

But there was another and a very different side to Romanticism, a side so prominent that the historians of literature dwell upon it almost to the exclusion of the tendencies we have mentioned. It was the glorifying of impulse as against reason, of the individual as against controlling authority, of self-fulfilment and self-expression as against self-denial and self-restraint. Not all the Romanticists had this spirit in equal degree, and Goethe, who in some of his work may be looked upon as its prophet, had that other mood at times in which he counseled *Entsagung*, and led some admirers to mistake him for a preacher of the Cross. Nor did the Romanticists originate, they rather developed and insisted upon that apotheosis of the feelings which we can trace back to the moral-sense school of the

²¹ Cf. Life and Letters of Charles Kingsley. Vol. I, p. 38.

²² Pol. Econ. Vol. IV, p. vii.

²³ Cf. Trevelyan's Life.

eighteenth century. A few of them, like Coleridge, were even keenly alive to its dangers, regarding the sentimentalism of Sterne as more likely to corrupt the conscience than the materialism of Hobbes.²⁴

Strange as it may sound to us now, Germany was once the special home of this law-defying individualism, with all its merits and all its faults. Professor Georg Brandes in a very memorable passage written almost twenty years ago, and whose poignant truthfulness we have had sad reason to appreciate, called attention to the contrast between the Berlin of 1900 and the Berlin of a century earlier. He observed that the capital in our own time was crowded with men in uniform, the literature in its book-shops was intensely practical, the very furniture and ornaments on display spoke of the flowing tide of militarism. Clocks were decorated, not as of old with knights kneeling to kiss a lady's finger-tips, but with uhlands and cuirassiers clicking their heels together on parade. The pendant of a watch-chain was a conical bullet, and candelabra were formed of piled muskets. "The metal in fashion is iron," said Professor Brandes; "The word in fashion is also iron."²⁵ Yet this regimented nation once gloried in the boast of *Freigeisterei*. The circle of Goethe and Schiller at Weimar believed in nothing so much as in the defiance of restraint and the exalting of "nature" above "convention." Jean Paul, Wieland, and a host of others preached the same gospel with their pens, and did not scruple to set the new example in their practice. Carlyle's strange delusion that the German people was to become Europe's regenerator in virtue may be met by a far more

²⁴ Cf. *Aids to Reflection*. Vol. I, p. 26. "All the evil achieved by Hobbes and the whole school of materialists will appear inconsiderable if it be compared with the mischief effected and occasioned by the sentimental philosophy of Sterne and his numerous imitators. The vilest appetites and the most remorseless inconstancy towards their objects acquired the titles of *the heart*, *the irresistible feelings*, *the too tender sensibility*; and if the frosts of prudence, the icy chains of human law, thawed and vanished at the genial warmth of human nature, who could help it? It was an amiable weakness!"

²⁵ *Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature*. Vol. II, p. 17.

plausible argument that that race was to illustrate in turn the diverse excesses of immoralism — first the variety which springs from a frantic assertion of the personal ego, then the variety which comes from a cringing submission to the dominant *Reich*. If Treitschke was to be the apostle of the latter, Max Stirner was the apostle of the former.

Yet enthusiasm for what was called “return to nature” is perhaps the most characteristic common element in the Romanticists, and “nature” was curiously identified with the emotional rather than the ratiocinative impulse in mankind. It was an odd reaction against a still odder myth, the myth endorsed by Warburton when he said that “the image of God in which man was at first created lay in the faculty of reason only.” The prevalent view that Rousseau was responsible for all the absurdities of this contrast between the “natural” and the “developed” does far less than justice — as can be easily shown — to the teaching either of *Emile* or of the *Contrat Social*. Yet Rousseau’s recurring doctrine, that the kindly tendencies of nature are thwarted and perverted by artificial restraint, lent itself to that ideal of wayward autonomy which his successors and imitators were so keen to recommend. Not only positive codes, but every sort of agreed convention became an object of contempt. The vagaries of what is now called “free love” acquired a sort of sentimental sanctity. The English reader of Swinburne and of Oscar Wilde will recognize at once how this side of the Romantic movement developed.

Perhaps Wordsworth affords the clearest illustration from our own literature of that winsome Nature-cult in which the first Romanticists delighted, a cult which has always such seductive appeal for the young, and which is so apt to persist in those whose advance in years has been accompanied by no corresponding advance in thought. Nature was for Wordsworth in early life the one instruct-

ress in virtue; the world of sense, whose glories were welcomed with a childlike responsiveness, had no need of being interpreted by reason, and those who tried to prescribe for the developing mind its course in books were like sham physicians who pretend to teach the body how to grow. The "speaking face of earth and heaven" was man's all-sufficient guide. The poet himself had been allowed in childhood to cull such flowers of learning as might tempt a random choice. He was contented if he might enjoy the things which others understand. And his programme for Lucy in *Lyrical Ballads* was formed on a like principle. The floating clouds and the bending willow and the motions of the storm should be her training school; she should learn composure from the silence and the calm of mute insensate things; the stars of midnight should become dear to her, and among winding rivulets the beauty born of murmuring sound should pass into her face. Twenty years afterwards Wordsworth explained the wickedness of Peter Bell by the fact that "Nature" could never find her way into that young reprobate's heart, that the changes of the seasons somehow conveyed to him no moral truth, and that to his seared soul a primrose by the river's brim was nothing more than a yellow primrose! He was led to wonder whether the waywardness of mankind did not spring less from the fact that we are poor observers than from the misfortune that the things we have a chance to observe are often insufficient for our education. Was Peter so evil because he was divorced in spirit from what he saw, or because he saw Nature's less inspiring moods, for "Peter Bell and she had often been together"? Perhaps his savageness even arose from the savage character of mountains and of dreary moors? And the poet confesses that he has himself come to look on Nature, not as in the hour of thoughtless youth, but hearing oftentimes the still sad music of humanity. He throws out a hint that many of us need a direction

from stern conscience as well as the genial influence of earth and heaven. This is just the imposed morality that Romanticists had so derided, but for most of them return to Nature did not thus eventuate in return beyond Nature. Shelley's mocking voice in *Peter Bell the Third* warned us not to exchange the buoyant inspiration of wood and stream for the things that "old parsons say in burying-grounds."

IV

To ground the church's authority upon the failures of unassisted intelligence is a form of apologetic that has been much abused. Theologians have again and again bethought themselves that the impotence of reason might thus be exploited. That ignorance can be made the mother of devotion is a tenet widely imputed to the Church of Rome. Most of us, however, have heard many a Protestant sermon in which the disappointments of philosophic inquiry were not less exultantly emphasized, and the inference of an infallible Book was drawn with just the same logic that led Manning to an infallible pontiff. An Anglican divine of great note some sixty years ago had even the daring to deride the moral consciousness itself, to parade the antinomies as a schoolmaster to bring us back to faith, and to find in the hopelessness of agnosticism a basis for Christian humility. Edward Caird used to warn us against this sort of argument. He called it seeking a place for religion in the *lacunae* of science. In our own day we have met with those whose reply to the evolutionists has consisted only in dwelling upon the notorious "gaps," and we have seen such ground often crumble beneath their feet. The satisfaction with which men once noted the fact of a "missing link" and the alarm with which the possibility of its appearance was anticipated, find a parallel just now in the anxiety with which the rumor of a chemical production

of life is still whispered among the fearful. To rejoice in the break-down of the human mind as it labors unhelped, and to expect from its humiliation a mood of deeper submissiveness to external control, is to forget that reason and faith are alike sons of God, and that disrespect to either is disrespect to both.²⁶ Theological champions who thus plan their campaign might well lay to heart the aphorism of Coleridge, that the same truth is at once shield and bow, and that as a disputant plucks the weapon from his wound he has often to recognize an arrow from his own quiver.²⁷

Yet there was a value in that same Romantic distrust of intellect, just as there is a value in Professor Bergson's similar scepticism about reasoning at the present day. Adverse and often exasperated critics see nothing in either but a new credulity. But to a great extent it is the critics rather than the criticized who are credulous. Men may, indeed, still think that the sole road to truth was that of the *Encyclopédie*, and that — as Carlyle put it — there is in reality "no truth except that which can be argued of."²⁸ They may think that there are no ultimate convictions necessary to man's life and thought, attested by that very necessity as trustworthy, unless we are to suppose the universe a chaos and our own quenchless belief in its order an inexplicable delusion, yet incapable of proof just because all proof begins there and so cannot lead thither. Or they may think that these indispensable convictions can still be securely held and confidently acted upon without any preference for that cosmic scheme which is alone reconcilable with them over other cosmic schemes which undoubtedly contradict them. That there are minds of this cast is a fact of which philosophy must take notice, somewhat sadly. But they are credulous minds, and they are a little too apt to measure the develop-

²⁶ Cf. A. M. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*.

²⁷ Cf. *Aids to Reflection*. Vol. I, p. 182.

²⁸ *Essay on Diderot*.

ment of others by their own capacity for incoherence. They have still need to learn that new and deeper psychology of belief so admirably summarized by Dean Church, and for which many had to thank the men of the Tractarian Movement: "that not arguments only, but the whole condition of the mind to which they are addressed — and not the reasonings only which could be stated, but those which went on darkly in the mind, and which 'there was not at the moment strength enough to bring forth,' real and weighty reasons which acted like the obscure rays of the spectrum, with their proper force yet eluding distinct observation — had their necessary and legitimate place in determining belief." ²⁹ For this idea the Oxford men owed, through Coleridge, more than they themselves knew to the Romanticists.

Again, we have long been accustomed to hear from Protestant quarters that the greatest enemy of the Church of Rome is the impartial historian. One cannot help feeling, for example, that if Lord Acton had known less history than he did, so devoutly religious a mind would have been less recalcitrant when the pontiff so long held in reverence imposed as *de fide* an acceptance of the Vatican Decrees. But the judgment of historians upon the claim of the Holy See has been found as variable as Bacon found the judgment of science upon Christian faith. To adapt the famous aphorism, we may admit that a little history inclines one to Rome, while we insist that more history drives one far from her.

The present writer, at least, has long looked with a measure of sympathetic appreciation upon those for whom, one hundred years ago, the glamor of the Papacy was restored. De Maistre was a witness as opportune as Dante five centuries before, to the spiritual independence of the Church. The Concordat by which Pius VII purchased imperial favor at the price of conceding the Gal-

²⁹ Church, *The Oxford Movement*, p. 256.

lican liberties may be excused as a yielding to *force majeure*, but on the face of it looks as simoniacal a transaction as ever disgraced the administration of Boniface VIII. It may be incredible that the Most High has appointed a human vicegerent to bear spiritual rule from a single centre to the ends of the earth. But it is at least not more absurd, and it is vastly less incoherent, than to think of "national" Churches, each one of which has been endowed with the awful power to bind and to loose, but each one of which must at the same time exercise its solemn function in strict subservience to the temporal authority of the State.³⁰ Against such a travesty of sacred things every word that was spoken by Lammenais, by Montalembert, by Lacordaire, was a word for truth and earnestness. We see the same healthy resentment in Schleiermacher's protest against a State-imposed Prussian liturgy. If there is an apostolic succession — as Lambeth no less than Rome maintains — then the apostles who transmit it are surely no mere subordinates of the discordant civil powers, or mouthpieces of the dominant national feeling. Something quite different from either loyalty or patriotism must be the first of their concerns. How sorely a counteractive was needed for the Erastianism of the hour may be seen from some ecclesiastical arrangements recorded in the contemporary literature. The practice of the fallen French Empire had become a model in many things, and beyond doubt Napoleon had his national clergy well in hand. We hear, for example, of one preacher who was supposed to be delivering lectures on theism, and who was specially expert in devising the *double entendre* by which compliments to the emperor might be insinuated in the language of devout-

³⁰ Cf. Thackeray's extraordinary outburst in the Irish Sketch Book against the Pope's appointment of an English bishop to the see of "Aureliolopolis," and his query about what His Holiness would think if the Archbishop of Canterbury nominated a bishop of the Palatine or the Suburra! It illustrates the mood in which Churches were regarded as pieces of national organization.

ness. Even he, however, failed to come up to the standard, for Fouché, acting on Napoleon's behalf, pointed out that a really patriotic address on the existence of God should contain some words in support of military conscription. The catechism was recast by imperial order, questions were inserted on the duty of Frenchmen to the chief of their State, and it was intimated in the answers that he who failed not only to obey but to "love" Napoleon would be eternally damned! When in defiance of the Holy See all manner of State-nominated bishops were thrust into dioceses, the clergy were forbidden to express the smallest disapproval, and on one occasion two hundred and thirty-six seminarists who had refused to assist at the mass of an imperial bishop were at once unfrocked and drafted into a regiment. Priests, like all others, were to be "hundred-per-cent Frenchmen, Frenchmen first, last, and all the time." Such records help one to understand the strange declaration of that other "constitutional priest," Cimourdain in Hugo's *Quatre-vingt-treize*; "je suis prêtre, mais je crois en Dieu."³¹ It was surely time for ultramontanism, or any other *ism*, to reassert that the Church of God is not a branch of the national civil service varying with each change from the Assembly to the Consulate, from the Consulate to the Empire, and from the Empire back to the house of Bourbon.³²

As we attempt to estimate the loss and gain which have resulted from all these tendencies, we must feel that neither has been the monopoly of one school, but that the imprint of the Romanticists, for both good and evil, is

³¹ *Quatre-vingt-treize*. Vol. II, p. 3.

³² The almost forgotten novels of John Galt have some sly hits at the same sort of State-sustaining religion in England. Cf. the complaint of the Rev. Micah Balwhidder that smuggling continued to flourish, though he had preached sixteen times from the text "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" (*Annals of the Parish*, p. 10); and Mr. Cayenne's request that his doctor should summon a clergyman to his death-bed, because, "you know, that in these times, doctor, it is the duty of every good subject to die a Christian" (*ibid.*, p. 151).

still on each branch of Christendom. Neither the Roman nor the Protestant communion has quite failed in our day to advance beyond the hardness of the old intellectualist apologetic, to realize that the basis of religion is no mere assent — however vigorously coerced — to the formulæ of a creed, and that the value-judgments of the heart rather than the cogency of a syllogism are the source of saving faith. As they think of the universe testifying to its Creator, neither can now much appreciate Addison's lines about the spacious firmament and the blue ethereal sky proclaiming their great Original, and rejoicing in Reason's ear. For they have alike come to acknowledge that external Nature taken alone seems to proclaim many different things, and that Reason without moral feeling is a poor guide. They are alike attracted rather by Wordsworth's simile of the child who holds to his ear the convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell, who hears those sonorous cadences which suggest mysterious union with its native sea, and who symbolizes that faith in a moral order which yields "authentic tidings of invisible things."

Enlightened men of all Christian creeds now alike look back with sympathetic reverence to the generations inspired by the same faith as themselves, though the dialects in which that faith expressed itself show a limitless variety, and they have alike become alive to the indecent outrage of examining with kindly appreciation the religious *nisus* in all the ethnic cults of the world while a cold and scornful glace is turned upon a thousand years of Christianity. They alike increasingly turn aside from perhaps the grossest of all ecclesiastical corruptions — the attitude of those to whom the Church meant no more than a department of the State, a more or less serviceable agency of moral restraint, a handmaid of government and a prop to those "powers that be" which, whatever their character, churchmen were once prepared to sanction as ordained of God. For this new spirit which the Romantic

impulse did so much to foster, the liberals and the conservatives in theology must be alike thankful. But, like all other reactions, the reaction from the eighteenth century has shown itself a fresh cause of discord among the very men who are most indebted to it, separating those who fear the excesses and those who are impatient with the limits of the new traditionism, marshaling in one camp those to whom the backward movement seems always in danger of going too far and in another those to whom it never seems to have courage for going far enough. The elements are now so intermingled that it has become difficult to say who is a Romanticist and who is not. For the heirs of that impulse in our own time are to be seen exalting Reason or denouncing it, despising history or appealing to it, finding in "the witness of the heart" an authentication of the things unseen and eternal or sufficient authority for each vagrant passion of the "natural" man. There is, in truth, no single movement of thought in these high fields whose fruit is not thus liable to manifold variation. As in the great parable, we must still be content to see tares and wheat growing together until the harvest. But neither must we forget the point at which that analogy stops. For the harvest of thought is one that ripens from year to year, and it is the office of successive critics, according to such light as may be in them, to wield the sickle fearlessly.

A NEGLECTED PRINCIPLE OF LITURGICAL REVISION

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The Second Report of the Joint Commission on the Book of Common Prayer is an interesting document, not only for the history of liturgy in the American Church but also in showing, perhaps more by implication than by direct statement, the lines along which thought in the Episcopal Church is at present moving.

The resolution of 1913 which created this Commission provides that "no proposition involving the faith and doctrine of the Church shall be considered or reported upon" by it. Yet no far-reaching change in liturgy can be made without reference to theological considerations, and many of these come out clearly in the Report. The main points where doctrinal influences are apparent are in connection with (1) the revision of the wording of certain Collects, with a tendency to eliminate or soften some of the harsher elements of the old doctrine of God's providence; (2) the Holy Communion; (3) the visitation and healing of the sick. These are scarcely questions to be settled without serious discussion of their theological implications, and it is difficult to imagine any previous generation supposing that they could be regarded from an exclusively liturgical point of view.

I. *The doctrine of God.* In the prayer "For Fair Weather," among the Prayers and Thanksgivings upon Several Occasions, it is suggested to change the reading so as to omit the bracketed portions:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee of thy great goodness, to restrain those immoderate rains wherewith [for our sins] Thou hast afflicted us. And we pray Thee to send us

such seasonable weather, that the earth may in due time yield her increase for our use and benefit [And give us grace that we may learn by thy punishments to amend our lives, and for thy clemency to give thee thanks and praise;] through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Still more striking is the substitute offered for the prayer "In Time of great Sickness and Mortality."

Present Form

O Almighty God, the Lord of life and death, of sickness and health, regard our supplications, we humbly beseech thee; and, as thou has thought fit to visit us for our sins with great sickness and mortality, in the midst of thy judgment, O Lord, remember mercy. Have pity upon us, miserable sinners, and withdraw from us the grievous sickness with which we are afflicted. May this thy fatherly correction have its due influence upon us by leading us to consider how frail and uncertain our life is; that we may apply our hearts unto that heavenly wisdom which in the end will bring us to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Proposed Form

O most mighty and merciful God, we flee unto thee for succor by reason of the grievous sickness that has come upon us. Deliver us, we beseech thee, from our peril; give strength and skill to all who are engaged in the care of the sick, and prosper the means which shall be made use of for their cure; and grant that, perceiving how frail and uncertain our life is, we may apply our hearts unto that heavenly wisdom which in the end will bring us to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The conclusion of the prayer "For a Sick Person" reads at present, "And in thy good time restore him to health and enable him to lead the residue of his life in thy fear and to thy glory. Or else give him grace so to take thy visitation, that after this painful life ended, he may dwell with thee in life everlasting." It is revised to read, "in thy fear and to thy glory; and grant that finally he may dwell with thee in life everlasting."

Very similar in idea is the change made in the prayer "For a Sick Child."

The Old Form

Almighty God, and merciful Father, to whom alone belong the issues of life and death, look down from Heaven, we humbly beseech thee, with the eyes of thy mercy upon the sick child for whom our prayers are desired. Deliver him, O Lord, in thy good appointed time from his bodily pain and visit him with thy salvation; that if it be thy good pleasure to prolong his days here on earth, he may live to thee and be an instrument of thy glory, by serving thee faithfully and doing good in his generation. Or else receive him into those heavenly habitations where the souls of those who sleep in the Lord Jesus enjoy perpetual rest and felicity. Grant this, O Lord, for the love of thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

The New Form

O Heavenly Father, almighty and merciful, who lovest all children, and hast filled the world with gladness, pour out thy blessing, we beseech thee, upon the sick child for whom our prayers are offered. Guide by thy wisdom the efforts made for his cure, and mightily increase our confidence in thy love; that he, resting in our faith and sustained by thy power, may be made well and may live to thee in the joy of thy service; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In the prayer "For a Person Under Affliction" the bracketed portions are to be omitted:

"O Merciful God and heavenly Father who hast taught us in thy holy Word that thou dost not willingly afflict or grieve the children of men, look with pity we beseech Thee upon the sorrows of thy servant, for whom our prayers are desired. [In thy wisdom thou hast seen fit to visit him with trouble and to bring distress upon him.] Remember him, O Lord, in mercy; [sanctify thy fatherly correction to him;] endue his soul with patience [under his affliction, and with resignation to thy blessed will]; comfort him with a sense of thy goodness; lift up thy countenance upon him and give him peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. "

The present prayer for Malefactors is to be dropped and a substitute is provided under the title "For Prisoners."

For Malefactors

O most gracious and merciful God, we earnestly beseech thee to have pity and compassion upon those persons recommended to our prayers, who now lie under the sentence of the law and are appointed to die. Visit them, O Lord, with thy mercy and salvation; convince them of the miserable condition they are in by their sins and wickedness; and let thy powerful grace produce in them such a godly sorrow and sincere repentance as thou wilt be pleased to accept. Give them a strong and lively faith in thy Son our blessed Saviour, and make it effectual to the salvation of their souls. O Lord, in judgment remember mercy; and whatever sufferings they are to endure in this world, yet deliver them, O God, from the bitter pains of eternal death. Pardon their sins and save their souls, for the sake and merits of thy dear Son, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. Amen.

For Prisoners

O God who sparest when we deserve punishment, and in thy wrath rememberest mercy, we humbly beseech thee of thy goodness to comfort and succor all prisoners who are under reproach in the house of bondage (especially those who are condemned to die). Give them a right understanding of themselves and of thy promises; that trusting wholly in thy mercy, they may not place their confidence anywhere but in thee. Relieve the distressed, protect the innocent, awaken the guilty; and forasmuch as thou alone bringest light out of darkness and good out of evil, grant to these thy servants that by the power of thy Holy Spirit their souls may be set free from the chains of sin, and they may be brought to newness of life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The "Thanksgiving for Deliverance from Great Sickness and Mortality" is to be dropped from the Prayer Book.

All these proposed emendations and omissions are directed against a theory of God and man which was fundamental to the authors of the Prayer Book. Our ancestors interpreted human life from an almost exclu-

sively moral point of view. Every man was a fallen creature, raised from complete corruption only by the grace of God working in him from the time of his baptism. His goal was heaven, his peril hell. The thing needful was to find the way of life which led to the one and avoided the other. For this purpose a moral economy existed in the universe which left no event without retributive or disciplinary effect on man. The apparent evils of life were notes of warning, its joys were messages of encouragement from the Power that worked in this world for the salvation of men's souls in the world to come. This theory was absolutely complete and compact, leaving no event unexplained or unrelated to the moral purpose of God.

The objection felt by moderns to this view was that a God who was responsible for many of the painful incidents of this life was neither lovable nor respectable, and that to save the Divine character it was necessary to sever from God's immediate control events which before had been regarded as his special instruments for realizing his purpose of bringing men to himself. The origin of this objection is to be found in the steady decline of the theory of man's corruption through Adam, and the fading of definiteness in the belief about the future. Late in the nineteenth century the biological doctrine of evolution was taken over into sociology and given a mystical turn by theologians who traced philosophical descent from Schelling and his school. The prevailing view of the conditions and destiny of humanity was completely changed; the joys of heaven and horrors of hell ceased to be factors in modern life; and this reacted on the ideas of God in that the feeling for the immediate practical necessity of adapting life to a fixed and known retributive system disappeared. It was felt that God in the rôle of a stern judge and wise disciplinarian of his fallen and worthless creatures could be held responsible for many things which, in

his new rôle of guide and support to humanity evolving from primitive savagery to ordered moral society, he could not assume without serious loss of respect.

It was the boast of modern liberal Protestantism that it set Christianity free from the fearsomeness and awe of the Calvinistic universe by reviving the primitive doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. The primitive character of the form in which this doctrine has been revived and popularized may be questioned, but its practical effect in sentimentalizing and weakening the ancient conception of God is unmistakable. God has been removed from the realms of the unpleasant, but the removal has been one of fiction and not of fact. Suffering and evil are still facts of life and form a problem for the theologians, the importance of which the war has not tended to minimize. The essence of theism is the attempt to interpret the behavior of the universe, taken as a whole, in its relation to human life. No theology can hope for permanent support which closes its eyes to all but one aspect of the world's behavior.

II. *The Holy Communion.* In the revision of the Order for the Holy Communion several important changes have been suggested. The title of the service is changed to "The Divine Liturgy, being the order for The Lord's Supper or Holy Eucharist, commonly called The Holy Communion." The Ten Commandments may be read in a shortened form. The Summary of the Law is changed to read, "with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind and with all thy strength." The *Dominus vobiscum* is introduced before the Collects of the day. An anthem or hymn is admitted between the Epistle and Gospel. "Praise be to thee, O Christ," may be said after the Gospel. A rubric authorizing the celebrant to ask for "the secret intercessions of the congregation for any who have desired the prayers of the Church" is introduced before the prayer "For the Whole State of Christ's Church."

The word "Militant" no longer appears after "Christ's Church" in the invitation to that prayer, and the wording of the prayer is somewhat changed. The last of the "Comfortable Words" is amended to read, "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world." The *Dominus vobiscum* is inserted before the *Sursum Corda*. The *Benedictus qui venit* is authorized after the *Sanctus*. Proper prefaces are inserted for the Epiphany, for the Annunciation, Purification, and Transfiguration, and for All Saints' Day. The Prayer of Humble Access is transferred to a place immediately after the Prayer of Consecration; the Lord's Prayer is placed before the administration of the elements and is introduced by the sentence, "As our Saviour Jesus Christ hath commanded and taught us, let us say —." Provision is made for the *Agnus Dei*, or for some other hymn or hymns, to be sung during the Communion. The Lord's Prayer before the Thanksgiving is dropped, and the latter is introduced by: "Having now received the Precious Body and Blood of Christ, let us give thanks to the Lord our God." A rubric is admitted authorizing a Deacon to read the ante-Communion service. The ablutions rubric is amended so as to provide for reservation: "If any of the consecrated bread and wine remain after the Communion, it shall not be carried out of the church, but shall immediately after the blessing be reverently consumed. But *Note*, That subject to the regulation of the Ordinary, the Priest may reserve so much of the consecrated bread and wine as may be required for the Communion of the Sick." Another important rubric is the following: "When for any reason it is deemed inadvisable to use the common cup in the administration, the Bishop may authorize the Priest to use the method of Intinction." The general impression given by these changes is an increase of emphasis on the

doctrine of the Real Presence. The admission of the *Agnus Dei* and the *Benedictus qui venit* are certainly in this direction, and the provision for reservation, though put in the form of a provision for the Communion of the sick, is really the legalizing of the long-continued practice in the American Church of reserving the sacrament for adoration as well as for use in Communion.

The provision for intinction would seem at first a triumph for the Broad Churchmen, but this is doubtful. Nothing has been more distracting from the service than the expedients which many of the clergy have adopted to preserve their congregation from the danger of infection through the chalice. Purificators, sometimes dipped in alcohol or water, have been flourished before the communicants between each communication. Elaborate announcements explaining the method of intinction and its necessity have been introduced into the service. It is not inconceivable that congregations will prefer to adopt the Roman method of communication in one kind to these odious interruptions of devotion.

More important than any change made in the service of Holy Communion itself is the introduction into the body of Collects, Epistles, and Gospels of a special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Solemnization of Matrimony and for the Burial of the Dead. No special provision for the use of these is made in either the office for the Burial of the Dead or the Marriage Service. They could find natural place only in Nuptial and Requiem Masses.

The intellectual issue raised by the admission of Requiem Masses is apparent. For the Roman Church this practice has been a natural expression and outgrowth of the teaching of the sacrifice of the Mass. The Episcopal Church, however, following the Church of England, has always set itself against this teaching. The objection received classic form in the thirty-first of the Articles of Religion:

"The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

If the practice of Requiem Masses is to be revived and authorized by the Church, some statement is surely called for, expressing either agreement or disagreement with Roman teaching on this subject and declaring the grounds on which a custom so long disused and disliked is revived.

This point has, of course, frequently been the subject of sharp controversy; but it is to be feared that the motive which has influenced both sides has been ritual rather than theological interest. It has become fashionable to have Requiem Masses, just as it has become fashionable to import many other Roman practices into the services of the Church, and those who favor these importations naturally desire support in the Prayer Book for what they do. The spirit of these men is very different from that of Newman and his followers, with whom theology was primary. Their object was to influence the mind of the Church to a fuller acceptance of what they believed to be Catholic teaching, and their weapons and defense were logic and argument. Their successors do not understand their theology, and endeavor to perpetuate their work by the revival of ceremonies rather than the discussion of principles.

III. *The Healing of the Sick.* In the office for the Visitation of the Sick, besides several changes of the same general nature as those proposed for the occasional prayers and thanksgivings, there is a cautiously worded rubric providing for auricular confession: "Then shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feels his conscience troubled in any matter; after

which confession, the Minister shall assure him of God's mercy and forgiveness."

More important is the Appendix inserted after the service of Visitation:

"Following the teaching and practice of Our Lord and his Apostles, the Church from the beginning hath exercised the Ministry of Healing, always with a prayer of Faith, often accompanied with anointing with oil or with the imposition of hands. When any sick person shall in humble faith desire this ministry through anointing or laying on of hands, the Minister may use such portion of the foregoing Office as he shall think fit, and the following form:

'O blessed Redeemer, relieve, we beseech thee, by thy indwelling power the distress of this thy servant; release him from sin and drive away all pain of soul and body, that being restored to soundness of health he may offer thee praise and thanksgiving; Who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

I anoint thee with oil (lay my hand upon thee), in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, beseeching the mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that all thy pain and sickness of body being put to flight, the blessing of health may be restored to thee.'"

It must be admitted at once that the revival of this custom has behind it the support of apostolic authority. Healing by the imposition of hands was an important feature of the ministry of Jesus, a feature which he strove to make subordinate to his preaching without much success so far as the multitude was concerned. The practice was continued by the apostles and was one of the recognized signs which witnessed the Divine power which possessed them. Exorcism by the use of various formulæ, by the imposition of hands, and with anointing of oil, was a recognized function of the Catholic ministry throughout the Middle Ages. Yet the fact that the healing ministry has existed in Christianity does not mean that it was distinctively Christian. It was the universal accompaniment of a particular theory of disease, viz., that disease is the result of demonic influence or possession. Jesus

claimed no exclusive power either for himself or his followers in effecting these cures. The whole point of the Beelzebub controversy is lost if others did not perform cures in the same way: "If I cast out demons by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons cast them out." Every cure was a struggle of supernatural forces, in which the holy (or friendly) spirit permitted itself to be used by the healer to overcome the influence of an evil (or hostile) spirit.

What can be said, however, in defense of the revival of these practices without the revival of the theory of disease which gave them birth? An intellectual difficulty of some proportions faces the Church if it is to revive the healing ministry of apostolic times. Is the Church to reaffirm the doctrine of demon possession, or is some new theory of diagnosis to be proposed as a complement to the revival of ancient therapeutics? The objection to a skeptical attitude in regard to faith-healing will always be raised, that these cures often really work and that many people are actually made better. It is quite true that a healthy equilibrium may be restored to an overwrought nervous system by the removal of worry, and that this can be achieved by the states of faith and hope induced by the faith-cure. It is also true that other methods of removing worry are equally successful. It has been found that many troubles which have been regarded as organic are really due to disturbances in the nervous system. These can be cured by an improvement in the nervous condition of the patient, which may be effected by a faith cure. These faith cures are in all cases dependent, as the name suggests, on the belief in their effectiveness. Without this nothing can be accomplished. The real harm in the faith cure is not that it works by virtue of convincing people that their condition is other than it is, but because it tends to depreciate the accurate investigation of disease and its cure by science. People are always ready to welcome short cuts to knowledge, and religion has been the most

attractive of all. In none of the spheres in which it has been applied has the method of observation and investigation yielded more fruitful and beneficial results than in medicine. To attempt to depreciate this work or to offer substitutes for it that are not founded on fact is to stand in the way not only of scientific progress but of the preservation and advancement of human life.

As a piece of liturgical reconstruction the Report is undoubtedly admirable. The Church will, however, be making a serious error if it accepts or rejects its suggestions merely on that basis, and permits the theological issues raised by many of the proposed changes to escape, if not settlement, at least a more general fruitful discussion than they have yet received. The whole question of prayer could profitably be opened, and the propriety considered of having petitions to change the weather and the states of people's health used by a generation which believes neither change capable of being made by supernatural interference with the course of nature. This suggests the still wider question of whether the Church ought any longer to teach prayer as a species of contract, in which man induces God, as it were against his better judgment, to manage things differently from the way in which He had originally intended. It is hardly possible to see how this view can be reconciled with the modern idea of nature as a fixed sequence of events. Questions like these are fundamental "modern needs," which the Church cannot afford to neglect if she is any longer to pretend to minister to the educated. Liturgy, to be a real aid to devotion, must express the experiences and aspirations of its users. It cannot do this if it exalts flagrant misrepresentations of facts and embodies anciently respectable but really untrue views.

BOOK REVIEWS

MY GENERATION. AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL INTERPRETATION. WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER. The Houghton Mifflin Co. 1919. Pp. xvi, 464. \$4.00.

President Tucker explains in the Preface the signification of the title:

"There must be, of course, some reason for that backward errand of the mind which is implied in autobiography; 'Confessions,' maybe they frequently are, the work of the imagination; but when genuine they have their justification in the unburdening of a mind of its past. 'Reminiscences' of lighter vein are the recreation of the mind; in more serious vein, its revaluation of men and events according to the appraisal of the memory. 'Interpretation' represents most nearly the unfinished works of a lifetime. In its more personal use it offers to the individual worker a just relief from his frequent sense of the incompleteness and the impermanence of his work, by allowing him to relate it to things which have in themselves fullness and stability, movements, causes, institutions. Applied in its larger relations, it may make some unfinished work of a generation, through the better understanding of it, the special task of the next, and so maintain that continuity of purpose among like-minded men which is the essential element in social progress."

This retrospection is arranged by periods — the Personal Background of Ancestry, Early Home, School and College; the Environment of a Civil War; the Profession of the Ministry; the Andover Period; the Dartmouth Period; the New Reservation of Time. While divided into periods chronologically, it is really the evolution of a life from youth to manhood, and in settings of office which were places of influence — preaching, teaching, administering, and at last prophesying.

He says of his upbringing in what might be called a Puritan home at Plymouth, New Hampshire, the home of his uncle, Rev. William R. Jewett: "As I recall my own experiences in a Puritan home and those of my mates, I have little sympathy with the men of my generation who attribute any subsequent licence on their part in morals and religion to the strictness of their early training. The home life of that period, as I saw it, had found the normal balance between authority and indulgence. There were exceptions, but I am inclined to think that a good many of the uncomfortable experiences which linger in the minds of some men should be charged to the narrowness

or temper or obstinacy of individual parents rather than to Puritanism. And due account should be kept as we grow older with the results of our own youthful mischiefs and follies. Whatever the Puritan home may have been aforetime I know only by report, but when it became the home for my generation, it stood for a material, intelligent, and reasonably free approach to a world."

He prepared for college at the County Academy, was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1861, taught for a time in Columbus, Ohio, entered Andover Theological Seminary in 1863, served a year in the United States Christian Commission, caring for the wounded in hospitals and on the march to Atlanta, and returned to Andover, graduating in 1866.

He writes of the teaching of the Andover professors at that time, particularly of that burning and shining light, Professor Edwards A. Park: "As theology was treated by Professor Park, the lectures became the attraction and stimulus of the seminary course. I can hardly go further and affirm with equal assurance their inspirational quality. . . . It (Andover) represented an advanced theology, keen intellectual life, and the spirit of devotion for service at home and abroad. What was lacking, and the lack was serious, was some fresh, more direct, and penetrating approach to the heart of Christianity. The theological advance from Old to New School had created an unmistakable feeling of satisfaction. The 'New England Theology' was quite too near the finished article. Like every great religious holding of the truth, it was vitalized at times by spiritual quickenings, but the continuous struggle after truth, the tremendous earnestness of search rather than of inquiry, the conflict with doubt, the baffled but determined demand for personal assurance and personal possession, were not conspicuously in evidence."

Then came his pastorate of eight years at Manchester, New Hampshire, a manufacturing town, and at the Madison Square Church, New York, continuing five years. He was called to Andover Theological Seminary in 1879 to be professor of Homiletics.

More than a hundred pages of the book are given to the Andover Movement and the trial of five of its professors — Smyth, Tucker, Churchill, Harris, Hincks — on charges of heterodoxy, that is, of departure from the Creed of the Seminary, which the professors were required to subscribe, not only at their inauguration but again every fifth year. Although there were sixteen specific charges, the attack was at two sensitive points — probation after death or second probation, and the real authority of the Bible. The attention of a religious world was caught. Not only the religious press but also the secular

press gave large space to the discussions. It is thirty-four years since the trial was instituted by the Board of Visitors, and twenty-eight years since the Supreme Court of Massachusetts reversed the verdict. It is not easy now to make the younger generation, or indeed anybody, understand what it was all about. Yet the Andover Movement was on the line of theological and religious progress.

The Constitution of the Seminary provides two Boards: the Trustees, twelve in number, the majority laymen, who administer the affairs of the Seminary and elect professors; the Visitors, three in number, two clergymen and one layman, to be guardians of the Foundation, to interpret the Creed as occasion might require, to examine the professors elected by the Trustees, to take care that the duties of every professor are intelligently and faithfully discharged, and to admonish or remove, either for misbehavior, heterodoxy, incapacity, or neglect of the duties of his office — That was the situation when the five professors who were editors of the *Andover Review* were charged by a few of the older alumni with heresy, and before the Visitors the charges were brought. Each side had counsel; the courtroom — a dining-room in the United States Hotel, Boston — was thronged for five days. Professor Smyth made a convincing defense, the other four professors made brief addresses, the lawyers stepped in with able arguments, and the trial was over. The evidence of heterodoxy adduced by the complainants consisted of editorials in the *Andover Review*, for which, being unsigned, all the editors were responsible. The Trustees' request that they might be a party to the trial was refused by the Visitors.

Six months later the decision of the Visitors was given. Professor Smyth was removed and the others were not removed, although the evidence was precisely the same for all. Two Visitors voted for Professor Smyth's removal; one (President Ledge of Amherst College, the President of the Board), for acquittal. When the other professors were considered, one of the Visitors did not vote; and since in that case, two voting, one for and one against — the vote of the President of the Board determined — they were not removed. Appeal was made to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, as provided by the Constitution, and five years later, the Court ruled that the decision in the case of Professor Smyth was invalid, because the Trustees, whose agents the professors are, were not allowed to be a party to the trial. Later the composition of the Board of Visitors having changed, they reversed the decision to remove Professor Smyth.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions took up the issue of what was popularly called future probation. The

Prudential Committee would not appoint as a missionary any one who even said that he did not know the fate of the heathen. There were animated discussions at the annual meetings of the Board. The Congregational churches were involved. Councils were ordaining young men who entertained the opinion for holding which the Board was rejecting them. Finally at the Worcester Meeting in 1893, the Board was given over to the control of the churches, which thenceforth were to elect members of a Board.

"The result which was most definitely secured through the protracted trial, the result, that is, which was actually reached, and which could only have been reached through conflict, was a reasonable assurance of theological freedom. The result was the answer to those who deprecated the fight and would have been willing to divert the issue. It represented something achieved, something won. Between the original judgment and its reversal, public sentiment had grown into an almost unanimous approval of the freedom secured. Very few feared any danger from it. The long struggle had familiarized the public mind with the spirit and intent of a larger freedom. . . . The great struggle within the field of doctrine has always been to break the hold of fettering and restrictive dogmas. These dogmas have been the obstructive forces in the way of a working Christianity — the dogma of a particular election, the dogma of a limited atonement, and last, the dogma of a restricted opportunity. It was a sad comment on the assumed and even boasted freedom of the New England theology, of which Andover was a chief exponent, that a theology which had won the conflict for a universal atonement should surrender to the dogma of a restricted Christian opportunity, and that the missionary organization called into being to carry out the motive of a universal atonement should shift its motive of action to this same dogma of a restricted Christian opportunity. . . . The greatest advance of Christian doctrine within this generation has been in its humanity. The humanizing process has been at work in many ways, but, in all those ways that are most accessible and most easily recognized, it has been stimulated by that larger hope for humanity which is the outcome and the expression of the newly-acquired freedom of Christianity. . . . Is there a larger work in human redemption going on out of sight, but not out of the reach of faith? The Christian heart and the Christian mind and more and more the Christian conscience have contended for the right to believe in this unlimited work of Christ."

More than one hundred and fifty pages of the book are given to the Dartmouth period. Dr. Tucker was President of the college from

1893 to 1909, when he retired on account of impaired health. The years of limited activity which might follow he has called "The New Reservation of Time," the title of an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1910. "In this article," he says, "I endeavoured to show the changed attitude in which it is possible under this restriction to approach that un hoped serene that men call age." His reservation is already more than ten years, in which he has done a surprising amount of literary work.

The Dartmouth period witnessed the development and enlargement of the college, in numbers from four hundred in 1893 to fourteen hundred in 1909. Dr. Tucker presents his theory of a liberal education, of a democratic college, touches on athletics and the many "outside interests," and gives the history of the college, with a full account of the Dartmouth case and the famous plea of Daniel Webster. While this survey of collegiate education and collegiate life is of special interest to Dartmouth men, it is significant to all who are concerned with the higher education needed and demanded in our time.

President Tucker's predominant interest, as he himself says, is the social, the humanitarian. He was the first, I think, to introduce social ethics in the instruction of a theological seminary — at any rate, among the first. He lectured on Social Economics, the Social Evolution of Labor; and kindred subjects. He established the Andover House, a social settlement in Boston, in 1892, later called the South End House.

In general, he says: "In the estimation of the causes which affected the fortune of my generation according to its place in the order of time, I put without hesitating the incoming of the new social order, consequent upon the rise of industrialism. The incoming of the new social order was in reality a social revolution, though lacking most of the usual signs of violence. For it was nothing less than the change from the individualistic basis of society to the collective basis, or if we do not allow the political implication of the term, to the socialistic basis. This revolutionary change reached far beyond the limits of industrialism. Still the results were most quickly and most extensively manifest within those limits. Capital rapidly passed from the hands of the individual into the control of the corporation, and thence into the control of the trust. Labor passed in like manner and with equal steps from the control of the individual to that of the Union, and on to that of the federation. Capitalist and workman alike placed themselves under self-imposed limitations. They allowed themselves to disappear as individuals to reappear as members of

organizations. Business in general passed from the stage of individual control to that of collective bargaining."

"The political effect of the change in the social order has thus far been much less than was thought probable, much less in fact than might have been expected. The advance on the socialistic basis has stopped far short of socialism. . . . Our government has gradually become more socialistic in its working without making any appreciable approach to Socialism. . . . The religious effect of the social revolution was in some respects deeper and more far-reaching than the political effect. It changed the prevailing type of religion. Individualism had been the foundation of the Protestant faith. Now, men began to think in terms of social Christianity. . . . The Church became as conspicuously the agency for 'social service' as it had been the 'means of grace' in the work of individual salvation."

President Tucker's book is a clear exposition of the tendencies — religious, educational, social, political — of his generation, on all of which he was influential. The personal touch is felt in the characteristic, elevated style, and in the appraisal of those movements in which he bore a conspicuous part.

GEORGE HARRIS.

NEW YORK.

DICTIONARY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH. Edited by James Hastings, with the assistance of John A. Selbie, and John C. Lambert. 2 vols. 1916, 1918. Charles Scribner's Sons. Vol. I, pp. xiv, 729; Vol. II, pp. xii, 724. \$12.00.

The resemblance of this new dictionary, in inner and outer appearance, to the same editor's previous dictionaries of the Bible is not deceptive. It is a similar work. Together with the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* this new work forms with some overlapping a complete dictionary of the New Testament in four volumes — the same space that Dr. Hastings originally devoted in the first work to the whole Bible. This larger scale of treatment is shown not only by the length of the articles but by the greater inclusiveness of the new work.

Besides the canonical writings of the New Testament, the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts are dealt with, and a separate article is given to most (why not all?) of both the Apostolic Fathers and the principal Jewish apocalypses. The latter are written mostly by pupils of R. H. Charles and reproduce unchanged the master's positions, but Burkitt on the "Apocalypse of Baruch" is independent and almost polemic, while Moffatt writes with his usual encyclopædic knowledge upon

the "Sibylline Oracles." This same writer supplies also what is perhaps the most remote excursus from the limited field of the Apostolic Church in the article on "War." This long monograph (it is exceeded in length only by the article on the "Resurrection of Christ") is a fascinating study, rich in literary allusion, of the relation to war of Judaism, of the teaching of Jesus and the apostles, and of the teaching and practice of the ante-Nicene Church. It is almost a pity that it is buried in a dictionary, for at least at the time of publication the subject was of special interest. It is also a pity that the author should in this and even in his other article have embodied the spirit of the time and should not have made a somewhat more impartial presentation of the position of the Christian Fathers. The monograph by C. J. Cadoux, which appeared at about the same time, endorsed by Professor Harnack as settling the case, should be read as a corrective with this article.

One very satisfactory series of articles deals with contemporary secular history. The main articles, on the several Emperors, on "Roads and Travel," etc., are by Alexander Souter, the rest by James Strahan. They are complete, succinct, and accurate. For "Hellenistic and Biblical Greek" the late Professor Thumb of Strassburg was requisitioned, and he has provided here a summary of the status of the linguistic problem in a fuller and more judicial fashion than is done by any other English writing.

A series of long and important articles discusses questions of New Testament theology, as Atonement, Conversion, Eschatology, Grace, Inspiration and Revelation, Law, Love, Perseverance, Preëxistence, Righteousness. Some of those by better known writers are Inspiration and Revelation by W. Sanday, and Righteousness by J. Moffatt. No doubt the contributors to the *Dictionary* represent nearly as much variety of viewpoint as existed in the Apostolic Age itself. One gets, however, from these articles an impression of less conservatism than in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. Under the timeworn rubrics of theology the qualities of Christian experience and the teaching of the New Testament often receive a fresh and vigorous presentation. This impression of liberalism is confirmed by the attitude toward questions of authorship. In the articles on the several New Testament books traditional authorship is emphatically stated only in the case of Paul's main letters; elsewhere the writer either gives fairly the arguments on both sides or plainly opposes the traditional view.

The writers in the main are in British colleges and pulpits. A striking proportion represent the Free Churches; but a considerable use

has been made of American scholars. Perhaps the comparative lack of continental contributors was due to the difficulties of language and, in the case of the second volume, to the war. The articles, however, by Pierre Batiffol on "Ignatius" and "Polycarp" and of Ernst von Dobschütz on "Josephus" and "Philo" show that French and German scholarship have not been overlooked.

It is a fault, however, that the bibliographical material from Germany has sometimes been neglected. There is, for example, no reference to Norden's *Agnostos Theos*, s. v., "Unknown Gods," nor to Böhlig, *Geisteskultur von Tarsus*, s. v., "Tarsus," (both published in 1913). There is no reference to Wendland's important article on σωτήρ (ZNTW, 1904, 335 ff.) s. v., "Saviour," nor to Schürer's article in the same periodical (ZNTW, 1905, 1 ff.) on *Die siebentägige Woche in der christl. Kirche des ersten Jahrhunderts*, s. v., "Week" or "Sabbath" or "Lord's Day." There is apparently no reference to the Göttingen monographs on the *Book of Acts* by Schwartz (1907) and Wellhausen (1914). There is no suggestion s. v. "Assumption of Moses" that Schürer's view that the author was a zealot was subsequently (1909) abandoned by him. Similarly the article on the "Resurrection of Christ," already mentioned, fails entirely to use or even mention the most able liberal book in English on the topic — C. R. Bowen's *The Resurrection in the New Testament*.

These and some other minor faults that could be mentioned (omissions, misprints, and especially contradictions due to composite authorship) do not, however, invalidate the great value of this work of reference for scholars and particularly for ministers and laymen generally. Of course it is no substitute or short cut for solid and direct study of the Apostolic Age. The wide use of such material as is here both presented and referred to would create the intelligent and well-founded Christian knowledge which is often so woefully lacking in the present-day ministry and teaching of the Bible. It is, of course, difficult to give more than a fragmentary impression of so extensive and varied a production. But if the reviewer's impression is accurate, we have before us a new monument to the accumulated scholarship of the past and a landmark of progress toward an untrammelled historic reconstruction of the thought and spirit of the Apostolic Age.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

PREHISTORIC RELIGION, A STUDY IN PRE-CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY. PHILO LAOS MILLS. Capitol Publishers, Washington. 1918. Pp. xix, 600.

This book, the result of ten years of labor on the part of the author, is issued under the imprimatur of the learned and saintly Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore. Its six hundred pages, containing an examination of the religious beliefs of the Oceanic, Central African, and Amazonian Primitives, are rich in material which may throw light backward on the earliest religion of mankind. One may well find oneself unable to agree with the author in certain views which he holds in common with many of his Communion, that "primitive man was undoubtedly an ideal and unique being," and that "hence all the existing savage beliefs are more or less tainted, but exhibit greater or less approximations to absolute truth in proportion to their antiquity or to the purity with which the primitive revelation has been handed down." Yet the book being preëminently a thesaurus, a source-book on social and religious origins, made up largely of well-selected quotations from and references to the works of Tylor, Frazer, Lang, Cumont, Dhorme, Codrington, Chamberlain, Howitt, Schmidt, Jastrow, Maas, LeRoy, and a host of others, the views of the author, cited above, sink into the background. Over one hundred illustrations add to the interest and value of the book.

MAX KELLNER.

THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

SELECTED TEMPLE DOCUMENTS OF THE UR DYNASTY. CLARENCE E. KEISER. Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts, Vol. IV. Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. 54. Plates xc.

PATESIS OF THE UR DYNASTY. CLARENCE E. KEISER. Yale Oriental Series. Researches, Vol. IV, 2. Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 34.

Professor Clay and his students are continuing their praiseworthy task of presenting the texts of the Yale Babylonian Collection to scholars as quickly as possible, without waiting to translate them and comment upon them in detail. In this, the fourth, volume of Babylonian Texts from the Yale Collection, Dr. Keiser has published a selection of those inscriptions which contain material of the greatest value for the reconstruction of the political and civil life of the southern Babylonians of the thirtieth century before Christ. He has autographed three hundred and twenty-three texts, covering ninety plates, and has done so in such a way as to reproduce as nearly as possible the form and character of the original script. The texts are excellently copied. In his fifty-four pages of introduction, the author

has discussed the provenance of the texts, has collected many new and variant date-formulæ for the Dynasty of Ur, and in a series of indices has collected the personal names, the names of deities, the names of temples, houses, sacred objects, places, canals, and gates; after which follows a useful catalogue with a summary of the contents of the various texts.

Dr. Keiser has divided his texts into groups: contracts and loans, those relating to patesis, those containing chronological data, those containing orders, those concerning temple business, and those of a miscellaneous character. Individually these tablets are not very interesting. They belong to the well known Business Contracts. But now and then very valuable material is found. This is especially true in chronological and linguistic matters. New dates, new names, and new signs are constantly arising.

The chronological material in these tablets has been found in such abundance that Dr. Keiser has thought it desirable to write a separate monograph on the patesis of the Ur Dynasty, arranging them in a chronological manner. He has also brought them into synchronistic relationship with the patesis of Umma, Nippur, and Lagash, making some interesting additions to our extant lists of patesis. This becomes evident if one compares his table at the end with that in King's *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 362.

But what is of more general importance is the conclusions which Dr. Keiser has arrived at in his study of the status, duties, and nature of the patesiate. He finds that the patesis of the Ur Dynasty, unlike those of earlier periods, did not recognize a dynastic succession; that the office of patesi had waned in influence since the time of Gudea, when the patesi was supreme ruler; that the patesi could be transferred or deposed; that he was not exempt from tithes, and from supplying animals for sacrifice; that he became a temple functionary; that he assumed, on occasions, the character of a magistrate; and that he carried on various relations, commercial and otherwise, with the patesis of other cities. Dr. Keiser does not say so, but the chances are that in the earlier periods, such as in the time of Eannatum, the patesi was really king, but that with the amalgamation of certain cities and the increased power of certain great patesis, the patesis of smaller towns became dependent and lost much of their original power, being reduced to the status of governors or temple functionaries. However this may be, Dr. Keiser has again placed all students of early Babylonian history and linguistics in his debt by the clear and scientific way in which he has presented this new batch of cuneiform material. The time is fast approaching when a fairly well

constructed chronology of the early Babylonian dynasties can be presented. One misses a reference for comparative purposes to F. Thureau-Dangin's recent and excellent study, *La Chronologie des Dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad* (1918), as well as a sufficient use of G. Contenau, *Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur* (1916).

Many of these texts throw confirmatory light upon the social and ethical ideas of early Babylonia. Text No. 6, of the first year of Ibi-Sin, is a document in which a father takes oath in the presence of the patesi concerning the selling of his son to another person. The father has complete authority over his children, authority of the same nature as that over his cattle or real estate. No. 67 shows the way in which slaves were procured and set aside for the use of temples.

In a series of appendices to the monograph, Dr. Keiser collects the names of *Shakkanakku* of the Ur Dynasty, arranging them according to place and time; and enumerates the names of the princes and princesses of the reigns of Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, there being recorded no children of Gimil-Sin. The long chronological list of patesis of the Ur Dynasty adds much to our knowledge of the political life of early Babylonia. In his Synchronistic List it is worthy of note that Dr. Keiser makes Gudea a contemporary of Bur-Sin. This is much later than King's date for him.

It is now the privilege of the student of cuneiform to make use of these many texts so generously made accessible to him by the Yale authorities.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE SOURCES OF THE HEXATEUCH. EDGAR SHEFFIELD BRIGHTMAN. The Abingdon Press. 1918. Pp. 395. \$3.00.

Scholarship has been at work for about a century and a half on the problem of the composition of the first six books of the Old Testament, the Hexateuch. An enormous amount of writing has been done and many widely differing views have been set forth during those years; but out of the debate there has come forth a constantly increasing body of facts on which there has been a consensus of opinion. The result attained has been that today not only the scholars in the field of Old Testament learning but also a large majority of the more scholarly clergy are convinced by the evidence adduced that the documentary hypothesis is the only solution of the problem. Almost thirty years ago George Foote Moore wrote to Benjamin Wisner Bacon (Bacon: *Genesis of Genesis*, p. xxix), "There is no reason to think

that the general results on which critics now agree will be overturned." They have not only not been overturned, but their foundations have been strengthened and made more impregnable. But this acceptance of the more scientific view has been largely confined to the scholars and the more carefully trained ministry. The laymen have as a rule been too lacking in scholarly equipment and too busy to sift the more or less confused evidence involved, to be converted to a general acceptance of the new view. The consequence has therefore been a gap between the pulpit and the pews. It is just such books as this of Dr. Brightman's on the sources of the Hexateuch that are adapted to relieve this unfortunate condition. The book is especially felicitous in its presentation of results and in a form easily understood. The three large documents are given in their entirety: the Judæan or Jahvistic document, dating from about the middle of the ninth century B.C., the Ephraimitic or Elohist document, dating from about a century later, and the Priestly Code, from about 500 B.C. To each of these the author gives an introduction, descriptive of its literary characteristics, its ideals, and the home of its author or editors. Thus the reader is prepared to note how characteristically the earlier two differ from each other and how radically these two earlier accounts, which had their origin in prophetic circles of thought, differ from the theocratic tone and presentation of the later Priestly Code. Dr. Brightman's book is commended to those who are really anxious to see what the modern critical method has done for the Hexateuch. From the introduction, in which is given a brief but valuable outline of the history of the criticism, to the bibliography with which it closes, the book is marked by good scholarship and wise restraint.

MAX KELLNER.

THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL.

THEOLOGY AS AN EMPIRICAL SCIENCE. D. C. MACINTOSH. The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xvi, 270. \$2.00.

This is an exceptionally fresh and stimulating book on theology written by the Dwight professor of Theology in Yale University. Not that its conclusions are novel, for they are substantially those of so-called Liberal Orthodoxy more squarely stated and consistently held, but it is the way of reaching them which is noteworthy. There has been much loose talk of late about experience as the basis of theology, and the empirical method as alone valid for theological construction; but little definite work of the sort indicated has actually been attempted save in the psychology of conversion. Moreover, the

use of the term has been painfully vague; where reason failed, it has sometimes been deemed sufficient to pronounce that blessed word "experience," with hushed voice and awful mien, for the exorcism of a doubting or denying spirit. But Dr. Macintosh cannot away with such nonsense, and the distinction of his book is that it does undertake to define the data and apply the methods of experience with accuracy and thoroughness. As a theologian Dr. Macintosh has at hand certain presuppositions — the existence of God as object of religious dependence, the reality of freedom, the possibility of immortality — and certain data of revelation in the person and work of Christ and in personal salvation and support, together with the laws which may be formulated on the basis of these experiences. Thus equipped, he proceeds to a closer definition of the idea of God, and to a study of providence, eschatology, and theodicy in the light of this more developed concept. Probably most readers will feel, and rightly, that the last chapter, on the problem of evil, containing the substance of an earlier publication entitled *God in a World at War*, is a remarkably vital and original contribution to theological thought.

The book is open to criticism at several points, but there is space here for only a few fundamental doubts and suggestions. Is there not just a little too much flourishing of the words "science" and "scientific"? One need not be an anti-intellectualist to wonder whether science exhausts reality and a scientific method is the only way to truth. On the other hand, a thoroughly shut-in man of science (if such a creature be not as mythical as the economic man) might fairly protest that when God (however imperfectly defined), freedom, and immortality are accepted as presuppositions, there has been a begging of the question at the outset. Perhaps a mathematician would gloat over the author's formula for determining moral value with reference (1) to the isolated wrong act, and (2) to the man as a whole, "The numerator of the fraction represents . . . the factors according to which the guilt varies directly, and the denominator the factors according to which it varies inversely," (p. 85); but a reader whose

- $$(1) \frac{(EI) \cdot (EM) \cdot (PF) \cdot (SD) \cdot (gi) \cdot (gm) \cdot (GHU) \cdot (GHC) \cdot (GTU) \cdot (GTS)}{(GI) \cdot (GM) \cdot \dots \cdot (ei) \cdot (em) \cdot (EHU) \cdot (EHC) \cdot (ETU) \cdot (ETS)}.$$
- $$(2) \frac{(EI) \cdot (EM) \cdot (PF) \cdot (SD) \cdot (gi) \cdot (gm) \cdot (GHU) \cdot (EHC) \cdot (GTU) \cdot (ETS)}{(GI) \cdot (GM) \cdot \dots \cdot (ei) \cdot (em) \cdot (EHU) \cdot (GHC) \cdot (ETU) \cdot (GTS)}.$$

interests are moral and religious asks in bewilderment what has become of the traditional doctrine of the simplicity of moral action, and what is the use of a formula which enables no one, least of all the sinner himself, to estimate blameworthiness? Dante's Minos would

have to be an advanced mathematician and work overtime, in order to assign the damned to their appropriate circles in hell.

How is it possible to justify the assumption constantly made that we must believe in a God adequate to the religious needs of man? Those needs are so diverse that a god adequate to them all would seem to be in danger of having no character at all. Nor is the difficulty removed by prefixing such adjectives as "real," "valid," "deep," "legitimate," which in fact simply exclude all religious needs with which the author does not sympathize. Besides, is it not possible that the need has been created by long-continued belief in a supply? Taught to rely on divine aid, men easily formulate their craving for assistance against the hostile forces of nature into an imperative need of God as all-powerful helper. There may easily be "the upbuilding of a need" by the promise of a supply. At any rate, to assume that there must be satisfaction for all the "deepest" needs of man is quite too much of a presupposition to be thoroughly scientific.

The chief criticism, however, concerns the transition from psychology to ontology. In the intricate and baffling complex of religious experience, can it be positively affirmed that elements are included which demand an objective factor for their explanation? It may be true that in ordinary experience, objects and not ideas are immediate data, or that it is sufficient to plead an "ontological consciousness" in proof of an external world, but in religious experience the case is not so clear. As the author often says, right relations must be established if the experience is to ensue; but such a right relation is of course a psychological state, and a psychological condition as predisposing cause may turn out to be a sufficient effective cause of the experience which follows. One is tempted to employ the author's method in other ways and with respect to other experiences. To say nothing of the help and healing which often follow prayers directed to the Virgin or the saints, there are experiences of temptation in which one seems beset by an alien power enticing, even compelling, to evil. Shall we argue from such experiences to the reality of evil spirits and of Satan? Dr. Macintosh recognizes this peril at the very close of the book but does not offer a satisfactory reply. Perhaps those who accused disbelievers in the devil with atheism could have made out a good case on the basis and by the methods of empirical theology.

W. W. FENN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

THE PROGRESS OF CHURCH FEDERATION. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND.
Fleming H. Revell Co. 1917. Pp. 191. \$1.00.

This small volume contains a brief record of the proceedings and activities of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, boiled down by the General Secretary of the Council from the earlier volumes which describe the origin of the Federation and from its annual reports.

Though the work of the Federal Council has not gone very far, it may at least be said that it is a step in the right direction, and that the method of federation is sound in principle, even if in practice it has not been carried out in as catholic a spirit as the writer of this book would have one believe. The Massachusetts Federation of Churches presents a better example of inclusiveness. Taken as a whole, however, the Council has perhaps accomplished quite as much as it is reasonable to expect. Its best work — up to the time of the publication of this volume — has been that outlined in the chapter on "The Development of Federation in Nation, State, City, and Town," which summarizes the result of various investigations conducted under the auspices of the Council. The best known of these is that which resulted in the volume on "The Country Church" by Messrs. Gill and Pinchot. But other investigations uncovered equally interesting situations, as, for example, the fact that in San Francisco a larger percentage of Chinese than of Caucasians are communicants in evangelical churches.

Since the publication of this book the Federal Council has done an important war-time service which some future volume will doubtless report. It is to be hoped that in addition to the bibliographies which the present book contains such future reports may also be indexed.

HENRY WILDER FOOTE.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

THE CONSCIENCE AND CONCESSIONS. HOW MAY THE INDIVIDUAL BECOME RELATED TO THE MANY? ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY. Fleming H. Revell Co. Pp. 370.

This book contains an interesting though somewhat discursive treatment of the tendencies of our time towards coöperation and federation, social, political, and religious. Most of the chapters have grown from lecture-courses and still bear the style of the lecturer. They contain many statements of obvious facts, often skim the surface of the subject, and never go into too great detail or display reasoning too

profound to be grasped by a popular audience. The author nevertheless comes at times to close grips with vital points of the crucial problems and always treats them in sane and helpful ways.

The scope of the book is indicated by the titles of the chapters, which are: "The Historic Movement towards Unity," "The Unifying Tendencies of War," "The Protests of Individualism," "The 'Dead Hand' of Organization," "The New Testament Balance between the Individual and Society," "The Broad Basis of Brotherhood and Social Obligation," "National Unity from the Christian Point of View," "The Social Assimilation of Christianity," "Protestant Excursions in Christian Solidarity," "A Practical Program of Valid Concessions."

The emphasis throughout is placed on the tendencies which make for unity. It is, however, recognized that there is a danger that the movement toward unity may go so fast as to be superficial. In the last chapter the fact that the concessions necessary to unity involve a recognition of the varying mental processes of different people and their right to different expressions of conscientious conviction, is well stated. Without this recognition no toleration is possible. It is well said by the author that such recognition is one of the most difficult steps for many to take.

Especially felicitous is the analysis on pp. 63, 64 of the way many persons confuse facts and principles with obligations; on p. 70 of the necessity of fidelity to conscience; on p. 108 of the preëminence of the Christ; on pp. 167-173 of the relation of conscience to government; on p. 192 of the impossibility of confining Christianity to peculiar forms or convictions; on p. 259 of the occasions which impose restraints upon the free expression of conviction; and on p. 269 of the necessity of socializing the individual.

But one misstatement has been noted in the book. That is on p. 38, where it is said of the recent war: "No nation on the side of the Allies set out for the annexation of territory, not even to rectify a boundary or straighten a border." Strongly pro-Ally as the reviewer is, he must protest that there was on the side of the Allies at least one exception to this statement.

To the reviewer it appears that Dr. Anthony's program does not go far enough, admirable in many ways as his statement is. A program for Christian union should have in view as a goal — at least a distant goal — the union of all Christians of whatever name. It should, he thinks, be sufficiently flexible to include people of every stage of culture and scientific or unscientific point of view. It should aim to preserve the variety of types and tastes that are now included in various

branches and sects of the Eastern, the Roman, and the Protestant branches of Christianity. For this ever to be accomplished, it will be necessary for all Christians to come to the point where they can accept something like the famous Quadrilateral of the Lambeth and Chicago conferences as a working basis of general organization. It will be necessary, on the other hand, for those Christians who delight to call themselves "Catholic" or "Orthodox" to cease to insist that any particular theory of the bishopric, the Church, or any particular interpretation of the creeds is necessary. Men who hold the scientific views of the twentieth century must be permitted to understand these things in a way consistent with their intellectual outlook, just as really as those who still occupy the intellectual standpoint of Thomas Aquinas, Radbertus, or of the Second Council of Nicæa. In a Church so constituted and so liberally conducted, the different types of Protestantism could be included as religious orders. Liberty could be accorded these orders for the type of worship that best ministers to the taste and temperament of its members; but there would be a sense of unity and oneness from the fact that all belong to the same Church. It seems to the reviewer that some such approach as this to the problem might in time be fruitful, but in view of the deep convictions of many that they and they only are right, he is aware that for a long time to come such a program has little chance of success. A long period of education in toleration is necessary. It will take a good deal of what James Russell Lowell once called "settin' up and wootin'" to bring such a program within the range of possibility.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

BRYN MAWR.

MIND AND CONDUCT. HENRY RUTGERS MARSHALL. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1919. Pp. x, 236. \$1.75.

This volume contains the Morse Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary in 1919. Dr. Marshall divides his argument into three parts. The first, on *The Correlation of Mind and Conduct*, contains chapters on "Consciousness and Behavior," "Instinct and Reason," and "The Self." The second, on *Some Implications of the Correlation*, deals with "Creativeness and Ideals" and "Freedom and Responsibility." The third, on *Guides to Conduct*, examines "Pleasure and Pain," "Happiness," and "Intuition and Reason," along the general lines with which students of philosophy have been made familiar in Dr. Marshall's previous books on *Pain, Pleasure, and*

Aesthetics, and on *Instinct and Reason*, just as the first part is based on his *Consciousness*. There are, lastly, two Appendices, on "The Causal Relation between Mind and Body," and on "Outer-World Objects."

Laboratory-psychologists, averse to all speculative flights and anxious only to keep their psychology within the sober limits of a natural science, will probably look askance at Dr. Marshall's book. But for students of human conduct who are not afraid of viewing man in a cosmic context there is much in these lectures to arrest attention. I would point especially to the following doctrines which are fundamental for Dr. Marshall's whole argument.

1. There is his outspoken panpsychism: "As a logical extension of our habitual mode of attribution of consciousness to animals by the interpretation of animal behavior, we are not only forced to grant some form of consciousness to all forms of living matter, but we are led to look upon the Universe as itself pulsating with psychic life" (p. 89). I must confess that Dr. Marshall's very brief argument in support of this position carries no conviction to my mind. The only promising way, it seems to me, of reaching the conclusion that the Universe is pulsating with psychic life, is not to stretch analogy far beyond the breaking point in a *descent* from man through animal and plant to inorganic matter, but to *ascend* from the human mind, or, to speak more precisely, to develop the metaphysical implications of knowledge, morality, and religion.

2. Not only is the Universe a single psychic life, but every self is part of that life and determined within it. "We perceive that in holding that our acts are governed by the laws of Nature, the mechanist is really stating that the acts of the self are such as force us to believe this self to be part and parcel of Nature. And this notion we have seen to be eminently satisfactory; first, because we cannot without dismay look upon ourselves as stray waifs in this vast Universe; and especially because it means that the interpretation of Nature must include the interpretation of consciousness" (p. 101). Thence Dr. Marshall derives his theory of freedom. The self is always free, for it acts always in accord with its own nature. There are not, and cannot be, any forces "external" to it, to the compulsion of which it is subject. For the self "must be what it is because of the whole situation in the great system of Nature, of which great system it is a minor part. . . . The conditions of this system are thus of the essence of its [the self's] nature" (pp. 102, 103). To put it quite simply: the self is free because, as a part of the Universe, it must be what it is. If this seems an outrageous verbalism, it is only

because Dr. Marshall does not go the whole length of the Spinozistic position which, in effect, he adopts. Instead of saying that to be free is to be what one must be, I wish he had said, with Spinoza, that to become free, or to achieve freedom, is to recognize, accept, nay *love*, this "must," which is the evidence of union with the All, *Deus sive Natura*. And as for Nature and consciousness, I should again reverse the method of the argument, and, instead of interpreting consciousness as a minor system in Nature, interpret Nature as one system in, or aspect of, the total world of our experience. Dr. Marshall, *malgré lui*, is in the fetters of Naturalism.

3. Concerning consciousness and self, Dr. Marshall advocates doctrines which the limits of his time compel him to expound and defend with tantalizing brevity. He clings to the distinction of consciousness as mental and behavior as physical, the familiar psychophysical parallelism reappearing as "the hypothesis of a thoroughgoing noetic and neururgic correspondence." In consciousness, elements attended to are distinguished as "presentations" from the "field of inattention," which latter Dr. Marshall identifies with the *self*. It follows that the self of any one moment is neither presented nor presentable. In self-consciousness, no doubt, we have a presented self, but this presentation is either the "image" of a past self or the "simulacrum" of the moment's real self. In either case, the presentation, or "empirical ego," is sufficiently like the unpresentable original, to make it possible for us to study the latter "by indirection" through its reflections in the former. Dr. Marshall is skating here over very thin ice, as every student of this problem of self-introspection will recognize. It would have been well if he had found time to discuss how to distinguish the presentation which is my empirical self from my other presentations, or how we can be sure that this presented ego is a sufficiently faithful likeness of the unrepresented self to justify the description of the latter as "that undifferentiable mass of unemphatic elements within the whole of consciousness." It is to be noted in this connection that Dr. Marshall himself claims that the empirical ego changes so little from moment to moment as to beget the illusion of the unchanging identity of the self, and thus to *mask* the constant mutation of the real self.

4. This mutability of the real self is a fundamental point in Dr. Marshall's argument. He uses it to assert the "creativity" of the self, and, thence, "objective creativity" as a "general characteristic of Nature." At any rate, the self creates ideals of progress, purpose, and good, and in some measure effects their realization in Nature. Again, a creative self is "new and unique" at every moment,

and thence Dr. Marshall infers that all volitional acts are rational acts *at the moment of their occurrence*, and that, consequently, we never do actually err or sin. It is only from the point of view of a later self, in turn new and unique, that, retrospectively, we recognize that we *have* erred or sinned. In short, he sides with Socrates in holding that no one sins or errs willingly, *i.e.*, knowing what he does. This in turn, furnishes a basis for an exceedingly interesting distinction between responsibility, accountability, and guilt. This is, I think, the most original portion of the book, and well worthy of careful study.

In Part III, we may note as helpful the view that morality is a "process of experiment, of adaptive adventure" (p. 184), and that it must needs be exposed to frustrations. But there is a consolation for these. "If we could look upon Nature as a whole, we should see ourselves as elemental parts of it, whose frustrations, as we call them, are merely situations necessary to the continued existence of the organic unity of the whole of Nature" (p. 141). If we could! Happy those upon whom life does not put a strain greater than the faith in this tantalizing "If" is able to sustain.

R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ.

DURHAM UNIVERSITY,
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THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND. HENRY HOLLOWAY. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. 240. \$2.75.

A work on the Reformation in Ireland might almost rival the brevity of the famous chapter on Irish snakes, if by Reformation be meant any change in the thought and religion of the people. In this sense there was no spiritual revolution in Erin; the cult of the nation remained just the same after Luther that it was before him, only — if a bull may be pardoned in this connection — "more so." One need not draw the parallel with England, so rich in versions of the Bible, in prayer-books and tracts and a great Protestant literature, to be astonished at the barrenness of Irish religion. She produced no great Catholic doctors or saints — no Loyola, no Cajetan, no Neri, no Borromeo, no Canisius, no Xavier. Ireland had already begun to live in and on her past; without seeking fresh acquisitions she eked out her spiritual livelihood from the usufruct of her great age of religion, when Irish monks evangelized the world and Irish scholars disputed with Aquinas the palm of philosophy.

But though there was no Reformation in Ireland, there was a shadow of one, and it is this that Mr. Holloway now traces. It was

the shadow of England. Every great act passed by Henry VIII and his immediate successors relating to religion, was extended to the sister isle. First, the Royal Supremacy was asserted, and in its train followed a swarm of ancillary statutes intended to enforce it. The monasteries were attacked in Erin, as they had been dissolved in Britain. The liturgy was standardized according to the English models; the articles of faith were revised by Anglican canons.

Why then did not the people embrace Protestantism? Mr. Holloway's answer is that the government was insincere in its profession of zeal and awkward in the application of means to the avowed end. For example, when Latin was abandoned in the churches, not Erse but English, then understood by only a small minority of the people, was substituted for it. "Such enactments witness that the Government considered it more important to anglicize than to provide for the progress of religion, and the pastors of souls were to be the agents in this policy." The means taken to forward the cause of the gospel were the best way of killing it. The reaction against the superimposed policy was opposite to that desired by the king, and was very great. From this time forth Irishmen clung to Catholicism as one more relic of nationalism, and resented intrusions of English religion as part and parcel of a policy of hateful conquest. Finally, one aspect of the subject suggested by this thorough little book is that of the relation of the government to the changes in English religion. It is sometimes said that the British changed their faith at the beck and call of their rulers. But had it not been for a deep popular undercurrent, would not the efforts of the Tudors have been as futile in London as they were in Dublin?

PRESERVED SMITH.

CAMBRIDGE.

PROPHECY AND AUTHORITY: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE AND INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE. KEMPER FULLERTON. The Macmillan Co. 1919. Pp. xxii, 214. \$1.50.

Professor Fullerton's book may be most warmly commended to all readers, whether lay or clerical, of this Review. It will not be of equal value to all. Scholars, and readers who have accepted without independent investigation modern theories concerning the Bible, may feel that its thesis requires no proof; but the historical course of events is so clearly and pointedly presented that all will find the book interesting and instructive. The early Christian Church accepted the authority of the Old Testament as an inheritance from

Judaism, and also because it was required by the argument from prophecy, which played an important rôle in its apologetic, and with it accepted also contemporary methods of interpretation. But by the same methods, particularly the allegorical, heretics also defended their opinions; hence, with the growing organization of the Church, there developed reliance upon baptismal confessions, councils, apostolic succession, until the full-blown theory of Church authority appeared, which thrust the Scriptures into the background. With the Reformation, however, the Bible again came to the front, and the influence of Humanism favored the rise of a genuinely historical method of exegesis. This was aided also by the necessity of finding clear and explicit Biblical authority for definite doctrine, as against the subjectivism of allegory; but, unhappily, the same reason led to a demand for intellectual consistency in Scriptural teaching, which was fatal to historical interpretation.

The interesting story is traced by means of the clue afforded by the interpretation of prophecy, and the author, bringing his account up to the present time, shows how the premillennial excitement, of which Bishop McConnell wrote in a recent number of this Review, is due to the erroneous conception of prophecy as prediction. Two quotations will indicate the character and conclusions of the book:

"The new view of prophecy does not concentrate its attention upon a series of unconnected predictions whose truth depends upon their minute literal fulfilment, but it looks upon prophecy as a great organic movement in the history of Israel, extending through the centuries, and in its moral power and grandeur presenting a phenomenon absolutely unique in the ancient world, and most easily explicable upon the assumption of a supernatural guidance" (p. 199).

"Just as Jesus fulfilled the Law, not by emphasizing the letter of its observance but by pointing out its wider reach and deeper import, so he fulfilled prophecy, not because he is the fulfiller of prophetic predictions, but because he is the fulfiller of prophetic ideals" (p. 197).

W. W. FENN.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles. Edited by F. J. FOAKES JACKSON and KIRSOPP LAKE. Vol. I. Prolegomena I. The Jewish, Gentile, and Christian Backgrounds. The Macmillan Co. 1920. Pp. xii, 480. 18s.

This is the first volume of a monumental work in three volumes to be issued in continuation of Bishop Lightfoot's great series on the Pauline Epistles and later Christian literature, in which he combined commentary with historic criticism. Of the two volumes which are to follow in the present series, the first will deal with the literary criticism of the Acts, its authorship, sources, grammar, its character as history. The second — the third volume of the series — will contain the text of the Acts and a commentary. The editors have not merely edited papers prepared by others, but have themselves written most of the book. But they include a chapter on the Spirit of Judaism by C. G. Montefiore, one on the Roman Provincial System by H. T. F. Duckworth, and one on Life in the Roman Empire at the Beginning of the Christian Era by Clifford H. Moore. The subjects treated by the editors are the Background of Jewish History; Varieties of Thought and Practice in Judaism; the Dispersion; the Public Teaching of Jesus and his Choice of the Twelve; the Disciples in Jerusalem and the Rise of Gentile Christianity; the Development of Thought on the Spirit, the Church, and Baptism; and Christology. Of the five Appendices two are by Professor G. F. Moore on Nazarene and Nazareth, and the People of the Land. There are two maps and two excellent indexes.

No one hereafter can have a critical opinion in regard to the Acts which does not take account of this book. Not that it in any way claims to be the last word on the subject. The scholarly editors are far too scholarly to make such an assumption. Their pages, they say, (p. 417) "are designed to assist the attempt rightly to understand the development of thought and practice which produced the Christian Church of the middle of the first century. They are intended not as a finished picture of every element in it, but of those which certainly formed part of the stream of thought to which the writer of Acts belonged. That there were other elements in other streams is proved by the survival of the Pauline Epistles."

The book is divided into three parts. The first part — The Jewish World — in its first section does not avoid that difficulty of tending to become a catalogue which handicaps every attempt to condense much history into small space. But the general effect of the wide range of knowledge shown and the constructiveness employing it, is to create for the reader a world which is vital, rational, and

therefore real. The second part — The Gentile World — is naturally briefer than the others; though one could wish that even fuller treatment had been given to the oriental religions and their influence on Christianity. But limitations of space, like charity, must always cover a multitude of omissions.

The third part — Primitive Christianity — is the most important section of the book. It endeavors to analyze the contributions of this and that redactor of the early sources, to discover the genuine utterances of Jesus, to lay bare the historical fact underlying the accretions in our accounts, to reconstruct thus a complete organism, as it were, from a fossil or a bone. This is necessarily to some extent a matter of subjective criticism; to which, as the editors warn us, "it is a mistake to attribute a so-called objective value" (p. 268). This careful study of details often has a scrappy effect; more attention being given to reconstructing a fact than to showing its value when reconstructed. The style therefore of these parts is heavy; the bricks for the building are shot at the reader with little artistry, and the construction — even of a sentence (p. 159, l. 14) — is left to him. Yet the mass of profound learning which the book throughout contains is not without the exhibition of its relation to life. The section by the editors on the Apocalyptic Thought and Literature gives a full and vivid picture of a remarkable literary movement.

The chapter by Professor C. H. Moore — Life in the Roman Empire at the Beginning of the Christian Era — is noteworthy on account not only of its mastery of the subject but also of its style. It has definite construction, clearness and felicity of expression; it marches surely and swiftly, and is full of imaginative insight. Many such excellences appear also in the chapter by C. G. Montefiore on the Spirit of Judaism. This contains the most beautiful passage in the book (p. 60); where the writer, himself a Jew, answers the objection that the observance of the many details of the Law must be burdensome. Such observances he likens to the customs of a loving family, which carry with them a joy in compliance. "To lovers every order of the Beloved is dear. . . . The joy is in the Law, and even in the performance of the most trifling Misvoth."

The make-up of the book shows great inconsistency in typographical usage. Thus book titles are sometimes in italic (pp. 119, 233, 318, 355), sometimes in roman (pp. 56, 128, 354); sometimes with quotation marks, sometimes without (pp. 92, 354). The same word is used both with and without quotation marks — "the Seven" (p. 308); "Luke" (pp. 302, 303). Double quotation marks and single are employed without distinction of function (pp. 47, 269, 365).

The colon is used, not, as in the best American usage, to anticipate the explanation of a previous statement, but without difference from a semicolon (pp. 325, 326). Capitals appear, as in "Age to Come" (pp. 277, 278), yet the same word has elsewhere lower case (pp. 342, 365). Foreign words in English letters are sometimes in italic (pp. 69, 79), sometimes in roman (pp. 230, 424). The proof-reading is often defective (p. 106, l. 18; p. 174, l. 17; p. 320, l. 10; p. 323, l. 25; p. 339, l. 3). But quite apart from its dress the book marks a most important stage in the critical study of the New Testament.

FREDERIC PALMER.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BOOKS OF SERMONS:

ADDRESSES AND SERMONS TO STUDENTS. DAVID M. STEELE. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. 257. \$1.25.

CITIZENS OF TWO WORLDS AND OTHER SERMONS. C. B. WILLIAMS. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1919. Pp. 214. \$1.25.

THE BREATH IN THE WINDS, AND OTHER SERMONS. FREDERICK F. SHANNON. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1918. Pp. 173. \$1.00.

THE SWORD OF THE SPIRIT: BRITAIN AND AMERICA IN THE GREAT WAR. JOSEPH FORT NEWTON. George H. Doran Co. Pp. 241. \$1.50.

YALE TALKS. CHARLES REYNOLDS BROWN. Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 156. \$1.00.

WHAT THE WAR HAS TAUGHT US. CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1919. Pp. 258. \$1.50.

Here are several recent volumes of sermons varying greatly both in type and excellence.

The rector of the Church of St. Luke and the Epiphany in Philadelphia has brought together a number of Commencement orations and baccalaureate sermons delivered to students in institutions varying from a girls' boarding-school to the University of Pennsylvania. It is easy to understand why he should be in demand for such occasions. He is breezy and outspoken, provocative in his love of epigram, and not too profound in his thought to enable the young ladies to follow him readily. His sermon on "The Privilege of the Strong" to Bryn Mawr students, and on "The Chemistry of Souls" to the graduating class of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, are excellent examples of popular preaching adapted to special occasions. His address on "Why is a Seminary?" to the alumni of the Philadelphia

Divinity School, with its pointed and not altogether just criticism of theological education, illustrates his somewhat Chestertonian quality. But when, in a later address, we find him referring to "the *Imitatione de Christi*," and classing "the rhapsodies of Benvenuto Cellini" with the *Confessions of St. Augustine* as devotional literature, one wonders less at his complaint that he feels that his own Alma Mater did not do all she might for him.

Dean Williams of the Southwestern Baptist Seminary at Fort Worth presents what is really rather a series of sermon outlines than a volume of finished addresses. In many instances they are running commentaries on Scripture passages, with frequent references to war-time duties of Americans thrown in. They read as though they had been taken down stenographically and had been printed without sufficient revision. It is difficult to explain otherwise how an undoubtedly orthodox Dean of a theological seminary could make the following slip: "So the whole triune God is committed, in their (*sic*) infinite resources, to the preservation and security of the believer."

Very different in quality is Dr. Shannon's volume. Here is a vigorous preacher, who uses a noble style to deal with great themes. He is a writer of marked individuality, and his thought flows broad and deep between borders made rich and lovely by apt illustration. His sermons read so well that one wonders how they sounded — whether they flew low enough to the ground for his hearers. However that may be, they are delightful and stimulating reading.

Dr. Newton made his reputation as a preacher in Iowa before he was called to be the American minister of the City Temple in London. In the present volume he has printed a collection of sermons delivered in London during the Great War. They are words of courage and of consolation, free from bitterness and hate, looking through the gloom of the war to the brighter days beyond. If he has something less of literary quality than Dr. Shannon, he has perhaps more directness of appeal, more immediate application to the occasion. It is good to know that a sermon like his on "England and America" was preached in London in 1918. But there is little to choose among them, for all alike are the words of a straightforward, undogmatic preacher, whose feet know the common ways of life but whose eyes are lifted to the eternal hills.

"Talks" is an accurate title for the little volume of addresses delivered in Battell Chapel at Yale by Dean Charles R. Brown, of the

Yale School of Religion. They are brief, direct, pithy sometimes to the verge of slang, well calculated to hold the attention of young men not too much given to close thinking about sacred themes but ready enough to listen to practical, stimulating, sagacious advice about clean and honorable living. For there is, in these talks, genuine power and a burning moral passion which kindles the reader. But one wonders if it is no longer possible, even in our University chapels, for the preacher to deal with the profounder intellectual aspects of the religious life. In such institutions, if anywhere, there ought still to be a hearing for the sermon which seeks to go to the root of our ethical problems and of our intellectual questions regarding faith and life.

We could wish with all our hearts that the world had really learned "What the War has Taught Us," as expounded by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle. But these discourses, though delivered only a short time ago, speak of truths already half forgotten. The war did indeed teach us afresh "the meaning of sacrifice," "the might of the spirit," "the progressive brutality of war," and many other things set forth in the volume with vigor and a considerable measure of insight. But we have already experienced a considerable "slump" in our idealism, perhaps because humility was not one of the things we learned, perhaps because America actually suffered so little and realized in so small measure what the war really meant to Europe. The theme of the volume is one which many a preacher might use to advantage in keeping before his people the moral and spiritual lessons which they are prone speedily to forget.

HENRY WILDER FOOTE.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BOOKS RECEIVED

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- THE SEVENTH SEAL.** *By Jeanette Agnes.* John C. Winston Co. 1920. Pp. 177. \$1.25.
- THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES.** *By Hartley B. Alexander.* (L. H. Gray and G. F. Moore, eds.) Vol. XI, Latin-American. Marshall Jones Co. 1920. Pp. xvi, 424.
- THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN THE GREAT WAR.** *By Henry P. Davison.* The Macmillan Co. Pp. x, 302. \$2.00.
- ETHICS, GENERAL AND SPECIAL.** *By Owen A. Hill.* The Macmillan Co. 1920. Pp. xiv, 414. \$3.50.
- JESUS' PRINCIPLES OF LIVING.** *By Charles F. Kent and Jeremiah W. Jenks.* Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. viii, 149. \$1.25.
- LE TEXTE ARMÉNIEN DE L'ÉVANGILE D'APRÈS MATTHIEU ET MARC** (Annales du Musée Guimet). *By Frédéric Macler.* Imprimerie Nationale. Paris, 1919. Pp. lxxii, 649.
- WEST AND EAST. THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTENDOM AND THE NATURALIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE ORIENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.** (The Dale Lectures, 1913.) *By Edward C. Moore.* Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. 421. \$4.00.
- LECTURES ON MODERN IDEALISM.** With an Introduction by Jacob Loewenberg. *By Josiah Royce.* Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. xii, 266. \$3.00.
- LITTLE ESSAYS DRAWN FROM THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE SANTAYANA.** *By George Santayana.* (L. P. Smith, ed.) Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. xii, 290. \$3.00.
- CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD A HISTORY OF ARABICO-GOTHIC CULTURE.** *By Leo Wiener.* Vol. II. The Neale Publishing Co. New York, 1919. Pp. xii, 400.

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The *Harvard Theological Review* has been partially endowed by a bequest of the late Miss Mildred Everett, "for the establishment and maintenance of an undenominational theological review, to be edited under the direction of the Faculty of the Divinity School of Harvard University. . . . I make this provision in order to carry out a plan suggested by my late father, the Rev. Charles Carroll Everett." During the continuance of *The New World*, Dr. Everett was on its editorial board, and many of his essays, now collected in the volume entitled *Essays, Theological and Literary*, appeared first in its pages. Sharing his belief in the value of such a theological review, and in devotion to his honored memory, the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School, of which he was a member from 1869, and its Dean from 1878 until his death in 1900, has accepted the trust, and will strive to make the *Review* a worthy memorial of his comprehensive thought and catholic spirit.

The *Review* is edited for the Faculty of the Harvard Divinity School by a committee consisting of Professors G. F. Moore, J. H. Ropes, W. R. Arnold and K. Lake, and Dr. Frederic Palmer.

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NUMBER 1

IMMANENCE, STOIC AND CHRISTIAN

GERALD H. RENDALL

DEDHAM, ESSEX, ENGLAND

As an effective philosophic concept, applicable to all forms of being, Immanence takes its start from Stoicism. It was a growth, rather than a first principle or formula. It did not start as a scientific hypothesis, but rather as an attractive figure or guess, which gradually grew into a theory, and was elaborated into a body of doctrine. The assumption out of which it sprang was that the world was an ordered unity, as Pythagoras had declared — a *Kosmos*. Whence came the Order of the Unity, and how imposed?

Νοῦς διεκόσμησε πάντα — Mind (or A Mind) ordered all things — had been the formula propounded by Anaxagoras; and Socrates at first hearing gave enthusiastic welcome to the idea, but turned from it in disappointment when he found in it no more than a rational analysis and classification of efficient causes, without any attempt to account for their genesis, their method, or their goal. To the Stoics, on the other hand, the term seemed too precise and personal. Νοῦς connoted or implied an external mind directing or at least designing the universe, a deistic assumption to which they could not subscribe. Instinctively, deliberately, or evasively, by no means foreseeing the results and eventual consequences of the choice, they preferred the more oracular dicta of Heraclitus regarding the directive λόγος. In his pregnant and poetic way, the 'dark' Sage of Ephesus had spoken of the ever-existent Word or Reason as the sovereign ordinance by which the Universe pursues its course. Not dogmatically, but in a series of pregnant metaphors, he indicates its modes of action. On the rational side it declares itself as design, intelligence, an ordered purpose running through nature, 'the mind of Zeus,' imparting to it

coherence and unity; at other times it is regarded as constructive energy or force, 'the plastic fire' in which being has its source, or as the authoritative fiat 'the thunderbolt which steers all things'; the changes and processes of nature are the kindling and combustion of the ever-burning fire 'kindled in due measure and extinguished in due measure.' And with this Logos men were in constant, though often unconscious, communion, 'unconscious of what they do when awake, just as oblivious when they sleep.' Often they are at variance with this Logos, though it is none the less their constant companion and the pilot of their destinies. Thus figuratively or even mythologically rather than scientifically, Heraclitus conceived or clothed the Logos with attributes in part material, in part intellectual and spiritual, without any attempt to define the relation or interaction between the two. It could be thought of as the quintessential source of being, the life-energy in all phenomena; or again as the cause and *reason* of their being what they were, the counterpart of reason and consciousness in man; or again as the directive power of the Zeus, the fate, the destiny, which ruled and determined the process due to its instigation and impact. The word itself favored and covered such ambiguities. *Logos* could mean reason acting from within, or thought finding articulate expression in speech, or the authoritative mandate of direction from without, or even more vaguely the principle of relation and proportion, which maintained the balance, the equipoise of being and action between thing and thing.

To this conception, so elastic and undefined in its extent, Zeno gave ready welcome. And already in the Hymn to Zeus, practically the earliest authentic document of Stoicism which has survived, Cleanthes treats it as the vehicle of that cosmic pantheism which the Stoic thought of immanence evolved.

Zeus, King of Kings,

Chaos to thee is order; in thine eyes
The unloved is lovely, who did'st harmonise
Things evil with things good, that there should be
One Word through all things everlastingly.
One Word — whose voice, alas! the wicked spurn.

The quotation is characteristic of the Stoic position. It affirms the unity, but allows the contradictions. In the universe at large it believes in the existence of a higher constraining power or providence, which constitutes a higher harmony, and reconciles seeming evil with higher good. The evil is but apparent, and in reality contributory to the good; it is either non-existent, an illusion in the mind of the observer, or misinterpreted owing to defects of insight. But the most formidable difficulty arises from the nature and the mind of Man, in his estrangement, his conflict with the Order of the Universe. Now the relation of Man to the Kosmos was vital to the Stoic scheme of thought. The Kosmos was in a sense invented and affirmed in his behalf. The Kosmos of the Universe must be in correspondence with the Kosmos of Man; each must be a true Kosmos, possessed of inner unity and of stability, and the two must be reconcilable, must agree together.

This could only be if there existed some link, some interaction, inner correspondence, or identity between the two. By a bold venture or guess, availing themselves of the figurative ambiguities of the Logos idea, the Stoics interpreted the world upon the basis and analogy of man; and the analogy was elaborated with remarkable acumen and completeness. In detail and in mass the Kosmos is the counterpart of the individual man. The Universe is a living whole — ἐν ᾧ ζῶον — a single live organism, a coherent rational order, as shown by the complete interdependence of all its activities and parts. "Spiritus intus alit." Pervading spirit animates the frame; manifesting itself in various phases, it may be called by a variety of names, according to the various functions in which it is engaged — breath, life, mind, will, nature, necessity, law, God, currents of heat, and many more. Each is a partial aspect of one inherent energy. God, if that name be used, is not transcendent, imposing orders from without, but inherent, immanent, acting from within, and therefore circumscribed by the organism in and through which he acts. From Cleanthes onwards, *Pneuma*, a more material category than *Logos*, becomes the favorite term for this life-power, and passes into Latin *Anima Mundi*. Physically it takes effect as breath, expanding and contracting

the lungs, maintaining the respiratory activities of life; physiologically it acts as currents of heat and force, coursing along the arteries and nerves, beating in the heart, producing the co-ordinated reactions of the organs of nutrition, digestion, and the several senses, which make up the life of the organism; emotionally it operates as desire, anger, shame, and all the various impulses, which have their well-known physical concomitants; once more, it manifests itself as reason, conscience, will, directing the operations of the subordinate parts and the self-conscious whole. Spirit is matter; matter is spirit. Matter only exists by virtue of the inherence of spirit.

In this monistic theory of Spirit, Matter, and Being, the Stoics made little serious attempt to grapple with the difficulties created by the vast variety and multiplicity of the phases of phenomena. Dialectically they did not face the unsolved problems of the One and Many, of plurality of being as the expression of a single source and energy of life. Only as difficulties arose were theories devised to countervail or parry them.

The most ingenious was the theory of *Tonos*, tension or strain. The *Pneuma*, it was held, underwent varieties of self-embodiment. Hence arose different states of matter — solid, liquid, gaseous — inorganic or organic — and the varieties of being which phenomena exhibit. The lower grade of tension produces inanimate solids — earth, stone, pulp, the mineral kingdom, characterised by the property of *ἔξις* — ‘hold,’ cohesion, weight. A higher tension produces organic potentialities of vegetable life, evinced in *φύσις* — growth; a yet higher, the animal world, with its more sensitive machinery of tissues, nerves, sensation, etc.; a higher still, consciousness, mind, the attributes of man, which evince the highest products of the world-spirit, rising to those of ‘the plastic fire’ which is the vital force at its highest development.

Projected as a speculation, with little attempt at observational or scientific proof, the hypothesis seemed fantastic, and utterly inadequate to account for the multiplicity of forms and forces, the differentiation of kinds, the fixity of the reactions of the various phases and metamorphoses. But strangely enough it has found a remarkable analogy — Stoics might justly say,

corroboration — in the properties and functions assigned by modern physicists to Ether. That, too, belongs to the material order, yet has strange affinities or interactions with the spiritual. As luminiferous ether it is omnipresent to the furthest confines of the known (or sensible) Universe. Called “void” — but in reality a *plenum* — it is all-pervasive, and seems to lie at the base of all material existence. If all matter is composed of atoms, the atom itself is now conceived as a system of electrons, and the electron itself as an electrical unit, deriving its attributes from Ether. Thus, in terms of Ether it has become possible at last to think the contradictions and the metamorphoses of the Stoic *Pneuma*. On the material side it offers an attractive, if elusive, key to the problem of the cosmic unity. Yet Ether, it is all-important to observe, operates wholly in the domain and along the lines of the external and material order, in absolute obedience to natural and causal law. There is no valid indication that Ether can pass into thought or consciousness, or that it shares any of the attributes and freedoms of Soul. There is nothing in consciousness or thought, little even by way of analogy to suggest, still less to warrant, that thought can thus change into an existence, external to itself, which it is then able to utilize, direct, and control, and which is subject to laws, processes, limitations, ways of behavior, entirely foreign to itself.

It is easy — and in much modern theology, preaching, and poetry, it is common — to fall into the wiles of the *Logos* doctrine and become the victim of its ambiguities. The ancients were beguiled by the term ‘Word’; we more often by such substitutes as ‘expression,’ ‘utterance,’ and the like. Things, it is said, are an ‘utterance’ of the will or thought of God; God, or the Creator spirit, ‘expresses’ himself in such and such forms or aspects of matter. But when thought *expresses itself* in a word (spoken or written), or in a melody (whether through the medium of instruments or written notes), or in a work of art (be it picture or building), it does not mean that thought *brings into existence*, creates, or becomes, the *media* employed, but only that it is able to use materials at its disposal — vocal organs, ear-drums, optical nerves, pen and ink, bricks and

mortar, or whatever other medium is employed — to further and fulfil its own ends, and to convey the fact of its existence and the interpretations of its experience to other minds trained to understanding of the symbols and materials employed. Thought does not create, call into existence, these things, it utilizes and employs them; it *moves matter*, utilizes and co-ordinates it — it does not create. Wide and profound as the distinction is, it may easily escape us under cover of a term.

Again, when *Pneuma* is thought of as admitting all the various metamorphoses which are exhibited in the multiplicity of phenomena, its unitive function evaporates and tends to disappear. The individual man, for instance, comprises *Pneuma* in every variety of phase, and it is hard to say by what right the *Hegemonic Pneuma* controls or unifies the rest, which make up his totality of being. The claim made, psychologically, is independence, not control or subordination of the inferior types. The world-soul is in proportionately worse case; it becomes the directive principle of a pluralist universe, of an infinite number of embodiments of the *Logos*. In what sense can it be held to direct or control? What relation has it to the individual embodiments?

Pantheism identifies the universe with God, and in so doing circumscribes him to the universe, which he is. God is everything, because everything is God. This means that God is just as much decay and disease as conservation and health, as much excretion as nutrition, as much death and extinction as birth and reproduction, as much paralysis as function, as much moral evil as moral good. What are we to say of bad men, the base, the vile, the liar, the murderer? Are these also in God and of God? "Yes," answers Spinoza, "they are." But more and more, as it developed, Stoicism shrank from that rigor of inference. It seemed the *reductio ad absurdum* of the ethical demand which it had adopted its doctrine of immanence to establish. The theory of immanence helps little to account for the unitary order and correspondences of the Kosmos and all its parts.

But to pass to the psychological aspects of the case.

The object of the Stoics was to supply a basis for the *αὐτάρκεια*, the moral independence, of the soul, and to show that such moral independence accorded with the constitution of the world, that it was indeed *κατὰ φύσιν*, 'in accordance with nature,' and part of the cosmic harmony. The world-soul was the analogy of man's. But the world-soul on examination revealed itself as a rational order, a system of processes and laws conforming to a general scheme, which showed no trace of emotion or of passion, of impulse or desires, but was an ordered scheme of providential design. *Logos* was 'the pilot of the universe.' The one element in man's nature — in keeping with the term *Logos* — which conformed to this type, was reason, the rational and moral will; and this the Stoics affirmed to be the seminal, directive, hegemonic faculty in man. They definitely separated it off from the other faculties, and claimed for it a sovereign place. Man is master of his will; ethically that is the centre of the system. The appetites, the sensations, the impulses, the emotions are rigorously subordinated and ruled out. "Efface impression; stay impulse; quench inclination; be master of the directive will." There, in short, was the creed.

But what an arbitrary, untenable line of cleavage this introduces! The vital distinction is drawn not at self-consciousness, but at the exercise of a particular faculty or set of faculties that belong to the soul. If there is one conclusion more than another in which all modern schemes of psychology agree, it is the assertion of the unity of soul. From the same source, whatever that *ἀρχή* may be, proceed sensation, emotion, consciousness, thought, will, and the other activities of the soul, the Ego. Historically we may discuss Plato's tripartite division of the soul, or Paul's distinction between *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, or Stoic classifications of the various soul-faculties; they are useful for analysis, for study of human faculty, and of the nature of 'Soul' itself; but they do not represent an actual cleavage or contain the promise of a differentia showing the true relation of the Ego to the universal life.

At this point Stoicism develops its inferences in a new and — at bottom — unfounded and illogical direction. Having first discerned in the material constitution of the universe an

analogue to the physical organism of man, and having then isolated in man a particular element or activity of soul, which seems most in accordance with the directive genius of the universe, it next proceeds to endow the world-spirit with the companion attributes which belong to human personality. And so we pass to the strange and inconsistent paradox of personal and emotional Pantheism, which became the chief legacy of Stoicism to Christian and to modern thought. In the hands of the later Stoics — of Seneca, of Epictetus, of Marcus Aurelius — the accent of emotion everywhere intrudes. Nature is God's familiar; the Reason of the Universe becomes once more Father of gods and men, the god within the breast, the ever-present deity, the protector of the struggling and oppressed, the inward monitor of all who are to seek, the stay of the despised, the companion of the sorrowful, the comforter of the bereaved. And Stoicism holds out the hand of fellowship to rival philosophies and cults, becomes the revivalist of pagan rites and liturgies, the hierophant and worshipper at mysteries, the patron of the diviner and the thaumaturgist. This is the version of Immanence which appeals to the eclectic, undogmatic, questioning spirit of today. The doctrine lays hold as a poetry of Nature, which imputes to material things the emotions of which we are conscious in our own soul. They express and answer to

A sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
And rolls through all things.

It is superfluous to quote the trite passages from Pope, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, E. Brontë, and the rest. They form the kernel and the charm of current beliefs in Immanence.

Theology has fastened on them, and modern thought upon the Incarnation has done much to confirm belief in immanence. It seems to bridge the gulf between God and man. All creation is but partial, incomplete incarnation, and is for that reason

sacramental. Into humanity in particular God has ever been coming; striving, longing to enfold it in the embrace of love; at last, in Jesus, he completes the confluence of love with the object of desire. But a true doctrine of immanence must rest upon a valid and coherent psychology.

What is *Soul* — the most baffling problem in philosophy. Theologically, the two main doctrines of the origin of soul are the Creationist and the Traducian. The Creationist, adopted by Augustine and the Schoolmen, and by Origen with the characteristic addition of pre-existence, assumes the separate creation of each individual soul. The idea of creation out of nothing baffles thought, and is to our intelligence meaningless — though that does not disprove its possibility. Pre-existence of soul can only be said to postpone the difficulty and shift it a stage further back. But independently of this ultimate difficulty, the objections which beset the Creationist theory are very serious. It gives no account of heredity or of the reproductive machinery of life. Yet moral and spiritual qualities of soul are unmistakably in some sense inherited, transmitted. Does God, by some 'pre-arranged harmony,' create the soul in accord with the physical organ for which he designs it? What fatal arbitrariness and inconsequence attend the idea! Theologically put, Creationism excludes the theory of Original Sin or of hereditary taint, and throws upon God, with all the difficulties of hard Calvinistic predestinarianism, the responsibility of continuously creating imperfect, blighted, vicious, and infertile souls. It may accord well enough with a theory of immanence, but on other grounds seems unsatisfying and inadmissible. Partly for these reasons Reformed theology turned towards the Traducian hypothesis, *viz.*, that soul is transmitted and inherited as part of the physical organism with which it is associated.

The Traducian theory — in biological terms, the protoplasmic — is that of the modern biologist. It affirms the transmission of the soul by way of natural reproduction from parent to offspring. It has behind it the whole cumulative evidence of the reproductive machinery and of the observed facts of hered-

ity, but it fails to give any just account of the self-centred independence of the soul. It leaves no room for immanence of the divine, unless by way of supplementary intrusion or addition.

A far more helpful and attractive speculation is to regard soul, not as an entity, either created or transmitted, but rather as a centre or nucleus of potential capacities, forming itself within a vast and continuous stream of universal life. Soul may be compared with the atom, ultimately resolved into units susceptible of electric charges, positive and negative. This may be best apprehended in the form of illustration. Conceive a universal stream of energy and being. Within this stream a vortex forms, a self-centred nucleus of will-to-live, will-to-bear, will-to-respond. It gathers into its individual swirl elements of which it is itself composed. It has independent existence, and yet it moves within and as a part of the great current in which it is immersed, and is sensitive to the various movements and reactions of all the neighbor vortices with which it is in contact. Its very existence depends upon reaction and response, and yet it unifies all that comes within its private range and circumference. This is the interpenetration of souls, the influence of soul on soul, which (however inexplicable) is a fact of daily and undeniable experience. Thus it takes its place as a self-determined whole, yet deriving all its capabilities from, and subject to, over-mastering restrictions from without. This meets and explains the seeming contradictions of determinism and free-will. Soul lives by response, a self-determined whole, within the universal life, or thought, of God. *Will* is its own motion, *emotion* its relation and its reaction, partly to the illimitable whole, partly to the self-centred vortices among which it moves. The will-to-live and the will-to-love are its guarantees of continued existence. It is a nucleus of power in the sense that it gathers into itself and into its own motion elements or influences from without, and makes them part of its own being. By such assimilative action we win our souls, we enlarge their action and circumference.

So far from conflicting with the demands of heredity and transmission, this confirms and interprets them. Reproduction

involves only the detachment, by fission, of a germ, a tiny cell possessing the capacities (the motions and reactions) of the organism of which it formed a part. The evolutionary life-process has been the machinery for preserving and transmitting the ever-accumulating store of sensitiveness to reactions derived from the immemorial past. Countless numbers of such germs continually detach themselves — the soft roe and the hard — of each several organism. Only by inter-union is new and independent life attained, a combination of allied potentialities. The new self-centred vortex starts with the union of two responsive, complementary germs; that is indispensable for the origination of a fresh independent vortex-motion; that is to say, accompanying the will-to-live there must exist also the will-to-love. Only so does the new life and being realize itself, and at once *create* and *pass on* the ἀρχή of a new life unit. Creationism and Traducianism each find their true interpretation.

Immanence upon this showing is no longer an intrusion of some force from without, an interference with individuality and an invasion of the soul's prerogative, but represents the soul's own sensitiveness and completeness of reaction and response to the primal life-power, the being — or the product — of the omnipresent life-giving and self-moving God. The measure of the soul's activity lies in its capacity and sensitiveness of response; and the pledge and condition of its survival is the everlastingness of the perennial and overflowing life-stream in which it is immersed. All the soul-experiences which the Stoics devised immanence to satisfy are at least as well accounted for by capacity of response to a transcendent being, as by indwelling of a derived and partial and immanent energy similar in kind. In terms of Old Testament thought, "Thou hast *beset me behind and before*, and laid thy hand upon me," may be taken as the typical text. And this is the preponderating note in the New Testament, even in the writers who have most felt the impact of Stoicism. In the speech at Athens (Acts 17, 28), steeped as it is in Stoic coloring, "In Him we live and move and have our being" is the formula adopted, just as in Rom. 11, 36 we read, "Of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all

things." Ἐν χριστῷ is the typical phrase, denoting the union of the believer with Christ, and the admissible "Christ in me" (Gal. 2, 20; Rom. 8, 10, etc.), connotes a transcendental transformation of the inner life. The definition of Christian belief as compared with pagan, in 1 Cor. 8, 6, runs, "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him." We are in God rather than God in us.

In the external world, where we discern nothing but absolute and undeviating adherence to law, God *may* act by immanence. What creation is, or by what means it takes effect, lies beyond our grasp. Indeed, in what sense or degree the personal self creates, transcends, or indwells its bodily organ we cannot say. Continuous creation may be a mode, a function, or a fiat, of the divine being. And in created things perfection of response is indistinguishable from passive and inert obedience. Thus in the cosmic process God may operate by immanence, though there is nothing to prove and not much that is valid to countenance it. The very distinction between immanence and transcendence eludes our grasp. But when we come to finite centres of self-conscious life, the idea of immanence lands us in insoluble contradictions. It violates the self-determining prerogative of soul. For immanence presupposes an intruded element of divine spirit, somehow coördinated and acting side by side with the individual personality. How are the two related? How do they interact? We are brought face to face in every individual with the tangled difficulties that beset the doctrine of the two natures in the theology of the Incarnation. There the difficulty was turned by assuming perfect reciprocity of wills and mutual interchange (*communicatio idiomatum*), in fact perfection of response. But in the case of human personalities that is not so; there is a balance of forces, and antagonism as well as reciprocity of wills. The position cannot be saved by the assumption which preserves a unity of personality in the incarnate God-man. And if the spiritual consciousness is a sort of tug-of-war between the rival wills, it is hard to think of the divine will as constantly over-ruled and set at nought by the human will, and only fitfully and partially asserting its pre-

dominance. One would expect rather that the divine will would inevitably and by its nature prevail; that it would assert itself, in theological terms, as irresistible grace. But with that assumption, free-will is at an end, as Calvinism consistently taught.

Again — and this goes far deeper than Calvinist interpretations of the relation of the soul to God — assuming there is an element of immanence in the obdurate soul which refuses to hear the voice of the charmer or to yield up its independence, what shall we say? That it detaches itself or somehow emanates from the soul, in which it failed to establish its footing? or, on the other hand, that it continues to share its destinies? that we may postulate an immanence of the Divine even in permanently recalcitrant souls? Ineffectual immanence cuts at the root of divine power and holiness.

Finally, let us apply the argument to the belief in personal survival. For the Stoic, accepting re-absorption into the universal life, there was no difficulty; personality was but a temporary phase of immanent life; but for the believer in immortality no such way of escape is open. The consistent evolutionist is faced by corresponding difficulties about the genesis of immortality. In the process of development there are various points — the apparent chasm between the inorganic and the organic, between the automatic and the self-conscious — where it seems hard to reconstruct a gradual process and avoid a sudden catastrophic leap; but the gaps are being steadily reduced and bid fair at last to close up into a continuum. Few are more perplexing, at first sight more unbridgable, than the transition from extinction into immortality. If soul is an entity, created imperishable, there seems no solution except in the will or fiat of the Creator; immortality is withheld or conferred or withdrawn *per saltum*, from without. If, on the other hand, soul is a unit of life, which through accumulating heritages from the past at last attained potentialities which fit it for a self-centred motion of its own, initiated by combination with another unit of like kind, then it may well be that soul after soul trembled upon the very verge of success yet failed to attain; that there have been countless relapses from attainment

achieved but forfeited; that many do not even make their start. Immortality is but the realization of potential survival-values. By defiant, self-willed refusal to accept the flow of the main current, or by incessant failure of reaction to the companion nuclei or vortices among which it moves, the title and capacity for independent movement on the axis of the personal and individual self may dwindle and die out. That is to fail to win our souls, to forfeit all survival rights, to lapse from that immortality which our source of being and our environment, if used aright, offered and guaranteed to us; we gain no lasting place in the world-order. But there is neither re-absorption nor diminution nor extinction of the larger life in which we lived and moved and had our being.

THE EPISTOLA APOSTOLORUM

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IN 1895 there appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Prussian Academy an account of *Eine bisher unbekannte altchristliche Schrift in koptischer Sprache*,¹ by Carl Schmidt, at that time a scholar of the German Imperial Archaeological Institute in Egypt. Schmidt was helped in further research on this document by Pierre Lacau, the Egyptologist, but a full publication was delayed in the hope of further knowledge. This has come, slowly but satisfactorily from new discoveries and the friendly coöperation of French, English, and German scholars.

The first step was the discovery in Vienna, by Dr. Bick, the librarian, of a palimpsest, originally from Bobbio, of a Latin version of the same document.² Schmidt then determined to publish the Coptic text, and in 1910 this had already been printed, when the present Provost of Eton, Montague Rhodes James, noticed an article by the Abbé Guerrier in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, entitled, "*Un testament (éthiopien) de Notre Seigneur et Sauveur Jésus Christ en Galilée.*" He wrote to Schmidt, who in turn corresponded with Guerrier, and it was found that this Ethiopic document, which Dillmann had known but not thought worth publication, was identical with the Coptic apocryph. Schmidt once more delayed his publication until Guerrier was ready, and it was not until 1913 that Guerrier published the text, with a French translation, in the *Patrologia Orientalis* of Graffin and Nau.³

Finally in 1919⁴ Schmidt published in volume xliii of the

¹ Sitzungsbericht der phil.-hist. Classe vom 20 Juni, 1895.

² Wiener Palimpseste, I. Teil. Cod. Palat. Vindobonensis 16, olim Bobbiensis (Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Band clix, 7 Abteil.), and Hauler, Wiener Studien, 1908, Bd. xxx, pp. 308 ff.

³ Vol. ix, part 3. Le testament en Galilée de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ.

⁴ Owing to the excellence of the international mail, it reached America in the following year.

*Texte und Untersuchungen*⁵ a parallel translation of the *Epistola* from Coptic and Ethiopic, with full discussions of all the questions connected with it, and three remarkable appendices on "Cerinthus and the Alogi," the "Descensus ad Inferos," and the "Celebration of Easter in the Church of Asia Minor." To these appendices reference must be made in a later article. His edition is of first rate importance, worthy of a document comparable with the *Didache* or the *Odes of Solomon* for its additions to our knowledge of the second century. It must suffice for the present to give an account of the *Epistola* itself and its chief problems, but I cannot refrain from quoting the dignified and touching conclusion of Schmidt's preface.

Wenn ich zum Schluss meinem Werke noch ein Geleitwort auf den Weg geben darf, so möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass es, wie das Titelblatt zeigt, ein Dokument der angeregten internationalen Cooperation vor dem Völkerrkriege bildet. Ich durfte mich der Mitarbeit des Aegyptologen Pierre Lacau, des heutigen Generaldirektors der ägyptischen Museen, erfreuen und zu ebenso grossem Danke bin ich und die Wissenschaft dem Abbé Guerrier verpflichtet, der den äthiopischen Text aus der Verborgenheit gezogen und dadurch eine umfassende Untersuchung des lückenhaft erhaltenen koptischen Textes ermöglicht hat. Wahrscheinlich wäre mir diese Publikation entgangen oder wenigstens zu spät in meine Hände gelangt, wenn nicht Herr Montague Rhodes James mich in liebenswürdiger Weise auf einen Artikel von Herrn Guerrier aufmerksam gemacht hätte. So konnte Herr Dr. Wajnberg aus Warschau eine erneute Uebersetzung des äthiopischen Textes vorlegen, und auf der anderen Seite haben die Wiener Gelehrten Bick und Hauler ein lateinisches Palimpsestfragment beige-steuert. Niemals hätte also die vorliegende Publikation ohne jene tatkräftige Unterstützung dieser auswärtigen Gelehrten diejenige Gestalt erhalten, in der ich sie heute der gelehrten Welt vorlegen kann. Die Fäden, welche uns mit der westeuropäischen Wissenschaft verbanden, sind seit fünf Jahren abgerissen, aber ich kann die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben dass dieses Band doch wieder einmal angeknüpft wird. In dieser Aussicht wage ich mein Werk der internationalen Wissenschaft zu überreichen und ihrem Urtheile zu unterbreiten."

Guerrier's publication had never attracted much attention; partly because it was unaccompanied by any introduction indicating its importance, but chiefly because its title was misleading and its contents composite. The title "Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" implies some connection

⁵ The title is *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung, ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2ten Jahrhunderts*; but in the body of the book Schmidt always speaks of the document as the *Epistola Apostolorum*.

with the *Testamentum Domini* of Rahmani; but the opening chapters dissipate this notion, for they contain merely an apocalypse, important mainly for its delineation of Antichrist. Guerrier seems to have been ignorant of Schmidt's preliminary notice in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*. Probably only the interest of M. R. James in the Antichrist led him to notice the book and read it through, and discover that in the middle its character suddenly changed.

Schmidt has now shown beyond all doubt that the title "Testament of the Lord" was taken from the ordinary book of that name, which was accidentally associated with the other document in the Ethiopic copy. He has also shown — what is self-evident when it is pointed out — that the first eleven chapters of Guerrier's document have nothing in common with the remainder of it, which contains an *Epistola Apostolorum* identical with the Coptic document. The Coptic is an incomplete manuscript of a better text, while the Ethiopic is a complete manuscript of a worse text. Both are based, directly or indirectly, on a lost Greek original from which the Latin palimpsest, unfortunately only a small fragment, was also derived.

The *Epistola Apostolorum* begins by describing how the apostles determined, in order to confute Simon and Cerinthus, to write an account of their preaching concerning Jesus Christ. They therefore proceed to give a short account of their general doctrine, of which the centre is the Incarnation of the Logos, and summarize it as consisting of five points: the belief in the Father, in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, and in the Forgiveness of Sins. Cerinthus and Simon have corrupted this message, apparently by denying the truth of the death of Christ; and the apostles therefore emphasize the facts of the Passion, the Death, and the Resurrection, ending with the appearance of the risen Lord, and passing into an account of the special revelation which he made to them in the days before the Ascension.

This special revelation begins with what may perhaps be called the preliminaries of the Incarnation. It describes the

descent of Jesus through the various heavens, attended by the great Archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, until the fifth heaven, and finally he appeared in the form of the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary and so became incarnate. This is so similar to the Ascension of Isaiah that it seems to me probable that there is some literary connection between the two.

There then seems to be a break in the sense; but Schmidt does not notice it, and it is true that if anything is missing from the text it must have been lost very early, as there is no difference between the Ethiopic and the Coptic. The words of Jesus pass without a break from the account of the Incarnation to the institution of the Easter Eucharist, which seems to be regarded as the perpetuation of the Passover to be commemorated until the Second Advent. But the interpretation of this passage is difficult. "Must we still drink the cup of the Passover?" ask the disciples. "Yes," replies the Lord, "until I come again." The mention of the Passover suggests an annual celebration, but the reference to the second coming reminds us of the Eucharist in Corinthians. Does the *Epistola* describe the connection with the Paschal feast of an already instituted eucharistic meal, or the institution of this meal at the time of the Passover as a commemoration of the death of Christ? Schmidt thinks it is the former, and connects it with the Quarta-deciman question; but even if he is right in this connection (and I think that he is), the question might well be argued whether there is not here an indication of an early usage which had an eucharist once a year. The turning point in the problem may prove to be the meaning of the word *agape*, which in the Ethiopic seems to be identical with the commemorative feast, but in the Coptic to be separate from it. Might not Schmidt have profitably given more attention to Batiffol's study of the *Agape*? Perhaps the time will soon be ripe to reopen this question.

The disciples then ask questions about the second advent, and are told that the Lord will return as the rising sun, brighter by seven times than the sun in his glory; he will be borne on the clouds of heaven, and the sign of the cross will go before

him. With him will come the martyrs, and he will judge the living and the dead. This will happen between Passover and Pentecost, a hundred and twenty years later, or, according to the Ethiopic, a hundred and fifty years.

The apostles then raise a question of much interest to the historian of doctrine: Will he who shall come at the Judgment be the Lord Jesus or he who sent him? The answer of Jesus is an affirmation of the identity of himself with his Father in a manner strongly reminiscent of the lamentable heresy of Sabellius, but it contains also an obscure reference to the Ogdoad, if, at least, Schmidt's rendering be correct.⁶ This is an obvious point of connection with some of the systems of thought loosely called Gnostic — a term which has wrought more confusion of thought in our time than the systems so described raised controversy in the days of the Fathers. Schmidt argues here, much as he did formerly in his *Alte Petrusakten*, that a belief in ogdoads and dodecads was not necessarily excluded from orthodox thought in the second century. Heresy in that happy period was found in opinions, not so much on the constitution of the divine sphere of influence in heaven, as on the relation between God and the world. To believe that heaven or even the fulness of divine being was divided into three, seven, eight, or twelve was not important; what was decisive was the question whether creation was due to the good will of a supreme God who called for the coöperation of his creatures, or to the incompetence of an inferior one, to escape from whose inadequacy was salvation and life.

Jesus then gives the new commandment that "they shall love one another and obey one another in order that peace may be among them. Love your enemies and what you do not wish should be done to you, do not so to others." This is to be the substance of the preaching of the apostles; they are to teach it to believers and to preach the kingdom of his Father, and how the Father has given him authority in order to bring together his children.

He next promises the disciples a rest, where there is neither eating nor drinking, lamentation nor trouble, and they will

⁶ The only reason for doubting this is that the manuscript appears to be defective.

be companions not of the earthly creation, but of that of the Father which is incorruptible; as the Christ is ever in his Father, so will they be ever in him. Moreover this eternal life relates also to the flesh, for just as the divine Logos became flesh, so the flesh of humanity will become divine.⁷ It will be raised up at the Resurrection in order that it, as well as the soul, may receive the due recompense for its deeds. At the Judgment the Lord will spare neither rich nor poor, and will treat each according to his deeds, but those who have loved him will be taken into the rest of the Kingdom of Heaven.

There follows a rather difficult passage. According to the Ethiopic Jesus says, "For this cause did I descend and spoke to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, your fathers, the prophets, . . . and gave them my right hand, the baptism of life, and release and forgiveness of all evil." This might conceivably mean that the Logos had been present in Old Testament history, or it might be a reference to the descent into Hades, with an obvious resemblance to the Shepherd of Hermas and to the *Acta Pilati*. The Coptic clearly takes the latter view, as instead of mentioning the patriarchs by name it says, "I descended to the place of Lazarus and preached to the righteous and to the prophets that they might come forth." Schmidt thinks that the Coptic is the original text, and this gives him occasion to devote an excursus to the development of the doctrine of the *descensus ad inferos*, controverting Bousset's view that the origin of the doctrine was an ancient popular myth, to which theological justification was afterwards added.⁸

When the disciples heard these revelations they said: "O Lord, blessed are we, for we see thee and hear thee . . . but he answered and said to them, "Blessed rather are they who have not seen and yet have believed, for they shall be called the children of the Kingdom, and I will be their life in the Kingdom of my Father."

⁷ It is unnecessary to point out how closely this resembles Irenaeus.

⁸ Bousset replied in an article which he had passed for press only a few days before his sudden death on March 15. It is published in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, July 1920, with a note of affectionate farewell from the editor, Erwin Preuschen, who has himself since then passed away. *Requiescant a laboribus suis, opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.*

The apostles are then told to go and preach to the twelve tribes, and to the heathen, and to the whole land of Israel throughout the world. While they are doing this they will meet a man whose name is Saul, which means Paul. The passage is so important that I quote it exactly.

And behold, ye shall meet a man whose name is Saul, which means Paul. He is a Jew, circumcised according to the Law. And he shall hear my voice from heaven with terror and fright and trembling. And his eyes shall be blinded, and by your hand shall the shadow of the cross fall on his eyes. Do to him all that I did to you. Pass it on to the others. And at the same time shall the eyes of that man be opened, and he shall praise the Lord, my Father in Heaven. He shall gain power with the people and preach and teach. And many, when they hear him, shall find joy and be saved. And because of this, men shall be angry and deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and he shall bear witness before earthly kings, and his end shall be that he acknowledge me, instead of having persecuted me. He shall preach and teach and abide with the elect, a chosen vessel, and a wall which nothing overthrows. The least of all shall be for a preacher to the people, perfected through the will of my Father. As ye have also learned through the Scriptures that your fathers, the prophets, spoke concerning me, and in me is the prophecy actually fulfilled. And he said to us, 'Ye shall be guides to them and tell them everything that I have told you and that ye wrote about me — that I am the Word of the Father and that the Father is in me. So shall ye be to that man as ye ought. Teach him and remind him of the things that are spoken of me in the Scriptures and have been fulfilled, and he will hereafter lead the people to salvation.'

And we asked him, "Oh master, is there one and the same hope on earth for us and for them?" He answered and said to us, "Are the fingers of the hand like each other, or the ears of corn in the fields, or do the fruit trees bear the same kind of fruit? Does not each fruit grow after its own kind?" And we said to him, "O Lord, wilt thou speak to us again in parables?" Then said he to us, "Grieve not; verily I say unto you, ye are my brothers, my companions in the Kingdom of Heaven with my Father, for so it hath pleased him. Verily I say unto you, to them also whom ye teach and who therefore believe on me will I send the same hope."

And we asked him again, "When shall we meet that man, and when wilt thou bring him to thy Father and our God and Lord?" He answered and said unto us, "That man shall come out of the land of Cilicia near Damascus in Syria, to root up the churches which it is commanded you to plant. I am he who speaks through you, and he shall come quickly. And he shall become strong in that belief, that the word of the prophet may be fulfilled which says, 'Behold, out of Syria will I begin to call together a new Jerusalem, and Sion will I conquer, and it shall be imprisoned, and the place which is childless shall be called the son and daughter of my Father, and my bride,' for so hath it pleased him who sent me. But that man will I turn away that he may not accomplish his wicked purpose, and through him my Father's praise shall be perfected. But after I go away and tarry with my Father, I will speak to

him from heaven, and all the things will take place of which I told you before in regard to him."

In chapter 34, the apostles ask what will be the signs of the end of the world, and Jesus replies that he will tell them what will happen to them and to their converts, and also to the converts of Paul. What follows, however, is merely a repetition of the conventional apocalyptic scenery, in which no special historical facts can be distinguished, and in chapter 41 a new question is raised. Jesus tells the apostles to go and preach, and they reply, "O Lord, thou art our Father," to which he appears to rejoin that they are all fathers, servants (or possibly deacons), teachers. The disciples object that Jesus himself had said, "Call no one on earth Father or Teacher," but Jesus explains that as soon as they make converts they really become fathers or teachers. Seeing that the *Epistola* appears to be directed against Cerinthus, it is interesting to notice that according to one tradition, though not the earliest, Cerinthus quoted this verse as an argument against Pauline Christianity.⁹ Schmidt believes that the "Judaist" Cerinthus is a figment; but this is one of the points where the questions which he raises call for further study.

Jesus then summarizes his teaching by a new interpretation of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The five wise are Faith, Love, Joy, Peace and Hope. These are the guides of believers, but the foolish virgins are Understanding, Knowledge, Obedience, Patience, and Pity. These virtues have slumbered among those who have believed on the Lord but not practised his commandments. The interpretation is not wholly logical, but only those who have never interpreted a parable will find both reason and right to throw stones at it on this ground.

⁹ Καὶ ταύτην μαρτυρίαν φέρουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου πάλιν λέγοντες ὅτι ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. τί οὖν; φησί, περιεμήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περιεμήθητι καὶ αὐτός. Χριστὸς κατὰ νόμον, φησίν, ἐπολιτεύσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἴσα ποίησον. ὅθεν καὶ τινες ἐκ τούτων ὡς ὑπὸ δηλητηρίων ὑφαρπαχθέντες πείθονται ταῖς πιθανολογίαις διὰ τὸ τὸν Χριστὸν περιτεμεῖσθαι. Epiph. xxviii, 5, 1 f. Cf. also Αὐχοῦσι δὲ πάλιν περιτομὴν ἔχοντες . . . καὶ δῆτα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σύστασιν ταύτης βούλονται φέρειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ περὶ Κήρυθον. φασὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων ληρώδη λόγον, ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ εἶναι ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος. περιεμήθη, φησίν, ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ σὺ περιτεμήθητι. Epiph. xxx. 26, 1 f.

After a little more exhortation, the document ends as follows:

When he had said this and had finished his discourse with us, he said to us again, "Lo, on the third day and in the third hour will he come who sent me, that I may depart with him." And while he thus spoke, there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heaven opened and there appeared a cloud which took him up. And there was heard the voice of many angels rejoicing and giving praise and saying, "Gather us together, O Priest, to the light of glory." And as he reached the sky, we heard his voice, "Go in peace."

The translation of the Ethiopic and Coptic with full critical notes take up 130 pages of Schmidt's book; to this he has added another 600 pages of comment. Many of these pages raise controversial points, and naturally difference of opinion will be wide spread, but no one is likely to think that Schmidt has written too much. On the contrary, there are many places where the reader would be glad to have had further comment.

His principal discussion covers the usual introduction to the problems, divided into eleven sections, of which the last deals with the place and time of the *Epistola*; and the reader who has had some experience of German *Wissenschaft* will prefer to read this first, for among its many virtues, German *Wissenschaft* has never quite learned what the French know so well, that the order of presentation usually reverses the order of research. The result is that with almost every book of this kind it is necessary to read it twice if one has followed the order of the writer. The whole is, in point of fact, a closely connected argument which cannot fully be followed until we know what the writer believes that he can prove. In the light of this knowledge everything becomes clear, but it is not revealed until the end of this treatise. It may be submitted that even in dealing with an apocalypse this economy of revelation is undesirable.

The position which Schmidt reaches is that the *Epistola* does not come originally from Egypt but from Asia Minor, and that it belongs to the second century. These two points are not, I think, equally certain. The date is more certain than the locality. The main point which bears on the date is, of course, the statement that the second advent will take place in the year

120 after Christ, which from the context seems to mean 120 years after the Resurrection. This is the date given by the Coptic; the Ethiopic puts 150 instead of 120, which seems to be an attempt to give the date in terms of a chronology beginning from the birth of Christ, but even if the Ethiopic be the correct text, a document, belonging to the year 180 in our reckoning is a sufficiently valuable discovery. In general there can be little doubt but that before 180 is the latest date to which the *Epistola* can be referred, and before 150 seems to me more probable.¹⁰

So far as locality is concerned the argument is less convincing, though it is, I think, possibly correct. The points which stand out as really remarkable are the reference to Cerinthus and the curious list of the apostles.

Schmidt has a long excursus on Cerinthus and the Alogi, in which he controverts Edward Schwartz, who in 1914 had argued that the tradition of Irenaeus linking Cerinthus with Ephesus was quite untrustworthy.^{10a} Schmidt endeavors to refute Schwartz and re-establish the old tradition, incidentally dealing at length with the question of the Alogi. In this he may be right, and it is perhaps more probable that Cerinthus belongs at Ephesus than elsewhere, but the whole question may well be re-opened. Whether, however, he is right in thinking that Cerinthus cannot have been a Judaist is more doubtful, and the whole question is still full of difficulties. Was it impossible for a man to be a Judaizer and a Docetist at the same time? Before this question can be answered we shall be brought back once more to the problem whether Ignatius in his epistles was attacking one party or two.

The connection of Cerinthus with Ephesus and of the *Epistola* with Cerinthus is the main argument which Schmidt brings forward, but he also attaches great weight to the fact that the *Epistola* commands the celebration of the Passover in commemoration of the death of Christ, and connects this with the Quartodecimans of Asia.

¹⁰ Can Papias have been referring to the *Epistola* when he expressed his famous preference for oral tradition to that which was written?

^{10a} *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1914, pp. 210 ff.

All these arguments are weighty so far as they go. They are convincing evidence that Ephesus is a possible place. The main reason why I hesitate to go all the way is the curious list of the apostles. The list is as follows: "We, John, Thomas, Peter, Andrew, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Nathanael, Judas Zelotes, and Cephas." There is extant another list which has many of the same characteristics, that is to say it begins with John, and includes Cephas as well as Peter, found in the Apostolic Church Orders, commonly called KO,¹¹ (*Kirchen-Ordnung*), a book which almost certainly belongs to Egypt and the third century. Schmidt thinks that the KO borrowed the list from the Epistola and that this is based on a scrutiny of the Fourth Gospel. He thinks that the variation of order between the two is irrelevant. To this I cannot agree: the difference seems to me to show that the two lists are independent, though belonging to the same tradition, and one different from that of the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover Schmidt takes too little notice of the fact that Clement of Alexandria also regards Cephas as distinct from Peter, though he places him among the Seventy and not among the Twelve. Thus Clement, the Epistola, and the KO agree in believing that there was a Cephas other than Peter. John 1, 43 alone distinctly says that Cephas is a name which was given to Simon and that it means "Peter," and that Simon, Cephas, and Peter are only three names for one person.¹²

Does this really point to Egypt or Ephesus as the home of the Epistola? Obviously, I think, to Egypt. If the writer had been basing his list wholly on the Fourth Gospel would he have disregarded John 1, 43? Moreover, is such disregard probable in Ephesus of all places? Therefore it becomes more important to consider Schmidt's view that Cerinthus had only a local importance. This seems to me very doubtful as the amount of space devoted to him by Epiphanius and the other later writers is not consistent with a merely local reputation. The whole question requires careful investigation. Schmidt

¹¹ The list in KO runs as follows: John, Matthew, Peter, Andrew, Philip, Simon, James, Nathanael, Thomas, Cephas, Bartholomew.

¹² See the Note, "Simon, Cephas, Peter," below, p. 95.

may well be right in thinking that Hippolytus introduced the reference to Egypt in his account of Cerinthus, and that Harvey¹³ was wrong to emend the text of Irenaeus; but is it so certain that the Egyptian tradition of Hippolytus was pure invention? If there be any foundation for Hippolytus' statement, Schmidt's argument would be greatly reduced in importance.

Schmidt thinks that the writer of the *Epistola* was acquainted with the canonical New Testament at least so far as the Four Gospels, the Acts, and the Pauline Epistles are concerned, and he rejects the use of any uncanonical source. In general the smallest resemblance satisfies him that a canonical book is used and the greatest difference is insufficient to persuade him that an uncanonical gospel was before the writer of the *Epistola*. Nevertheless it is indisputable that the writer lived in an uncanonical atmosphere. The majority of his quotations from the Prophets are *agrapha*, and the clearest reference to a "childhood" narrative is found only in apocryphal gospels.¹⁴

No doubt it is true that there has sometimes been a tendency to invent unnecessary "ausserkanonische" sources, but Schmidt seems to fall over backwards in his fear of this tendency. His main point is that the events mentioned are found in the canonical Gospels and Acts, though with considerable variation: why should not the writer of the *Epistola* have himself introduced the variation? The answer is that the *Epistola* is fictitious, but not fraudulent. In its references to history it is not attempting to give new and unheard of versions of facts, but to corroborate true teaching — which really represented the mind of the Apostles — by relating the prophecy by Jesus of facts which the readers would recognize as having really taken place. Therefore the description of history in the *Epistola* is not likely to represent variation due to the writer,

¹³ Irenaeus says *Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia . . . docuit*, but Hippolytus, who is otherwise obviously copying Irenaeus, says *Κήρυθος δὲ τις αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς ἔλεγεν κ. τ. λ.* Harvey therefore proposed to emend *in Asia* to *in Aegyptio*, and treats Cerinthus as an Egyptian.

¹⁴ In chapter 4 the *Epistola* obviously refers to the Gospel of Thomas, or one of the cognate gospels, in the course of the discussion between Jesus and a Rabbi as to the meaning of Alpha and Beta.

but rather to be the form of tradition followed by the church in which he lived.

The most obvious instances of this are the possible references to Acts in the Epistola. There are two of importance. In chapters 7-8 there is the following account of the release of one of the disciples from prison: "After my home-going to the Father, remember my death. When the Passover comes round, one of you will have been thrown into prison for my name's sake, and will be in sorrow and distress because ye celebrate the Passover while he is in prison and far from you; then will he grieve because he does not celebrate the Passover with you. But I will send my power in the form of the angel Gabriel, and it will open the gates of the prison. He shall go out and come to you, and shall keep the vigil with you and stay with you until the cock crows. But when ye have finished the memorial which takes place in remembrance of me, and the agape, he shall be thrown into prison again as a witness until he shall come out from there and preach what I have commanded you."

Schmidt thinks that this is a reference to the release of Peter from prison in Acts 12. Possibly this may be the ultimate source. But after all, in Acts Peter (who is not mentioned in this section of the Epistola) stays out of prison when he is released, and there is no mention of an Agape or Passover in the house to which he went. In the Epistola the important thing is that an unnamed apostle is let out of prison by Gabriel in order to eat the Passover with the rest of the Twelve, and is taken back at cock-crow to his cell. It is not quite clearly stated that Gabriel takes him back to prison, but it seems to be implied.

Equally difficult to reconcile with the direct use of the Acts of the Apostles is the account of the conversion of Paul. This has been quoted already. Is it possible that an account so greatly modified could have been put forward as a prophecy of which the account in Acts was to be regarded as the fulfilment, and is it likely that the man who wrote it was acquainted with the Epistle to the Galatians?

The general characteristics of the Epistola are admirably

brought out by Schmidt in his paragraphs on the Christology and other doctrinal points of the document. The supreme God remains, as it were, always in the background, and Jesus is the incarnate Logos, the second God of the Apologists, who is the divine centre of the Church, the Lord of the Christians, to whom he offers eternal life in the Kingdom of God. There is a noticeable absence of any importance attached to the death of Jesus, and the only value of the Death and Passion is to prove the true humanity obtained by the Incarnation. This is undoubtedly the Christology and Soteriology of the Apologists, and belongs to the same category as the Fourth Gospel, which it also resembles in anti-Docetic tendency.

There is, however, one point of great importance scarcely touched on by Schmidt: — the bearing of the *Epistola* on the position of Pauline Christianity. His omission to treat this question fully is the more remarkable in view of his selection of Ephesus as the home of the *Epistola*, and the problem can best be stated on the assumption that Schmidt is right on this point; it is only somewhat less striking if he be wrong.

One of the most certain facts in early Christian history is that Paul preached for a long time at Ephesus. Equally certain is the fact that he had many opponents. And a little later on, when we get the beginning of Ephesian tradition, the central figure is not Paul but John. Whether this John was the son of Zebedee or not is entirely unimportant compared with the fact that he, not Paul, is the centre of Ephesian tradition. With him are linked up the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles. The problem is, did this Johannine Christianity grow out of Pauline preaching or was it an independent growth? The general history of early Christianity tends to show that, though Baur exaggerated his application of the Hegelian formula, it is true that in several instances struggle was succeeded by reconciliation, and that much of the existing canonical literature belongs to the period of reconciliation which told the story of the past not as it really was, but as it was felt that it ought to have been. If this were so at Ephesus we should expect to find that after a period of struggle between Pauline and Johannine Christianity terms of peace were unconsciously ar-

ranged and are reflected in the pseudepigraphical literature of the next generation. On this hypothesis the *Epistola* is easily intelligible: it belongs to a party which is Johannine, not Pauline, but no longer wishes to defeat the Pauline party which it recognizes as its complement. To do this it emphasises the truth of the story, which Paul himself had so indignantly denied, that his commission came from Jerusalem. The Johannine tradition claims to represent the Twelve, but John, and not Peter, is their head. These Christians recognize that Paul had done good work, and accept, as it were, the validity of his converts, but they are not Pauline, and their greatest concession is that the church of the Twelve and that of Paul are united as the fingers on one hand.

It is greatly to be desired that as many students of early Christian literature as possible should study the *Epistola*. Their results will probably be instructively diverse, but they will agree in gratitude to Schmidt for his admirable presentation of the text and learned discussion of its problems.

CHURCH AND RELIGION IN GERMANY

RICHARD LEMPP *

STUTTGART

THE editors of the Harvard Theological Review have asked me for an article on "the state of religion in Germany as affected by the war, and its outlook in the period of reconstruction upon which — we may hope — the world is now entering." With some hesitation I comply with their request; but I must beg my readers to allow me first a word of very frank introduction.

Americans can have little idea of the terrible sufferings of my country, or of the hopelessness of the future which the peace of Versailles has set before us; nor can they easily imagine the mood of a nation which, after gigantic achievements and the most heroic endurance, has at last been broken in body and spirit by the force of hunger that its enemies saw fit to employ

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His studies and experience have thus peculiarly fitted him to deal with the subject which, at the request of the editors of the Review, he had undertaken in the present article.

as an instrument of war. If, after the slaughter of the innocents, the representatives of Herod had inquired of the good people of Bethlehem concerning the outlook for religion in the period of reconstruction then beginning, they would hardly have elicited a dispassionate reply. And we, who have witnessed the starvation, not of a hundred, but of hundreds of thousands of our children, are naturally in no very scientific frame of mind. Irrespective of the source of the inquiry, we are not just now in a mood for the calm investigation and exposition of our domestic situation. He that is sick almost unto death may indeed seek help and healing, but he is in no condition to compose a treatise on the nature of his malady and the outlook for his recovery. Since, however, I am personally acquainted with the editors of the *Review* and am convinced that their request originated in the sincerest sympathy, I have decided to attempt the task. Possibly I may be contributing to a genuine understanding of our internal situation; and mutual understanding is, after all, the indispensable prerequisite of any reconstruction.

The reader may recall my article on "Present Religious Conditions in Germany," published in this *Review* in January 1910. The questions there raised were: Could the German church, which down to the eighteenth century had been the chief promoter and embodiment of culture, endure, in the face of a culture which had become independent of it; or was that independent culture destined to destroy it; and in the latter event, what would be the fate of religion in Germany? The article consisted of two parts, the first giving an account of the actual condition of the German churches; the second discussing the two principal groups whose attitude toward the churches was either indifferent or actually hostile, wage-earners and people of education, or socialism on the one hand, and culture on the other. The present article likewise will be divided into two parts. The first will describe the state of the churches and institutional religion in Germany as the result of war and revolution. The second will concern itself with the temper of those who stand aloof, and their relation to religion and the churches.

I

For the German churches the revolution of November 11, 1918, was of profound significance, for one of the immediate consequences of that revolution was the separation of church and state. Up to that time the German churches were established national churches. This was true of all but the small free churches, the so-called "sects," which had come over from England and America, and constituted only one third of one per cent of the population of Germany. In principle every German was by birth a member of either the Protestant or the Catholic established church of his state, although he had the right to withdraw from such membership if he chose. Each of the twenty-six German states had a Protestant and a Catholic established church. In Prussia, the provinces annexed in 1866 retained their own independent establishments. The states paid a large part of the expenses of the churches, protected their cults, and saw to it that all school-children between six and eighteen years of age were taught the Protestant or Catholic religion. In some states the elementary schools were under the immediate supervision of the pastors and the churches controlled all elementary instruction. In the case of the Protestant churches the connection with the states was especially intimate, since they were governed by consistories appointed by the state, Luther having transferred the office of the bishop to the sovereign. The sovereigns appointed many of the pastors, as well as all professors in the theological faculties. The states, not the churches, controlled the education of the ministry. In time of war the government supplied both Protestant and Catholic chaplains to all divisions. Just as it cared for the soldier's health by means of hospitals and surgeons, and for his bodily needs by means of the commissariat, so it furnished chaplains for his spiritual welfare.

All this was entirely in accord with the character of the German state as it had been developed through the centuries: the state not merely the guardian of law and order and of the free development of the individual, but the promoter of all culture — education, health, science, art, industry, banking, etc. Nor

did it seem proper that the state should leave to individual enterprise the nation's most important interest. On the contrary, many, at least among the Protestants, still clung to the idea of Hegel and his theological disciple Richard Rothe (died 1867) that religious institutions should gradually be absorbed in the state as the representative of all culture, the promoter of the spiritual as well as physical welfare of its citizens.

To the church this intimate connection of church and state was acceptable so long as the rulers of the several states were professing Christians. The Hohenzollerns in particular were devoted to the church, but the other rulers also governed the church with no less solicitude and diligence than they did the state. Many Protestants, moreover, were of the opinion that the separation of church and state would be followed by a breach between conservatives and liberals, with the eventual weakening of the whole church. And they recognized that as a consequence of its relation to the state, the church reached not only those who were Christians at heart, but also, through the religious instruction in the schools and the nominal church-membership of the entire population, the irreligious as well. The missionary task of the church was rendered very much easier.

When the revolution broke out, it was manifest that the age-long connection between church and state was at an end. The chief objection to this connection had always come from the great mass of socialist wage-earners, who denounced the state as the patron of capital and militarism, and extended their antagonism to the state-supported churches. The church was in their eyes merely a means by which the state kept the masses in ignorance and contentment. The socialists, therefore, had always emphatically demanded the separation of church and state. In the Socialist Programme of Erfurt, 1891, they declared their principle: "Religion is a private affair." And when, by the revolution, these same masses took the government into their hands, the separation became inevitable. Now, however, the socialists were no longer alone in their attitude; those who formerly opposed the separation joined them in welcoming it. For the revolutionary states had

ceased to be governed by Christian rulers. They had, in fact, ceased to represent the idealistic Christian German culture of the past. In these states parliamentary majorities were the only sovereigns. And since in Germany friends and enemies of the church are about equally divided, it might come to pass that the majority in parliament, and hence the government for the time being, would be unfriendly to the church, and thus the close connection of church and state prove an actual source of danger to the cause of religion. Of the new states, therefore, no one asked or expected coöperation with the churches, but only strict neutrality towards every religion and every school of thought.

In the first period after the revolution, at any rate, the friends of the church were glad to secure strict neutrality. For it looked as if the new states would not be content merely to withdraw their patronage from the church, but would proceed, as in France, to antagonize it and do their utmost to destroy its influence. In all German states, the ministry of public worship and education, which before the revolution had charge of the churches, now came into the hands of men who belonged to no church; in many states, into the hands of pronounced enemies of the church, especially of radically-minded teachers. In the most important state, Prussia, the "Kultusminister" was the well-known Adolf Hoffmann, a Berlin bookseller who for years had opposed both religion and the churches with malice and contempt, and had directed the movement for popular secession *en masse*. He began by prohibiting prayer in the Prussian schools and proclaiming the abolition of all religious instruction. In other states attempts were made to abolish religious instruction without special legislation; so in Saxony, Gotha, Brunswick, and Hamburg. The union of German teachers made similar demands. Yet most of these people were by no means willing to give up altogether the principle of a positive moral education in the public schools — as in the United States; and it was to be feared that, whereas the old states had consciously cultivated Christian character through their schools and their coöperation with the churches, the new states, by introducing the study of morality and similar sub-

jects into the schools, would foster a positively irreligious training, partly upon an idealistic, but to a great extent also upon a materialistic basis.

In this situation, many people in Germany were surprised to see the energy and strength exhibited by the churches. That the Catholic church would enter the contest and prevent any injustice through the instrumentality of its powerful organization, the Centre party, was apparent to every judicious person. The radical politicians, with all their theoretical utopias, showed themselves lamentably ignorant of history when they failed to foresee that outcome. The Catholics west of the Rhine, in territory under the occupation of the Entente, actually threatened to secede from the Prussian Republic if the irreligious radicals continued to dominate its government. The Protestant churches likewise, though suddenly bereft of their princely leaders, disproved in the most striking manner the old assertion of the radicals, that without the protection of the states and their rulers the churches would forthwith perish. Hundreds of thousands rose and protested against violence being done to the churches. In northern Germany alone seven million Protestants signed a protest against the abolition of religious instruction in the schools. Free Protestant organizations were speedily formed throughout the country — not without immense difficulty, since the oppressive conditions of the armistice had crippled all railway traffic and even the postal service. The various political parties were interrogated as to their attitude on the subject of the church and religious instruction. In the elections of January, 1919, the radical parties lost many votes, especially among women voters, because they were suspected of designs unfriendly to the church. In the empire as a whole, as well as in Prussia and most of the other individual states, the first parliaments elected to frame a constitution had no socialistic majority. The national as well as the state governments were forced to admit men of the democratic and of the clerical (Centre) party as secretaries of state; and a legal separation of church and state distinctly hostile to the church, as in France, was effectually prevented.

The American system of separation, which makes the churches mere private associations, and which the Moderate Socialists desired to bring into effect, in accordance with their principle, "Religion is a private affair," was rejected by Catholics as well as Protestants, and therefore by the non-socialist parties. Few supporters of the church could bring themselves to accept a system which would have put the churches on a level with the sects. Rather it was universally demanded that the church, although now independent of the state, remain "Volkskirche," a national church which in principle includes all the people, although withdrawal from it should continue optional with the individual; that the churches should not become private associations, but should be public corporations¹ independent of the state; that the Protestant and Catholic religions be taught in the public schools by ministers and teachers; and that the churches should meet their financial requirements by levying income-taxes. It was agreed that direct financial support by the states be discontinued; but, since the states had in former times confiscated lands and funds belonging to the churches, in most of the states a fixed annuity was agreed upon as compensation for such property, or else an equitable adjustment, impossible at the moment on account of the fluctuating value of money, was promised. As in the past, so in the future, the individual states will eventually regulate their own relations to the churches; but the National Constitution, in Articles 135-150, laid down the general principles which are to govern such regulations. The following are the most important provisions:

ART. 136. Civil and political rights and duties shall be in no way affected by the exercise of the privilege of religious freedom.

No person shall be required to disclose his religious opinions.

ART. 137. There shall be no state church.

Freedom of association in religious societies shall be maintained. Confederation of religious societies within the Empire shall not be subject to limitation.

Within the bounds of the common law, every religious society shall regulate and administer its own affairs as it may see fit. It shall appoint its own officials, without the participation of the state or the municipality.

¹ "Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts."

Religious societies may acquire legal status by complying with the general provisions of the civil law.

Those religious societies which have heretofore been recognized by law as public corporations, shall continue to enjoy that privilege. Other religious societies shall, on their application, be granted the same rights, provided their organization and membership give assurance of their permanence.

Religious societies which are recognized as public corporations shall have power to levy taxes, on the basis of the civil tax-lists, in such amounts as the state law may determine.

ART. 138. The state legislatures shall provide for the commutation of all existing state support of religious societies, whether it be based on statute, contract, or other legal title. The principles governing such commutation shall be determined by the national government.

ART. 144. All schools shall be subject to the supervision of the state.

ART. 146. Admission to any public school shall be determined by the child's ability and aptitude, not by the economic and social position or the religious affiliation of its parents.

Nevertheless, upon the application of parents or guardians, elementary schools of a particular faith or way of thinking may be established in individual communities, provided such establishment be not prejudicial to the well-ordered conduct of the schools, and with due regard also to the provisions of the first section of this article. The utmost possible consideration shall be given to the wishes of parents or guardians.

ART. 147. Private elementary schools shall be permitted only in case a minority of parents or guardians, whose wishes must be considered (in accordance with Art. 146, sect. 2), have not been provided by the community with a public elementary school of their own faith or way of thinking.

ART. 149. Religious instruction shall be part of the regular course in all schools except such as are professedly non-religious or secular. Such instruction, while subject to the supervision of the state, shall be in conformity with the essential tenets of the religious society concerned.

The offering of religious instruction and the conduct of religious exercises shall be optional with the individual teacher. Attendance on such instruction shall be at the option of the person controlling the child's religious education.

The theological faculties of the universities shall be maintained.

Every one will recognize the inherent difficulties in the above provisions, especially those relating to the schools, which were necessarily the result of compromise between the totally opposed ideas of socialists and clericals. Religious instruction a "regular" branch — but "optional" for both teacher and pupil. "According to the tenets of the religious societies" — but "under the supervision of the state." Schools not separated according to creed — but, on the motion of a certain number of parents, Protestant or Catholic schools must be established.

In view of the fatal cleavage in German culture² there was but one logical alternative: either to make the schools mere organs of instruction, rather than of an education influencing both mind and character; or else, since that policy is generally rejected by German teachers, to give up the idea of a uniform system of public education, and supply separate schools for Protestants, Catholics, and unbelievers. Naturally the teachers are far from satisfied with this result of a revolution which many of them greeted as the opening of an era of great paedagogical reforms. But they themselves are partly to blame for the disappointing outcome, since, by agitating at first for schools without religious instruction, and then for religious instruction independent of the churches, they caused religious people to distrust the spirit of the new state and the training to be furnished by its schools.

On the whole the churches may be well satisfied with the constitution. In some states, to be sure, where the radical parties are in the majority, the constitution will be interpreted in a manner as unfriendly to the churches as possible. But if the general condition of the country remains at all orderly, and Bolshevism does not get the upper hand, all the German governments will proceed very cautiously with the separation of church and state, and will avoid every appearance of injustice to the churches. In the past two years they have learned that nothing serves to strengthen counter-revolution so much as injustice of that sort. Moreover, the elections of the summer of 1920 have returned a majority friendly to the church in the national as well as in many state parliaments. In view, however, of the fluctuating value of money, the immense debt of the nation — the whole desperate situation, in which there seems no prospect of escape from starvation and economic ruin — the definite solution of these problems, especially those relating to financial support and school reform, will probably be delayed for a considerable time.

Americans may think it strange that, since the German nation undertakes the separation of church and state at all, it should content itself with half-way measures. Yet there can

² See my former article, page 104.

be no question that that is in fact what German conditions demand. Here, where we have, not many denominations, but only two great churches, which have been connected with the several states for centuries, and have rendered them immeasurable moral and spiritual service; where the government has always promoted and regulated all the agencies of culture; where private initiative is less developed than is reliance on the government — here complete separation of church and state, with the churches transformed into mere private associations, would be a revolutionary step, equally detrimental to church and state. I may add, in this connection, that if our enemies should adopt a more reasonable attitude, and moderate their oppressive terms so that we may live, the churches in their new relation to the states may still be of invaluable service to the nation; whereas, if the present unreasonable attitude persists, chaos will certainly result, in which, as in Russia, the churches also will be engulfed. In that event, the moral as well as the material ruin of Germany will be sealed.

As the German churches proved stronger externally than either enemies or friends had believed, so also internally. During the war the churches had exposed themselves to much criticism and condemnation. Many who were tired of war and the suffering it entailed blamed the churches for encouraging the people to persevere to the point of victory. Only a few of the clergy sided with the pacifists. Most of them, taking into account the state of mind of our enemies, saw no chance of arriving at a mutual understanding. But many people were finally convinced of the soundness of that judgment only by the terms of the armistice and the peace of Versailles. The result was great dissatisfaction with the churches, which, instead of promoting peace, fanned the flames of war and blessed its weapons. On the other hand, to thousands the church became their truest friend and comforter in the great distress. At the outbreak of the war, the masses flocked to the churches as never before. It is true that the great hopes which were entertained of a revival of religion because of the war quickly vanished; the longer the war lasted, the more the life of the church tended to return to normal. Indeed, war showed its

usual effects in the impairment of morality and good custom. Nevertheless, the church reared itself a monument in thousands of hearts by its great work of help and comfort for the wounded, by its material and spiritual assistance of the lonely and the suffering, by its letters, bibles, and religious tracts sent to soldiers and prisoners of war. And when the sad end of the war was followed by the revolution, those who saw in it, not the dawn of a new time, but the ruin of all they had cherished, turned again to the churches in great numbers, the middle-classes in particular, who had always been very friendly. Spiritually, then, as well as externally, the churches remain a living power. Only the peasants, formerly their most loyal adherents, have in part become disaffected. For them the war involved a great spiritual crisis. On the one hand, they have become rich as never before, and mammonism has, in the case of some, destroyed their interest in spiritual things; on the other, in the great changes wrought by the war, many good old customs have been abandoned, and the mingling of peasant soldiers with men of other vocations has had unfortunate results. Then too, the state regulation of business has embittered the peasants and set them against all agencies of public order. Hence in many localities, and especially among those who took part in the war, the church and religion have suffered serious losses. But in general the peasants have remained loyal to the churches.

One element in the situation is especially gratifying. Most people were of the opinion that a split between conservatives and liberals within the Protestant church was inevitable when once the state ceased to hold them together. This opinion has proved mistaken. To be sure, some of the conservatives, when the new church was being organized, did insist that a rigid creed was the most important requisite; that the state and the consistories appointed by it had wrongfully tolerated "unbelievers" (i.e. adherents of modern theology) as ministers; and that the situation must be cleared. That view, however, was opposed not only by the liberals, but also by many conservatives, as well as some pietists. Professors Schmitz and Heim at Münster, and another leader of the pietists, Michaelis, main-

tained that so long as the orthodox were allowed freedom to work, they ought not to leave or divide the church, which as a united "Volkskirche" offers unrivalled opportunities for spreading the gospel among the masses. Up to the present, therefore, the unity of the old church has been preserved in all the states, and the great evil which most people apprehended in the event of the separation of church and state has been avoided. Special credit is due the liberals, who, in this time of distress as already during the war, refrained from every form of propaganda in behalf of their own views, worked solely for the "Volkskirche," and occupied the front rank in the fight against irreligion and the enemies of Christianity.

A very difficult task was the adoption of new constitutions for the churches. By the abdication of the sovereigns, the state churches had at one stroke been deprived of their heads, and the church authorities (consistories) were without legal standing. Nor did the general synods, which supplemented the consistories in the work of church-government, seem sufficiently representative of the membership of the church, since they had not been elected directly by the members, but the district synods had sent delegates to the provincial synods, and these in turn had sent their delegates to the general synods. Now that the state gave a vote to every man and woman of twenty, and sovereign national assemblies were engaged in drafting state constitutions on the basis of such universal suffrage, the existing synods seemed hardly qualified to determine the new constitution of the churches. In southern Germany, in Württemberg and Baden, the church authorities quickly hit upon the proper course. The existing synods ordered elections for constituent synods on the basis of universal direct suffrage; and those constituent synods in turn framed the constitutions of the churches. By these the entire legislative power was left in the hands of the newly-elected synods, while the administrative power was intrusted to church-presidents chosen by the synods and consistories nominated by the church-presidents. In Prussia, however, serious difficulties arose. The old general synod flatly refused to summon a constituent synod to be elected by universal suffrage. It cannot be denied that in a

"Volkskirche," of which even the enemies of religion are nominal members, universal suffrage is of doubtful value; if the socialist masses exercised their right to vote, the church in some states might come entirely into their hands, that is, into the hands of materialists and unbelievers. But while for this reason the synods of the northern states, notably that of Prussia, refused to yield to the democratic tendencies of the time, the new Prussian government, which, so long as the separation was not consummated, continued to hold supreme power in the church, insisted that the general synod grant universal suffrage for the election of a constituent synod. This conflict, which created much excitement in Prussia, has thus far prevented the assembling of a constituent synod in the leading German state, although the government and the synod have recently agreed upon a compromise.

On the whole, in Prussia as in the other states, the constitution of the church will hereafter be much more democratic. In all the states, the supreme power will be lodged in synods, which in most of the states (presumably in Prussia also) will consist of one-third ministers and two-thirds laymen. Women will have the vote in all Protestant churches. The influence of the individual parish in the appointment of its minister will be much increased. Indeed, if a minority of the members of a parish are dissatisfied with the minister's theology, they will under certain conditions be permitted to hold services of their own within the parish. But on the whole, the congregational element in German churches will be small even in the future; the church-presidents, generally elected for life, and the consistories nominated by them, will guard the churches against the vacillations caused by changing majorities.

Just as the individual state governments have, as the result of the revolution, lost some of their importance in comparison with the national government, so the prevailing tendency toward centralization has brought about the convocation of the first German "Kirchentag" (Church Congress). In the past, for the conduct of the common affairs of the churches, such as the representation of Protestantism over against Catholicism, the care of Germans abroad, etc., there existed only a

committee composed of delegates from the various consistories. Now, after thorough preparation, a Church Congress representing all German Protestants met for the first time in September 1919 at Dresden. Consistories, synods, theological parties, missionary societies, and Christian associations, sent their delegates. This assembly represented and disclosed great difference of opinion, theological, political, and social. Nevertheless, at a time when the new states and the spirit of the age tended to ignore both church and religion, it furnished a remarkable demonstration of strength and solidarity, and received a good deal of public notice. The "Kirchentag" is to be a regular institution, meeting if possible every year, not with the purpose of creating a "Reichskirche," or uniform national church, but merely to constitute a league of the various Protestant German churches, which for the rest will remain independent of each other, especially in matters of creed and doctrine. The common interests of German Protestantism will be promoted and defended, whether against the state, Catholicism, or unbelievers, through this "Kirchentag." Its first session was closed with the adoption of several very important declarations: an address to the Protestants of Germany regarding the humiliating impeachment of the Emperor and the detention of our prisoners of war; another to the Protestants in the lost provinces of Alsace, Poland, West Prussia, and Danzig; and a statement regarding the German foreign missions, which have been ruthlessly destroyed by our enemies.

How the theological differences will develop no one can foresee. Under the new democratic system, which through its recurring elections exposes theological differences to the discussion of laymen as never before, dissensions will certainly increase. The settlement of such controversies by governmental consistories has ceased. It is not certain that division can be permanently prevented. Possibly the orthodox party will secede in churches where the elections result in favor of the liberals. Thus far the elections have resulted to a surprising extent in favor of the conservatives, many of the liberals and all the socialists having kept away from the polls. Meanwhile, their common enemies, Rome, unbelief, and immorality,

strengthened by war and revolution, will continue to present great common tasks and impel the various parties to keep together. The provision of special services for the benefit of a dissenting minority within the parish is an attempt to satisfy scruples of conscience and thus prevent secession.

Like all other sciences in Germany, theology faces hard times. Our impoverished country cannot afford the ordinary instruments of science. Already the printing of scientific books and papers has become well-nigh impossible, and so has the purchase of scientific books by students and ministers. Assuredly not Germany only, but the rest of the world as well, will be seriously injured by this starving of German scholarship.

A strange element in the new relation of church and state is the fact that the theological faculties remain institutions of the state, the states, not the churches, appointing their professors. But this should not be matter of regret; the selection of the ablest scholars and the objectivity of scientific research is better guaranteed by the state than by the majorities of synods. On the other hand, the churches will be able to supplement the education furnished at the universities by maintaining, as some of them have in the past, seminaries of their own, to which candidates for the ministry may repair for training in practical work after leaving the university.

More lamentable even than the state of theology is that of the benevolent Christian organizations, particularly the numerous "innere Mission" societies, which are devoted to the care of the sick and the infirm, work among prisoners and outcasts, the fight against alcoholism and immorality, and to evangelical missions. All these organizations are now confronted with such great deficits that their maintenance is extremely problematical. One of the saddest effects of our defeat is the ruin of our works of charity.

Internally, the character of the German churches seems about to change in one respect, as a necessary consequence of the separation of church and state. In the article of 1910 I pointed out that the German churches, though differing from each other in many points, are all of a decidedly Lutheran type, in the sense that they emphasize the piety of the heart which is gen-

erated by the "Word," and give less attention to institutional religion or the element of religious fellowship. I said then that this was well enough so long as state, education, and public opinion in Germany were essentially Christian, but that the growing neglect of the institutional church was endangering the cause of religion. Now that the state and public opinion have adopted a distinctly neutral attitude towards religion, the judgment I expressed seems truer than ever, and indeed its truth is generally recognized. "The church of the past was a church of sacrament, the church of the present is a church of the word, *the church of the future must be a church of fellowship*," said a prominent minister at the evangelical "Gemeindetag" at Leipzig in May 1920. The movement for building up a well-organized, rich, and vigorous parish life, with greater activity on the part of the laity, has been quickened. New organizations have come into being, such as the "Volkskirchenbünde" and "volkskirchliche Laienbünde." These associations were first called into existence by the situation in which the churches found themselves after the revolution, and the urgent need of demonstrations backed by numerous signatures; but they soon became centres of parish work and lay activity. The future of the Protestant church in Germany will depend very largely upon its success in putting an end to the inveterate passivity of the laity, and to the neglect of religious institutions as nurseries of Christian fellowship; and in uniting the real Christians within the great "Volkskirche" into small but active circles, which shall maintain a healthy parish life and effectively champion the cause of the churches before the general public.

In concluding this chapter on the position of the churches in Germany after the war, we may point out that, contrary to the expectation of the utopians who brought about the revolution, the Catholic church has been very greatly strengthened. By the separation of church and state, that church lost nothing but supervision and restrictions, while retaining its leaders. On the other hand, it gained unlimited freedom for monasteries, religious orders, and theological seminaries, the election of bishops, and a papal nuncio at Berlin. In the national, as well

as in many state governments, the Catholic (Centre) party is of decisive importance. The Imperial chancellor, Fehrenbach, belongs to that party. For the present, by reason of the prevailing distress and their common struggle against the atheistic policy of the revolutionists, peace between Protestants and Catholics has been fairly well preserved; but in the future, the increased power of Rome in Germany will provoke serious contests between the two bodies; and it is to be feared that, although in the majority, the disunited Protestants will prove the weaker party.

II

We have found the state of the church after the war, though by no means free from danger, yet not entirely unsatisfactory. The church has proved far too strong to be swept away by the forces of culture, in spite of the fact that the latter have come to be practically independent. The outlook becomes more serious when we turn to the second part of our survey: the temper of the outsiders and their relation to religion and the churches. This subject must be considered under two aspects: *First*, the relations of the Protestant church and the German working class, and *Second*, the relations of the Protestant church and German culture. Both these problems, it will be recalled, proved complicated in our article of 1910. The first appeared quite insoluble for the immediate future; the second seemed less difficult, since German culture, at least theoretically, was beginning to turn from naturalism to idealism, and hence was adopting a more sympathetic attitude, not indeed to the church, but at least to religion. In both respects the situation since the war and the revolution has not materially changed, although both questions have grown more acute for both sides — the working class and the educated class on the one side, and the church on the other.

We may begin with the working class, the vast majority of whom are organized into socialist parties. As a result of the war and the revolution, our prediction of 1910 has been fulfilled: the moderate and radical socialists have separated. The Moderate Socialists have been in control of the govern-

ment of Germany for the past eighteen months, and have therefore been compelled to do a certain amount of constructive work. In the course of their endeavours, the best of them have come to recognize that socialism made a serious mistake in teaching the masses to antagonize all existing institutions, and to base their hope of future welfare upon economic revolution alone, to the neglect of moral agencies. Some of their leaders have confessed as much. Others, like the Prussian Kultusminister, Haenisch, have explicitly acknowledged the moral achievements of the church, especially in the education of the masses. Still others, such as Schulz, Meerfeld, and Keil, have gone so far as to urge socialists who have not left the church to take an active part in its affairs, now that it is no longer in the service of a capitalistic and militaristic state.

Nevertheless, it can scarcely be affirmed, even of the moderate socialists, that they have actually drawn nearer to the church. It is true that, being compelled to do constructive work instead of contenting themselves with mere opposition, the moderate socialists have begun to adopt a more objective attitude also towards the church. Their press is beginning to show some regard for their own doctrine that religion is a private affair, and to refrain from deliberate attacks on religion and the churches. But as yet there is nothing like a positive inclination of moderate socialists toward the church or even toward religion. For one thing, the antipacifist position of the churches during the war had the effect of increasing the antagonism of many of them; while the problem of divine government in connection with the war furnished too tempting material for their scoffing. Moreover, since the revolution, workingmen are so taken up with urgent economic, trade-unionist, and political questions, that few of them have time or interest for religious subjects and the revision of their ideas concerning the church. Even the fact that some ministers have gone over to the socialist party has failed to bring more than a very few socialist workmen into touch with the life and work of the church.

More sinister is the attitude of the Independent Socialists ("Unabhängige Sozialisten," "Kommunisten"). In ever increasing numbers the majority of wage-earners not only re-

fused to follow their leaders into constructive work, but, persisting in the old attitude of hatred and opposition, abandoned the socialist party and went over to the Bolsheviks, in wrath and disappointment at the failure of the revolution to bring about the promised paradise. Among such the animosity toward the churches, now independent of the state, has remained as strong as that formerly directed against the established churches. The press of these radical socialists preaches Marxian materialism, according to which all churches are merely a means to stultify the masses and support capitalism. The surprising energy exhibited by the churches in the crisis led to a new movement to bring about secession from the church *en masse*. But in spite of this animosity, thus far only a small fraction of the workmen have left the church, about one half of one per cent of the population. Most wage-earners paid no church taxes anyhow; and their religious habits, together with the influence of their wives and children, have kept them from withdrawing.

Between 1912 and 1914, when for the first time such a movement for a general secession from the church was started by radical socialists like Hoffmann and Liebknecht, about 100,000 working-men left the churches. This movement subsided, however, when the war broke out. But after the great disappointments of 1918, when even the revolution failed to break the influence of the church, and the radical attitude of the revolutionists toward the churches actually turned many, especially women, into anti-revolutionists, the agitation for secession was resumed. Organizations such as the "Freethinkers," the "Central Union of Proletarian Freethinkers," the "Committee of the Unbelievers" are eagerly at work at the present time. And more favorable to their cause than all their agitation is the fact that many wage-earners, on account of their increased wages, must now pay church taxes. Consequently, since the close of the war another 100,000 (including women and children) have left the churches. When one considers, however, that at the last election there were twelve million socialist votes, those numbers are seen to be quite insignificant. Moreover, the withdrawal of children from the religious instruction

furnished in the public schools, and still more the establishment of non-religious schools (in accordance with articles 146 and 149 of the national constitution) proceed with surprising slowness, in spite of the continued agitation, especially on the part of socialist teachers. By far the greater number of children, even in the predominantly proletarian schools of the large cities, still attend the classes in religion. Nevertheless, the movement for secession from the church seems bound to increase. From the point of view of religion, it may not be wholly undesirable that people who reject religion in fact should not continue to profess it in name. But the realization of the ideal of a "Volkskirche" is seriously endangered by that movement.

More serious than the defections from the church is the fact that the majority of workingmen, even after the disappointments of the revolution, still fail to perceive that mere economic changes, without the birth of a new spirit, cannot create a paradise. The war, in Germany as in other countries, has thrown the moral standards of many into confusion; and the revolution has still further undermined respect for authority and made men critical of inherited institutions. To be sure, many radical leaders recognize that we need a new spirit if we are to emerge from our misery into better things. There are many to whom their Bolshevism is itself a new religion for which they would gladly give their lives, and who struggle with pure idealism for the anticipated salvation of the future. We must admit, also, that the churches, whose adherents belong mostly to the conservative political parties from which working men keep aloof, often cling too closely to the conservative side of political and economic questions, and show too little appreciation of the material and moral condition of the working class. But even where clergymen have turned to the radical parties — and some have gone very far, witness the so called "religiös-social" movement, with its organ, "Das neue Werk," which has adopted the radical socialism and pacifism of Swiss theologians³ — the effect in winning socialists for church and

³ One of them, Dr. Hartmann of Solingen, openly addressed an ultimatum to the church, threatening to lead a secession *en masse* himself if it did not reform in the direction of democratic socialism and radical pacifism.

religion has been negligible. Long-continued socialist agitation has rendered the heart of the working class utterly irresponsible to the influence of the church and the Christian religion. The situation is very serious — no small part of the seriousness of Germany's future. Either we shall overcome the fanatical mutual distrust of the classes in Germany, and in particular free the working class from its materialistic delusion and hostility to religion, which, I am convinced, is possible only through an awakening of the spirit of the love of Jesus in both upper and lower classes; or else Germany, like Russia, will perish together with its churches and its working class. Whether the "Volkskirche" in its traditional form will ever be able to win back the workingmen in Germany must be regarded as doubtful. Rather we may hope that in the distress which all of us, and not least our working-men, are now facing, a prophet may rise from the working class itself, to preach the gospel of Christ in a new tongue and devise new forms of fellowship for a re-awakened Christian faith.

The outlook is less discouraging, as was pointed out ten years ago, when we come to the second question, the relations of the church and culture, or the church and the educated classes. German culture, we saw, was already turning from the realistic-naturalistic thought of the second half of the nineteenth century to a new idealism. Certainly, the movement in that direction has made progress during the past ten years. The war and the revolution have contributed to the same result. Many are ready to admit that the old realistic culture went bankrupt in the war; that the much esteemed technical sciences celebrated their greatest triumph in the invention of the most terrible instruments of slaughter; that imperialistic politics led the nation to disaster; and that our splendid economic development proved one of the main causes of the war. The idea that only a new spirit of devotion, sacrifice, and sincerity can save us from the Russian chaos, that our external culture must give way to a new inwardness, is widely prevalent among educated men and women. Moreover, the dread of Bolshevism has caused many to look to the church as the defender of order and authority. The shallow mockery of

all religion and contempt of the church, which for a long time were common among the educated classes, have to a great extent disappeared. In the distress wrought by the war, and in the anxiety of the revolution, many educated people have found their way back to the churches. The movement for secession, inaugurated by professors of natural science like Hackel and Ostwald, makes very little progress among the educated. Its adherents are mainly teachers, among whom the old naturalistic radicalism, with its accompanying hostility to the church, continues to flourish. Not only the conservatives, but the liberal and democratic parties as well, proved friendly to the church on the issue of its separation from the state, and labored together for the maintenance of religious instruction in the schools.

But over against these gratifying facts we must set others not so encouraging. Simultaneously with the growth of theoretical idealism, the war, the universal distress, and state regulation of business, have resulted in a considerable degree of practical materialism, sensuality, and covetousness even among the educated. The struggle for existence, political and economic, has in many cases submerged the higher interests. And where this has not happened, and where educated people, especially among the young, are looking for a new idealism, they are for the most part still very far from the religion of the Christian church. Some, unmindful of history, turn to individualistic mysticism. Others are enticed by Christian Science and similar movements. In particular, the "spiritual science" (*Geisteswissenschaft*), or theosophy, of Dr. Rudolf Steiner has made considerable headway among the educated. Precisely this shows the remarkable change which has come about within the last twenty years. The same educated men who then held up natural science as the final solution of the riddles of the universe, now ally themselves with the mystical community of Rudolf Steiner, believe in a universe full of ghosts and angels, study their own "etherial body" and "astral body," and speculate on the question who they were in a former stage of existence. Even some Protestant theologians have been won over to these beliefs. Steiner himself insists that his

aim is not to combat, but to deepen and intensify Christian faith; that he is engaged in a common struggle with the churches against the great enemy of all genuine civilization, materialism. As an ally in this struggle, the church may perhaps welcome him; but it is to be feared that, with the inevitable disappointments of this "spiritual science," people will be drawn away from genuine religion and landed in abstruse and empty speculation.

So the problem of the "Protestant Church and German Culture," is no nearer solution today than it was ten years ago. In spite of the fact that the last few years have seemed to force them together, they still remain apart. No doubt the church has not been without fault. It has often been too inflexible, too rigid, too little mindful of the realities, too much engrossed with the poor in spirit. On the other hand, not a few people of education eagerly await the rise of some new prophet, some creative genius, who, amid the present confusion of thought and the crumbling of foundations, shall point a new way and proclaim the old gospel in new language. May the bitter and fearful period which by the will of God we face, and which threatens to surpass in incalculable misery all that has been experienced in the past, raise up for us such a man! Assuredly he would prove a blessing, not only to Germany, but likewise to the other nations, which are beset with the same confusion and cherish the same longing for new ideas and a new spiritual leader.

THE TOMBS OF PETER AND PAUL
AD CATACUMBAS

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RECENT archaeological discoveries have contributed in many ways to enrich our knowledge of the early periods of Christian history. It cannot be denied that the results of these investigations as a whole have given testimony in favor of the conservative historical tradition, rather than of the aggressive criticism of the last century. In many cases archaeological evidence has verified or confirmed traditions to which historical criticism had denied any positive value, and solved what had been regarded as insoluble problems. Where literary evidence was lacking or inconclusive, archaeology and ancient liturgy have furnished the historians of the early centuries of the Church new sources of knowledge of inestimable value.

A striking illustration of this is found in a recent book, "Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und archaeologische Studien" (Bonn, 1915), in which Professor H. Lietzmann collects and analyzes a body of liturgical and archaeological evidence relating to the tombs of Peter and of Paul in Rome, and comes to the conclusion that the old Roman tradition which venerates Peter's grave at the Vatican and that of Paul on the Ostian Way is historically sound, and that no serious objection can be raised against it. Coming from a well known Protestant scholar, this new and very valuable contribution to the *vexata quaestio* was warmly welcomed by eminent Catholic writers. "Was den Hauptteil des Buches angeht, so müssen wir Katholiken dem Verfasser geradezu dankbar sein. Wir hätten die Katholische Tradition nicht besser verteidigen können, als er es getan hat," says Rauschen (*Theologische Revue*, 1916, pp. 11 f.); and Professor Buonaiuti, of Rome, remarks that "fair play in scientific research has effectively overcome all confessional bias" (*Religio*, 1920, p. 78). Lietzmann's work did not pass unnoticed in America. Professor W. W. Rockwell

made a detailed survey of it in the *American Journal of Theology* (1918, pp. 113-124), and Professor Kirsopp Lake called to it the attention of the readers of the *American Historical Review* (April 1920, p. 483). But the importance of the question itself, and the fact that since the publication of Lietzmann's book, further excavations under the Basilica of St. Sebastian ad Catacumbas in Rome have supplied new and important material, make necessary a new survey and discussion of the whole problem.¹*

Lietzmann's efforts are directed towards tracing the tradition of the Apostolic tombs in Rome as far back as the third century, so as to be able to connect it with the well known statement of Gaius (about 200 A.D.) quoted by Eusebius: Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. Ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ὡστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (H. E. ii. 25, 7), "I can show the trophies of the apostles. Go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, and thou wilt find the trophies of the founders of this church." This statement is not decisive, it leaves room for doubt; but if we succeed in obtaining satisfactory evidence from other sources that about the middle of the third century the sites at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way where today stand the two great Basilicas were venerated as being the resting places of the bodies of Peter and Paul — so Lietzmann's argument seems to run — we must conclude that the tradition is genuine; the silence of all the literary sources from ca. 64 to 200 is regrettable, but does not invalidate the tradition, because there is to be put on the other side the absence of any rival claims in behalf of other cities, and positive archaeological evidence.

"If the graves shown about the year 200 had been fictitious, the error or fraud must have occurred by 170 at the latest. By that time, however, the custom of Christian burial in the catacombs was fully developed. One who was careless or meant to deceive would be likely to 'find' the remains in the catacombs, near those of other Christians, where Christian sentiment was dominant, where Christian worship was easy. The relics might have been 'invented' lying side by side. The ancient and unanimous tradition, however, finds the graves of Peter and Paul widely separated, hard by well-

* See Notes at the end of this article, pp. 87-94.

travelled roads, each alone in the midst of heathen graves. The natural explanation is that the ancient sites are genuine: that beneath the Hall of the Three Emperors there actually rest the remains of Paul and under the mighty dome of Bramante those of Peter.”²

Whatever may be thought of the probative value of this argument, so well presented by Lietzmann, it is undeniable that if we find a sound basis for the Roman tradition, so that the *τρόπαια* named by Gaius must really be identified with the tombs of the Apostles, we may assume that a definite step has been made towards the final historical solution of this problem.

The most important source of information about this tradition is found in the ancient Roman liturgy. The oldest *Feriale* of the church of Rome known to us, the so-called Philocalian Calendar,³ mentions two liturgical commemorations of the Apostles. The first is given under the 22d of February (*VIII Kal. Martias. Natale Petri de Cathedra*), and is intended to be a commemoration of the beginning of the episcopate or the apostolate of Peter. Its institution goes back to the first half of the fourth century. “The choice of the day,” says Duchesne, whose conclusions are followed by Lietzmann, “was not suggested by any Christian tradition. In the ancient calendar of pagan Rome the 22d of February was devoted to the celebration of a festival (*Caristia*, or *Cara Cognatio*), popular above all others, in memory of the dead of each family. The observance of this festival and the participation in its ceremonies were considered as incompatible with the profession of a Christian, but it was very difficult to uproot such ancient and cherished habits. It was doubtless to meet this difficulty that the Christian festival of the 22d of February was instituted.”⁴ This festival arose too late to shed any fresh light on the question of Peter’s pontificate in Rome.⁵

The second commemoration of Peter mentioned in the Philocalian Calendar, is that of the 29th of June, which is common to both Peter and Paul: *III Kal. Iul. Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense. Tusco et Basso Cons.* The consular date corresponds to the year 258. “Evidently we have here, not the anniversary of the martyrdom of either of the apostles, or of

them both together, but merely the commemoration of the translation of their relics to the place called *ad Catacumbas*, at the third milestone on the Appian Way.”⁶ This is the interpretation given to the passage of the Feriale by Duchesne and commonly accepted by historians. Lietzmann deals at length with this point, and fortifies Duchesne’s theory by pointing out that in the Oriental martyrologies the festival of June 29 is ignored, while recourse was made to an artificial liturgical construction in assigning the commemoration of Peter and Paul to December 28.

If this interpretation of the Philocalian text is right, we have an historical datum of the greatest importance for the whole question in the fact that in the year 258 a liturgical commemoration was instituted for the temporary translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul from their resting places at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way to the site *ad Catacumbas* on the Appian Way. If this translation is proved to have happened, we have in it the connecting link with Gaius’s *τρόπαια*, and the whole Roman tradition of the apostolic tombs may be considered as resting on a secure historical foundation. This is the pivot of the whole situation. To make the case stronger, just as Lietzmann’s book was ready for publication, fresh excavations within the basilica *ad Catacumbas* brought to light a new and apparently irrefragable evidence that as early as the latter part of the third century the memory of Peter and Paul was an object of special cult in that place. The author was thus able to add to his book a new chapter (pp. 116–121) and an appendix (pp. 180–183) dealing with this opportune archaeological evidence, although on account of the lack of more complete information he gave to some important details of the new discoveries an entirely erroneous interpretation. The excavations, interrupted in May 1916, were resumed for a short period in 1917, and then again in 1919, with very important results. In the light of the new data, the great majority of the Roman archaeologists⁷ think that the question has been finally settled, and that the translation of the Apostles *ad Catacumbas* in the year 258 or even earlier is an established historical fact. Let us see whether such a conclusion is warranted by the docu-

mentary evidence on which rests the assumption of the translation ad Catacumbas, and by the archaeological evidence which is supposed to complete and to make irrefragable the testimony of the documents.

The first explicit mention of the fact that the bodies of Peter and Paul were once sheltered *ad Catacumbas* is found in the *Liber Pontificalis*. In the life of Pope Cornelius (251–253) it is said that the pope, yielding to the instances of the pious lady Lucina, restored Peter's body to the Vatican *iuxta locum quo crucifixus est*, while Lucina herself assumed the task of taking back the body of Paul to the site on the Via Ostiensis, *iuxta locum quo decollatus est*.⁸ This part of the *Liber Pontificalis* was compiled with the use of older documents, at the beginning of the sixth century; but the whole narrative of the translation is admittedly of a legendary character. If the bodies were restored to the old places in 251–253, the entire theory based on the consular date (258) in the *Feriale* would break down.

The tradition appears more definite, and with a great wealth of detail, in the apocryphal *Passiones* of the two Apostles, which probably were written about the middle of the fifth century. The Latin *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* relates that some Greek Christians, shortly after the death of the Apostles, made an attempt to steal their bodies and take them to the East, but were prevented by an earthquake and other miraculous occurrences from going farther than the site ad Catacumbas, on the Appian Way, where the Romans stopped the robbers, "*et ibi custodita sunt corpora anno uno et mensibus septem, quousque fabricarentur loca in quibus fuerunt posita corpora eorum.*"⁹ Similar is the narrative in the *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου* and in the *Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*; ¹⁰ the latter, however, affirms that the bodies remained ad Catacumbas only one year and six months, instead of seven.

A different story is told in the *Passio Syriaca* of the martyr Sharbil.¹¹ According to it the Praetor of Rome, in the times of Pope Fabianus (236–250), ordered all foreigners living in Rome

to leave the city. The Oriental Christians asked from the Praetor permission to take their dead with them, which the Praetor granted; whereupon they set about removing the bodies of Peter and Paul. When the Romans objected to such a removal, the Orientals replied: "Learn and see that Simon, who is called Kephas, is of Bethsaida in Galilee, and that the Apostle Paul is of Tarsus in Cilicia." So the Romans let them take the bodies; but while they were removing them, a great earthquake threw the city into a panic, and not only were the bodies laid down in their places again, but the whole city was converted to the Christian religion.

The legendary acts of St. Sebastian, also mention the place *ad Catacumbas iuxta vestigia Apostolorum*, and the fifth century *Acta Quirini* say of the same place, "*ubi aliquando iacuerunt*," (*sc.* the Apostles). Finally, in the life of pope Damasus in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Cononian abridgement of the year 687) it is said that Damasus "*dedicavit Platomum in Catacumbas ubi corpora Petri et Pauli apostolorum iacuerunt, quam et versibus exornavit*." This statement is correct, as concerns what Damasus did, but the clause *ubi corpora . . . iacuerunt*, in a document compiled in the late seventh century, may be dependent on the legend and cannot be safely attributed to the compiler's source. This point will be made more clear when we come to deal with Damasus's inscription.

Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), in a letter to the empress Constantina, tells the story of the robbery attempted by the Greeks ¹² and thus gave to the legend the consecration of his authority. The *Notitiae* and the *Itineraria* of the Middle Ages do not fail to mention that *ad Catacumbas olim requieverunt Apostolorum corpora*,¹³ thus perpetuating the tradition, which survived down to the modern times. According to these mediaeval documents, however, the bodies of the Apostles remained *ad Catacumbas* for a much longer period, that is to say forty years,^{13a} and in others as much as 252 years.^{13b}

It is evident, therefore, that the first explicit mention of such a tradition appears only in documents which in the best case are not older than the fifth century, and by common acknowledgment are of a legendary character, and furthermore

give contradictory accounts about the time, the motives, and the circumstances of the assumed translation of the bodies of the Apostles. The only conclusion that can properly be drawn from these stories is that, about the middle of the fifth century, the tradition connecting the site ad Catacumbas with a temporary tomb of Peter and Paul, was already in existence. If this tradition had no other support than these legends, it could be dismissed with a few words; but there is another series of documentary sources, much older and more trustworthy, which although they do not make explicit mention of the translation ad Catacumbas, may be construed and interpreted as implicitly containing a positive statement about it.

And first, the liturgical commemoration of the Apostles ad Catacumbas. The passage of the Philocalian Calendar quoted above puzzling as it is, leaves no doubt that the commemoration of the Apostles on the 29th of June was already old when Philocalus compiled his Chronography. In effect, this date as we have already noticed, was not that of the martyrdom of either Peter or Paul, and yet when Philocalus copied the list of the *Depositio Martyrum* in his Chronography, the 29th of June was considered in Rome as being truly the *dies natalis* of the Apostles. This implies that the original meaning of the commemoration was already forgotten, and therefore that the commemoration itself had been instituted long before the times of Philocalus. The date of 258 (Tusco et Basso Cons.), if it is not a mistake, and has any meaning at all, can only be that of the institution of this commemoration ad Catacumbas.¹⁴

But according to the text of the *Feriale* only Peter was commemorated ad Catacumbas, while Paul's commemoration was held in the traditional place on the Ostian way — *Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense*. This is a serious difficulty, because it is impossible to admit that between 336 and 354, when the two redactions of the Chronography were made, Peter was commemorated only ad Catacumbas and not at the Vatican. Moreover, there is another source, in which we find a different text, viz. the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which says: *III Kal. Jul. Romae Via Aurelia Natale Sanctorum Apostolorum*

Petri et Pauli. Petri in Vaticano Via Aurelia. Pauli vero in Via Ostiensi. Utriumque in Catacumbas. Passi sub Nerone. Basso et Tusco Consulibus. The Hieronymianum was compiled in Southern Gaul, probably in Auxerre, between the years 592 and 600, by putting together partial lists belonging to various churches. One of the most important sources of the compiler was an old Roman list, or local martyrology, of which we find traces in the latter part of the fourth century,¹⁵ so that we may assume with a measure of certainty that the passage above quoted, stood in a Roman martyrology which must have been in use in Rome, perhaps in the time of Philocalus, or at least only a few years later. From this passage we gather that in the latter part of the fourth century the *natale* of the Apostles was celebrated in Rome on June 29 in three different places, that of Peter at the Vatican, that of Paul on the Ostian way, and of both ad Catacumbas. The date of their martyrdom is given rightly under Nero. The consular date corresponding to the year 258 is also added, evidently from the old *Feriale*, but without any explanation.

It was thought that the divergence between the *Feriale* and the Hieronymianum could be explained by supposing that when the first redaction of the Philocalian was made the body of Paul had already been restored to the site on the Ostian way, in the newly built basilica, and therefore his commemoration also returned to the old place,¹⁶ whereas Peter's body was still ad Catacumbas, perhaps because the Vatican basilica was not yet completed; when several years later, the Roman martyrology (source of the Hieronymianum) was compiled, the translation of Peter's body had also taken place, and the commemoration was held at the Vatican; the memory, however, of their temporary deposition ad Catacumbas was perpetuated by keeping up the commemoration of both in that place. The weak point of this theory lies in the fact that while we may admit that in 336 the Vatican basilica may have not been completed, and that Peter's commemoration consequently could be held only ad Catacumbas, it cannot be admitted that the same condition existed in 354 when Philocalus revised his Chronography. By that time the Vatican basilica was already open for wor-

ship, and we have evidence that the veneration of Peter's memory was there fully established. Philocalus, therefore, who was living in Rome and in the ecclesiastical circles, could not have failed to add to the *Feriale* the commemoration of Peter at the Vatican. That about that time the commemoration of the Apostles was celebrated in the three places mentioned by the Hieronymianum, we have a proof in an old hymn attributed to Ambrose of Milan, in which it is said that on the 29th of June

Trinis celebratur viis
festum sacrorum martyrum.¹⁷

We must infer that the text of Philocalus is perhaps mutilated and therefore unreliable — “il faut le sacrifier,” says Duchesne. The Hieronymianum becomes our best authority on this point. But apart from the late date of its compilation, we are familiar enough with the methods used by the compiler, and the instance of his duplication of the festival *de Cathedra* obliges us to be on guard. And if we must be distrustful of its express statements, much less is it permissible to rely upon it and draw further inferences from suspicious sources. In conclusion neither the *Feriale* nor the Hieronymianum affords either implicit or explicit evidence that a translation of the bodies of the Apostles ever took place in Rome: all that can be gathered from them is that at a certain time, perhaps after the middle of the third century, a commemoration of Peter was instituted ad Catacumbas, and that either at the same time or later a corresponding commemoration of Paul had been coupled with it. But there is no hint that the institution of this commemoration was due to a translation of the bodies of one or of both ad Catacumbas; on the contrary, this origin is implicitly excluded by the assumption that the 29th of June is the *dies natalis* of the Apostles. The date 258 given by the *Feriale* and reproduced in the Hieronymianum may be only a mistake; but in any case, it may be explained, as we shall see later, in a different way than by admitting a translation of the bodies. A more important literary source is Damasus' inscription mentioned in the passage already quoted of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Of this tablet only a small fragment has been found, but the text of the inscription

has been preserved by the old itineraria. According to the best reconstruction it read as follows:

Hic abitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes
 Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris
 Discipulos oriens misit quod sponte fatemur,
 Sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti
 Aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum.
 Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives.
 Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.

"Thou must know that formerly saints dwelt here, and their names, if thou wish to inquire, are those of Peter and Paul. We confess willingly that the Orient sent these disciples. By the merit of their blood (their martyrdom) they followed Christ to heaven, and reached the celestial refuge and the kingdom of the saints. Rome merited the privilege of defending them as being its citizens. Damasus relates these things in your praise, O new stars."

Damasus' poetical style in general is not notable for clearness; we must confess, however, that if this inscription appears to be an intricate puzzle, the fault is perhaps with the interpreters. It is assumed that in the first verse there is a clear statement (*habitasse prius*) that the Apostles had temporarily lodged in tombs ad Catacumbas, while in the antithesis of the third and sixth verses (*Oriens misit; Roma meruit defendere*) a no less clear allusion is discovered to the attempt of the Orientals to steal the bodies, and to the resistance of the Romans to this attempt.

There is no doubt that the inscription was so interpreted by the authors of the legends that flourished in the fifth century. Even a literary dependence may with much probability be recognized, as for instance in the passage of the *Passio* which says, "*Gaudete et exultate (o Romani), quia patronos magnos meruistis habere,*"^{17a} which evidently recalls the "*Roma meruit potius*" of Damasus. It might not be going too far to surmise that it was from such an interpretation of the inscription that the legend arose — it would not be the only case of legends which originated in misunderstanding of inscriptions finding their way into Christian hagiography. But if, forgetting the legend, we try to understand Damasus' awkward poem in the

light of the events of the time in which Damasus wrote it, we may find his inscription as clear as it must have been to his contemporaries.

The suggestion that the inscription may allude to the antagonistic attitude of the Eastern towards the Western Church, has been summarily dismissed as being out of the question. And yet I think that it is exactly what Damasus means by his antithesis, *Oriens misit — Roma meruit*. It must not be forgotten that it was in the pontificate of Damasus that a Council formally recognized the Church of Constantinople as standing on an equal footing with the Church of Rome. Bad feeling between the two great branches of Christianity had existed for long time. The Western Church had not forgotten that under the reign of Constantius it had been obliged to accept at Rimini the Arianizing theology of the eastern bishops who had the ear of the emperor, nor the violent measures taken against the recalcitrant western prelates. The West had learned to distrust the East, and these feelings played a great part in the whole history of that period. Damasus himself, under the influence of the intrigant Peter of Alexandria, made the disastrous error of alienating the sympathies of the theologians of the Cappadocian group, who were the staunchest supporters of orthodoxy, and were anxious to coöperate with Rome for the pacification of the Church.¹⁸

The situation was made still worse by the obstinacy with which Damasus in Rome and Ambrose in Milan insisted on recognizing as legitimate bishop of Antioch the intruder Paulinus, unlawfully ordained by Lucifer of Cagliari while passing through Antioch, against the legitimate bishop Meletius. The climax came at the Council of Constantinople (381). Thanks to the efforts of the Cappadocians and of their friends¹⁹ the theological formulations of the council were strictly orthodox; but on the other hand the Council did not hesitate to reject the claims of the West for Paulinus; nay it gave to Meletius, the bishop condemned by Rome and Milan, the presidency of the Council. It went still farther and after Meletius' death, which happened a few days later, refused to recognize Paulinus *pro bono pacis*, and had a new election held for the see of An-

tioch, emphasizing the fact that the East, would not brook the interference of the West in matter of episcopal elections or church discipline. And finally, it was the same Council that formulated the famous third Canon, attributing to the see of Constantinople, the New Rome, the same standing in the Church as the see of the Old Rome, to which was reserved nothing but an empty honorary precedence.

Now it was during these excited counciliar debates about Paulinus's case that some of the bishops uttered the famous remark, "After all Christ was born in the East," to which the pious bishop of Constantinople and new president of the Council, Gregory of Nazianzus, who was in favor of a more conciliatory policy, replied, "Yes, but it was because in the East it was easier to be crucified." ²⁰ That sentiments like those to which the bishops gave utterance at the council were very common among the people there, Gregory's own description leaves no doubt. Not only the young ones *τύρβη νέων*, but even the old bishops, *ἡ σέμνη γερονσία*, were like enraged hornets:

Ἄτακτα παφλάζουσιν ἢ σφικῶν δίκην
ἄττουσιν εἰθὺ τῶν προσώπων ἀθρόως.

Much more incensed must have been the common people, the *δῆμος κολοιῶν*, who were wont to take a more direct part in all religious issues than the western Christians. It is quite natural to suppose that they would boast also of the eastern nationality of Peter and Paul. A late echo of those popular expressions may be found in the *Passio Syriaca* quoted above, where to the remark of the Orientals, "Remember you Romans that Peter was born in Bethsaida and Paul in Tarsus," the discomfitted Roman had no reply. It would not be strange if Pope Damasus to counteract the impression that such claims might make upon his flock, and especially among the simple minded and ignorant, thought it advisable, now that they had been voiced even in a council, to take the opportunity of the dedication of the *Platomum*, to assert once more the rights of Rome. What Damasus says in effect is: "Yes, Peter and Paul were born in the East, you do not need to remind us of that (*sponte fatemur*), but it was here that they gave their blood, it was here that

they were reborn to the immortal life, and therefore Rome has the right to claim and defend them as its citizens."

We find ourselves on less firm ground in the interpretation of the first verse of Damasus's inscription: "*hic abitasse prius*." It cannot be denied that the verb *habitare* is found in the epigraphic terminology in the meaning of *to be buried*; Damasus himself in another inscription has it in this meaning.²¹ But it is not impossible that in the inscription ad Catacumbas the verb *habitare* may have been used in its primary meaning, 'to dwell,' of a living person. It is not only possible but very likely that in that place, which much later was called ad Catacumbas, and where during the first century stood a large villa whose substructions have been discovered under the basilica, Peter may have found a refuge while living in Rome. There are traces that such was the case. Professor Marucchi himself who stands *unguibus et rostris* for the translation of the Apostles ad Catacumbas, not only does not deny the possibility of such a connection, but, on the contrary, thinks that there must have been an old tradition linking Peter with that neighborhood on the Appian way, a tradition which would explain the choice of the place for the cemetery of Callistus and the legend of the *Quo Vadis*.²² The *habitasse prius* of Damasus may be an echo of this tradition which disappeared when it was superseded by that of the translation.^{22a}

That Peter only, and not Paul, would be thus originally connected with the site ad Catacumbas is not a valid objection. The old Feriale of the Roman Church does the same. Moreover, we know that the Roman tradition of the third and following century was for various reasons strongly inclined to couple the names of the two Apostles on all occasions. Were not their *dies natalis* assigned to the same day, although they were executed neither the same day nor the same year? Peter and Paul was already a binomial like Castor and Pollux, and it has been remarked that Damasus, when he invokes the Apostles as *nova sidera*, must have been thinking of the *lucida sidera*, the title given by Horace to the Dioscuri protectors of the pagan Rome.²³

In this connection it will be useful to pay attention to the

circumstances of Damasus' times. It was a time in which the cult of the martyrs was acquiring immense importance in the life of the Church. Searching for the concealed bodies of the martyrs of the various persecutions had become a favorite occupation of both bishops and laymen. Hundreds of relics of supposed martyrs were brought to light, and churches and chapels were erected in their honor.²⁴ In many cases the martyr himself would reveal in a dream the place of his grave. It was thus that Ambrose of Milan discovered the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius. Damasus himself, who spent a great deal of his energy in finding and restoring tombs of martyrs²⁵ seems to have received visions of this kind, like that which led him to the identification of the remains of the martyr Eutychius:

Nocte soporifera turbant insomnia mentem,
Ostendit latebra insontis quae membra teneret
Quaeritur, inventus colitur, foveat, omnia praestat.²⁶

It is easy to perceive that such a practice could not fail to lead to serious abuses. As early as the year 401 an African council found it necessary to forbid the erection of altars in places pointed out by visions: "*Quae per somnia et per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubique constituuntur altaria omnimode prohibentur.*" The *Memoriae Martyrum* were permitted only where there were bodies of real martyrs, or "*ubi origo alicuius habitationis, vel possessiomnis vel passionis, fidelissima origine traditur.*"²⁷ Although a decree of a provincial council, it reflects a situation which was more or less general, and the official attitude of the Church against the abuses. In Rome the procedure on this matter was always more regular than elsewhere, and it seems that the restrictions later formulated at Carthage for the Church of Africa were already applied in Rome in the time of Damasus. In fact, the poet pope does not fail to mention in his inscriptions the historical circumstance which justifies the cult of a martyr in a given place, and when he is not sure of the facts he is careful to say *fama refert*, or *Damasus haec audita refert*. It seems strange, however, that in the case before us, while he gives the fact as certain (*cognoscere debes*), he should mention such an important thing as the temporary occupation by the Apostles of tombs ad Catacumbas

with the ambiguous verb *habitasse*, without adding any explanatory clause.²⁸

That the verb *habitasse* is to be taken in its natural meaning will be evident when we see, as we shall, that a translation of the bodies of the Apostles to the Appian Way not only is not warranted by any positive testimony, but appears for various reasons to be highly improbable. Really, what could have been the motive for the removal of the bodies? The legend of the oriental thieves is out of the question.²⁹ Duchesne thought that the answer was to be found in the consular date (258) in the *Feriale*. The Church was under persecution, and in the preceding year (257) an imperial edict forbade all kinds of Christian meetings, especially in cemeteries. It seems that an armed guard was stationed to enforce the law in the places more frequented by the Christians. The apostolic tombs at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way must have been the first to be put under strict surveillance. It was natural under such circumstances that the Christians should think of removing the bodies of the Apostles to a new place, where they could hold their meetings without arousing the suspicion of the police. The site ad Catacumbas was exceptionally well adapted for such a purpose.

Against this hypothesis which found almost universal acceptance, serious objections were raised by no less an authority in the hagiographic literature than the Bollandist Fr. Delehaye.³⁰ First of all, it must be remembered that respect for the tomb was one of the most sacred traditions of Roman life, and that the Roman law was very severe against the transgressors.³¹ To violate a tomb and remove the remains was a capital crime. When, on account of extraordinary circumstances, a removal was necessary, it could be done only after the granting of a special permit. There is no example in Rome of the tombs of the martyrs ever being molested by the government even in times of fierce persecutions. The Christians therefore had nothing to fear for the tombs of the Apostles. Moreover, we can hardly think that the Christians, while they were being persecuted, would dare to transgress a law which was severely enforced at any time and the violation of which would have

drawn upon them fresh rigors of the law and the wrath of the superstitious populace. Not to mention that, if the cemeteries were, as we have reason to believe, under heavy guard, it must have been a very difficult task to accomplish such a removal.

It is more natural and more simple to suppose that the Christians of Rome, unable to meet in the usual places and to invoke the Apostles in the vicinity of their graves, held their religious meetings in the villa ad Catacumbas, which must have been the property of a rich Christian, and there celebrated the commemoration of the 29th of June which was destined to become the great festival of Peter and Paul. The choice of the place may have been suggested not only by its safety as on private property, but also by the tradition connecting it with Peter.³²

A removal of the bodies was not only unnecessary and impracticable, but against the feelings of the Christians of Rome, who very likely would have considered such a thing as a sacrilegious attempt. As a matter of fact we have no instance of translations of bodies of martyrs in Rome during the first five centuries. The so-called translations of which mention is found in catalogues and martyrologies as having happened in Rome during that period are either of a legendary character, or are special cases which cannot be classified as real translations. Such, for example, is the case of the bodies of Pope Pontianus and of Hippolytus brought from Sardinia to Rome. Those who were deported for any reason and died in exile were frequently reclaimed by their relatives, and the government usually did not refuse the permission, because they were considered as bodies which had not been *perpetuae sepulturae tradita* and as such their removal was an act of piety. In the same way the body of Pope Cornelius, who died an exile in Centumcellae, was brought back to Rome.

The two instances quoted by Lietzmann (pp. 84-87) to prove that translations were common in Rome, that of Parthenius and Calocerus (May 19, 304) and that of Blesilla (September 22, 304) have no historical basis. That their bodies were removed from one place to another in the same cemetery was never any-

thing but an hypothesis of De Rossi's which has been completely discarded, because there is no archaeological evidence of such a translation, and the year (304) mentioned by the Philocalian is really that of their martyrdom.³³ No less groundless are the supposed translations of Zephyrinus³⁴ and Silanus³⁵ from one cemetery to another, and that of Fabianus³⁶ from the cemetery of Callistus to the place ad Catacumbas. The cases of the martyr Quirinus, bishop of Siscia in Pannonia, and that of the so-called *Quatuor Coronati*, are of a different kind. They were not Roman martyrs, but their remains were brought to Rome under peculiar circumstances. When the barbarians invaded Pannonia some Christians fled thence to Rome carrying with them the relics of Quirinus, their martyr patron. As for the *Quatuor Coronati*, the translation, if it ever happened, did not take place before the sixth century, although they were venerated in Rome as early as the fourth century.³⁷ In conclusion, there is not a single piece of incontrovertible evidence that translations of martyrs were practised in Rome until we come to the late fifth century. While in the East, and in the western provinces which had been influenced by the eastern discipline, translations of martyrs became common shortly after the peace of the Church, and their bodies were without any respect dismembered and scattered through the various churches to satisfy the demand for relics, Rome adhered firmly to its ancient discipline,³⁸ piously respecting the tombs of its martyrs, and refusing to touch them even at the request of emperors and empresses. The letter of Gregory the Great mentioned above was written in reply to a request made by the empress Constantina begging the pope to send to Constantinople relics of the bodies of Peter and Paul. "*Romanis consuetudo non est,*" replied the Pope.³⁹ The translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul, supposed to have taken place the year 258 or at an earlier date, would be therefore a *unique case* in the history of the Roman Church of the first centuries; and it is quite logical that before accepting it as an historical fact we should ask better evidence than that afforded by baseless legends or by equivocal interpretations of doubtful texts. Has archaeology supplied this evidence?

The Basilica of St. Sebastian ad Catacumbas on the Appian Way was originally built as a memorial to the Apostles Peter and Paul, and up to the eighth century was called *Basilica Apostolorum*. It was erected in the second half of the fourth century, probably under the pontificate of Damasus.⁴⁰ The basilica had originally three naves without a transept, and with a peribolos instead of an apse.⁴¹ In the eighth century, probably under Pope Adrian I (772-795), the whole building was collapsing, and it was thought necessary to close the two lateral naves by walling up the spaces between the pillars, the basilica being thus left with only its central nave. Extensive restorations carried on under Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the sixteenth century gave to the church its present uninteresting aspect. Outside the walls of the old basilica at the left side of the peribolos there is a small crypt (Plate I, A) which is now called *Platonía*,⁴² and probably since the sixteenth century has been identified as the place where the bodies of Peter and Paul were deposited while ad Catacumbas. Access to the Platonía, whose level is about 17 feet lower than the Basilica, was originally by a stairway on the east side (N), but in the course of Borghese's restoration this entrance was walled up, and a new entrance was constructed on the west side (O). Within the Platonía is a cella (*a*) in the form of a sarcophagus decorated with marble slabs and divided into two sections, as if it were made for two bodies. It is surmounted by a vault which still shows traces of paintings. The double sarcophagus was thought to be that which once held the remains of the Apostles. Around the wall of the Platonía there are thirteen arcosolia⁴³ decorated with stucco reliefs, which were supposed to contain the tombs of the early popes.*

* *On the plan (Plate I).* — A, Platonía. B, Triclia. D, Court. E, Cella S. Faviani. F 1-6, Columbaria. G, Cavity, 30 feet beneath the level of the Basilica. H, L, M, Roman funereal chambers. N, Old stairs to the Platonía. O, New stairs to the Platonía. P, Bottom of the excavation, 40 feet beneath the level of the Basilica. S, Stairway leading to the gallery. Z, Plastered strip on the walls of the gallery. W, Remains of a Roman Villa. *a*, Cella (*bisomus*) under the Platonía. *c-c*, Wall of the Triclia on which are the graffiti. *d-d*, Parapet of the Triclia facing the court. *g*, little fountain in the Triclia.

The small building with an apse, at the left of the Basilica, is the so-called Domus Petri.

In 1893 an investigation was made under the direction of Mgr. De Waal to ascertain whether the traditions were confirmed by archaeological evidence. The results were wholly unexpected.⁴⁴ Instead of containing the tombs of the early popes, the spaces within the arcosolia were found filled to their capacity with tombs in form of pigeon-holes, dating from the fifth century. In demolishing a superstructure added to the arcosolia in order to make room for other tombs, the old wall of the Platonía was discovered and on it a monumental inscription in six verses running around the whole semicircular hall. The first verse and part of the last were still legible:

Quae tibi martyr rependo munera laudis
Haec Quirine tuas . . . probari.

It was evident that the Platonía was not the Memoria Apostolorum, but a memorial of the martyr Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, whose remains, as has been said above, were brought to Rome in the beginning of the fifth century, and according to the Acta: "*Via Appia miliario tertio sepelierunt in basilica Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ubi aliquando jacuerunt, et ubi S. Sebastianus Martyr Christi requiescit in loco qui dicitur Catacumbas; aedificantes nomini eius dignam ecclesiam.*" The Platonía was this *digna ecclesia* built for Quirinus. The lower part of its walls belonged to a Roman building which was older than the Basilica, as is evident from the fact that the northern corner of the Platonía was cut to make room for the wall of the apse, while the upper part of the walls seems to be posterior to the Basilica.⁴⁵ Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) removed the remains of Quirinus from the Platonía to the Basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere and from that time the original destination of the Platonía began to be forgotten, making room for the tradition which connected it with the Apostles.

The builders of the old basilicas on the sites where there was a Memoria of a martyr in whose honor the basilica was erected, used to orient the whole building so that the Memoria would be included within the walls and if possible in the central part, under the altar, or the so-called Confession. The Platonía had been considered to be an exception to this rule, but once its supposed connection with the Apostles was found to be mis-

taken, it became clear that traces of the old *Memoria Apostolorum* could be found only under the pavement of the central part of the basilica itself. A careful survey of several mediaeval *Itineraria*, and of the descriptions of the basilica left by Panvinio (1570) and Ugonio (1590), confirmed this conjecture; and finally the discovery by Grisar of a decree of indulgence granted by Pope Leo X in 1521, in which are given topographical indications about the altars of that church, left no doubt that in

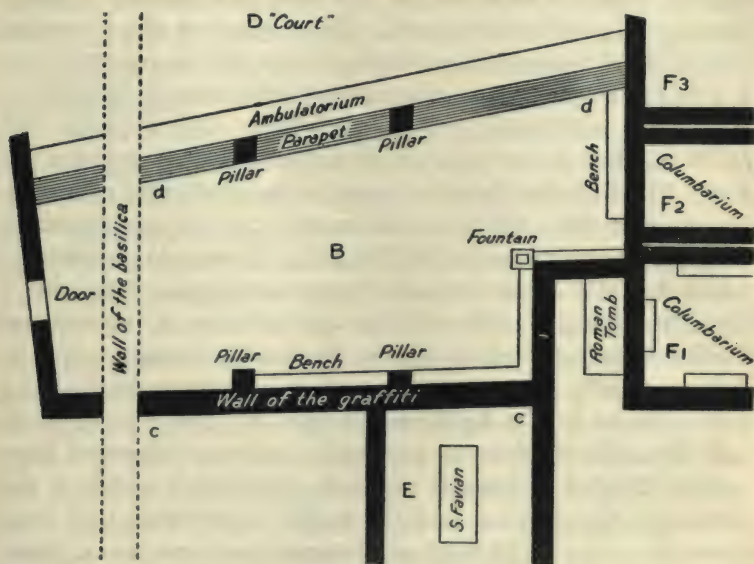


PLATE II

the central part of the nave there had been an altar called *altare reliquiarum*, having at one side the *Sepulchrum S. Petri* and on the other the *Sepulchrum S. Pauli*. That altar disappeared at the time of the unfortunate restorations of Borghese.

In March 1915 the new excavations were begun near the place where the altar of the relics probably stood (Plate I, B). From a few inches beneath the pavement to a depth of seven feet the site was found crowded with *formae*, or brick tombs, arranged in stories. Some of them had dated inscriptions, the oldest of which gives the consular date corresponding to the

year 356 or 357 A.D. If this necropolis was started after the basilica had been built, we must conclude that the basilica itself was erected about that time, that is to say under the pontificate of Liberius.⁴⁶ When the tombs had been removed, it was found that the site had been a hall of irregular shape of about 160 square feet. (See Plate II, p. 73.)

It was closed on the east side by a wall (*c-c*), the upper part of which was demolished to make way for the pavement of the basilica. On the lower part of this wall were traces of a bench running along its whole length. The upper part was decorated with frescoes representing climbing vines, and doves, and from the line of the bench up was covered with scrawls (*graffiti*) of various types in Latin and Greek letters. The opposite wall (*d-d*) was but a low parapet with two pillars to support the roof. The hall was therefore open to the southwest on an adjacent court (D). On the northern side the hall was closed by three Roman columbaria (F1, F2, F3). These columbaria were found elegantly decorated and still contained some of the *ollae*.⁴⁷ It was not difficult to identify this hall with one of the so-called *trichiae* or *pergulae* which during the fourth century could be seen commonly near Christian basilicas or cemeteries.⁴⁸ They were covered with a light roof of tiles, or even simple vines, and there the Christians gathered to celebrate funereal banquets. The bench around the walls, the little fountain in the corner (*g*), the frescoes, and the graffiti mentioning such banquets, leave no doubt that ad Catacumbas there was a *trichia* attached to the Memoria Apostolorum.⁴⁹ Behind the wall *c-c*, but on a higher level than the pavement of the *trichia*, there was a cella (E) in which were three sarcophagi containing mummified bodies. Within the middle sarcophagus above the head of the body, was a marble opisthographic tablet with the inscription: "*S. Favianus ic requiesit.*" The form of the letters is of a mediaeval type. Lietzmann (p. 120) thought that in this cella and in these sarcophagi the Apostles had been deposited. There is no ground for such an assumption: it is impossible to admit that the hiding place of the bodies could have been on a higher level than the *trichia*; and moreover if the sarcophagi had been those of the Apostles they would not

have been used for other bodies, nor the place crowded with other tombs.

At the same time, excavations executed under the right side of the apse brought to light imposing remains of an old Roman villa, with some halls beautifully decorated, and with a number of inscriptions and objects of classic Roman art.⁵⁰ (Plate I, W.)

At the close of this first phase of the excavation, while the discovery of the triclia had introduced new elements into the problem, yet the attempt to find traces of the *Memoria Apostolorum* had failed. New excavations carried on for short periods during 1916 and 1917 did not throw any further light on the subject, although three other columbaria (F4, F5, F6) added new details to what was already known about the topography and the use of the site before the erection of the basilica.^{50a}

In 1919 excavation was begun in the upper part of the court (D). When it was carried down to the tufaceous rock on which stand the foundation walls of the basilica, a large cavity (G) was found reaching the depth of about thirty feet below the level of the pavement of the basilica. Here was made the unexpected discovery of a group of three large funereal chambers irregularly disposed on a broken line (H, L, M), dug deep into the rock, with entrance doors in the area of the cavity (G). On one of those doors there is the name of M. Clodius Hermes, and paintings representing funereal banquets. Other paintings were found within the chamber, while two other chambers are adorned with stuccoes of fine workmanship. One of them was originally a columbarium adapted afterwards for interments; the other two contain *loculi*, or burial niches, similar to the Christian *cubiculi*. The chamber L seems to have belonged to a *collegium funeraticium*. There is no doubt that these sepulchres were originally built and used by pagans. The date of their construction is to be assigned to the first or second century; but there is evidence that they were in use up to the middle of the third century. On the rocky wall of the cavity (G) other tombs were dug, probably by Christians, as is inferred from an inscription.⁵¹

These discoveries proved two things: *first*, that on that site there was a necropolis of pagan origin and connected with the

buildings which we call the Roman villa; and, *second*, that Christians themselves used this necropolis before the construction of the basilica. The unusual depth of the cavity with its surrounding tombs explains why the name *ad catacumbas* was given to the place. It is well known that the name *catacumba* belonged originally to this site, and only afterwards was extended to other Christian cemeteries. De Rossi proposed the etymology of *κατά* and *accubitoria* (*cumbae*), but it seems more

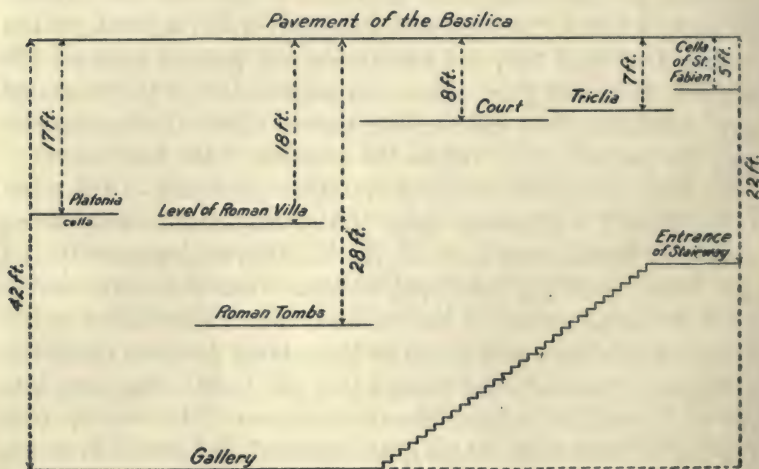


PLATE III

probable, and it is confirmed by the present discovery, that the name owes its origin to *κατά* and *κύμβος* (deep cavity with a concave bottom).

During the excavations of 1915, on the left side of the court (D), was discovered the beginning of a stairway (S) at about twenty-two feet below the pavement of the basilica. (Plate III). The entrance had been partially obstructed by the wall of the left nave, and was filled with debris. When in 1919 this debris was removed it was found that the steps ran down a depth of more than forty feet, to a gallery three feet wide and twelve feet in length, which ended in a kind of cello of irregular shape about seven feet wide. Behind this cello there was the bottom of a pit (P), whose mouth was found at the level of the old

Roman villa. The walls of the gallery show the tufa through which it is dug, with exception of a plastered strip (Plate I, Z) about three feet wide, not far from the end of the stairway on which graffiti are scrawled as on the wall of the triclia.

This last discovery was again thought to have solved the problem. According to Professor Marucchi the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in this gallery, exactly under the plastered strip. The names of Peter and Paul scrawled on the strip several times, with the usual invocation, *In mente habete*, leave no doubt that the gallery was connected with the cult of the Apostles ad Catacumbas. It seemed strange, however, that no other signs could be found in such a holy place, than a few rude and hardly decipherable charcoal scrawls — no inscriptions, no paintings, no decorations of any kind, nor any trace of a tomb or of an altar. Was this the venerated Memoria Apostolorum? This was plainly a serious difficulty for the theory. Marucchi tried to explain the enigma by supposing that originally the gallery ended at the point where there is the plastered strip, under which he supposes that the bodies of the Apostles were deposited. Being a temporary shelter, and so small that there was hardly room for anything else but the coffins, no work of ornamental character was done in it. Later, after the removal of the bodies, in order to make the place more accessible to pious visitors, the gallery was prolonged as far as the pit, and this gave origin to the mediaeval legend that the bodies of the Apostles were hidden in a pit. The mouth of the pit, which was originally at the level of the Roman villa, was raised so as to emerge near the wall of the crypt called Platonía, and within the Platonía Pope Damasus built the Memoria Apostolorum, that is, the cella under the altar where is the sarcophagus divided in two sections by a marble slab. This sarcophagus was never used; it never contained the bodies of the Apostles, but was a mere cenotaph, commemorative of the translation of the venerated relics. Later, the martyr Quirinus was deposited in the same crypt, but not in the sarcophagus, and the Platonía became at the same time a monument to Quirinus, without ceasing to be the Memoria Apostolorum. Professor Marucchi's explanation is very in-

genious, but it is too conjectural to be accepted without further evidence.^{51a}

After all the whole burden of proof is put upon the graffiti in the gallery and those of the trichia. It is to them that we must turn for conclusive evidence.

In the trichia were found 191 fragments of graffiti, some still on the wall, but mostly in the debris of the same wall scattered among the tombs, or on the floor of the trichia.⁵² Thirty-three of them are written in Greek,⁵³ the rest in Latin. They may be divided in three classes: *a.* those which give only names like Felicitas, Vitalis, Maxima, Quiracius, and even Cristus.⁵⁴ *b.* those which contain invocations to Peter and Paul. This is the largest class:

PAVLE ET PETRE PETITE PRO VICTORE
 PAULE PETRE PETITE PRO ERATE ROGATE
 PAVLE ET PETRE IN MENTE HABETE SOZOMENUM ET
 PETRUS ET PAVLVS IN MENTE HABEATIS ANTONIUS
 IIETPE ET IIATAAI IN MENTE
 IIATAE KAI πETPE MNHMONETAI TIMOKTATHN KAI ETTTXEIAN
 . . . Paule et PetRE A PETITE PRO NATIVV IN PERPETVVm

and many other of the same kind.

c. The third class (only eight graffiti) contain the word *refrigerium*, in a meaning which is new in Christian epigraphy.

. . . DVS IN . . . E REFRIGERAVimus
 FELICISSIMUS CVM Suis
 XIII KAL APRILES
 REFRIGERAVI
 PARTHENIVS IN DEO ET NOS IN DEO OMNES
 AT PAVLVm
 ET PETrum
 REFRIGeravi
 DALMATIVS
 BOTVM IS PROMISIT
 REFRIGERIVM
 PETRO ET PAVLO
 TOMIVS COELIVS
 REFRIGERIVM FECI

and three others, in a more fragmentary condition but in which

the word *refrigerium* is easily recognizable. The graffiti of the gallery are few and contain invocations like:

VI IDVS AVG. PRIMVM . . . PETE . . . ORATIONIBVS ET BOTIS

PETRE ET PAVLE IMMENTEM (sic) HABE

TE PRIMVM ET PRIMAM IVGALE EIVS

ET SATVRNINAM CONIVGEM . . . PRIMI

ET VICTORINVM PATREM . . . IN

SEMPER IN AETERNO . . .

PETRE ET PAVLE IN Mente habete

On the arch is one scrawl in which probably the first two syllables of the word *REFRIGerium* may be identified, and near it there is a rough sketch of a cup with handles.

The graffiti of the first and of the second class do not afford any special evidence. Styger⁵⁵ suggests that invocations of martyrs are usually found in the cemeteries and only near their tombs, and therefore invocations like *Petre et Paule in mente habete*, would not have been written on the wall of the trichia and of the gallery unless the bodies of Peter and Paul were there. *Nimis probat*. No doubt graffiti with invocations are found commonly in the cemeteries and near the tombs of the martyrs, but that the Christians in Rome could not or would not write invocations to the Apostles in a place which, although it did not contain their relics, was dedicated to them, is still to be proved.

The real importance is with the graffiti of the third class. From them it is evident, that the Christians used to gather in the trichia and to celebrate there or in the gallery the rite of *refrigerium*; but the *refrigerium* is essentially a sepulchral rite; therefore the *refrigeria* in honor of Peter and Paul celebrated in that place necessarily suppose the presence of the bodies of Peter and Paul ad Catacumbas. It seems a strong argument, but its strength is more apparent than real when it is carefully analyzed.

First of all, what is this rite of the *refrigerium* mentioned by the graffiti of the trichia? The word *refrigerium* (ἀνάψυξις) is peculiar to the Christian Latinity,⁵⁶ and is found frequently in its metaphorical meaning of eternal joy in heaven or spiritual

refreshment in general.⁵⁷ Such a use in Christian inscriptions, is not uncommon. Equally common is the use of *refrigerium* in its material meaning of food and the like.⁵⁸ Tertullian (Apol. c. 39) uses the word of the fraternal agape of the Christians: "*inopes quosque refrigerio isto iuvamus.*" The agapae, or fraternal banquets, offered to the poor members of the community, had no relation to any funereal ceremony, and were held in the usual meeting places of the Christians. Now the word *refrigerium* in the graffiti of the triclia cannot be taken in its metaphorical meaning, but only in the material meaning of a banquet. A *triclia*, or *pergula*, was usually a place where friends and relatives would gather, "*ad confrequentandam memoriam quiescentium*"⁵⁹ with a funeral repast — "*Locum aediculae cum pergula et solarium tectum junctum in quo populus collegii epuletur.*"⁶⁰ No doubt the triclia ad Catacumbas was one of these places. After the excavations of the year 1915, when it was thought that the necropolis was later in time than the basilica, the existence itself of the triclia in that place was considered as convincing evidence that it had been built near the tombs of the Apostles to celebrate their memory with fraternal banquets. The excavations of 1919 have left no doubt that a pagan cemetery and after it a Christian one occupied the site before the basilica was erected, and therefore the triclia may not have been originally dedicated to the Apostles. There is, however, no doubt that it was used at some time for banquets in honor of the Apostles. Were those banquets of a funereal character, implying that the bodies of the Apostles were ad Catacumbas when the banquets were held?

Such a question leads us to inquire about the period in which the graffiti were written. Dr. Styger remarks quite rightly that it is a rather difficult investigation. The graffiti, which usually are scrawls from the hand of common people, always present the most puzzling combinations of hand-writing. Side by side with letters of an archaic form, we find others anticipating new forms which only later acquired right of citizenship in the caligraphic tradition. The difficulty is still greater when these graffiti are found in a city like Rome, where people from all the corners of the world flocked together and would naturally use

in writing their provincial peculiarities and traditions. In general, so far as palaeography can judge, the graffiti of the trichia may belong to the third as well as to the fourth century. But fortunately in the present case there are other elements than palaeographic guesses from which a more definite conclusion may be arrived at. As for the *terminus ad quem*, it is fixed by the erection of the basilica, at which time the upper walls of the trichia were demolished, open access to the place was cut off, and it was converted into a burial vault. As we said above, the basilica was built in the pontificate of Liberius or of Damasus, that is to say between 356 and 384. As for the *terminus a quo*, the rite of the *refrigerium* itself may throw some light on the date of the graffiti.

If the refrigeria to which the graffiti in the trichia bear witness were banquets in honor of the Apostles and near their tombs, they cannot have taken place before the second decade of the fourth century. It was only after the peace of the Church that such banquets in honor of the martyrs began to be celebrated. On this point we have the explicit and unimpeachable testimony of Augustine, who says:

. . . Post persecutiones tam multas, tamque vehementes, cum facta pace, turbæ gentilium in Christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his . . . voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse maioribus nostris ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honore sanctorum martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur.⁶¹

The graffiti of the trichia were therefore written between 320 and 356 or 380.

It is suggested also that the *refrigerium* included, besides the banquet, the rite of pouring a libation on the tomb of the martyrs, and that the pious visitors ad Catacumbas, after the banquet in the trichia, would go down to the gallery, stop under the plastered strip, and complete their ceremony by pouring the content of their cup into a little hole of which traces were found in the floor.⁶²

But against all these assumptions there are serious objections. First of all, if *refrigerium* must be interpreted as a banquet at the tomb of a martyr, would it be a necessary in-

ference that between 320 and 380 the bodies of Peter and Paul were still ad Catacumbas? We have already remarked that if the translation of the bodies to their original resting places had taken place after Constantine, such a great event would certainly have left some trace in the records of the time. As a matter of fact, the archaeologists themselves who hold fast to the tradition that the remains of Peter and Paul found a shelter ad Catacumbas assign this event either to a very early period, shortly after the death of the apostles,⁶³ or to the year 258; but all of them agree that the bodies remained ad Catacumbas for a very brief time — one or two years.^{63a} It has to be admitted, therefore, that the *refrigeria* were held ad Catacumbas *absente cadavere*, and only because the place had once been sanctified by the presence of the bodies of the Apostles. This would be possible, so far as the banquet is concerned, but it is difficult to account in the same way for the pouring of libations. We have evidence that perfumes were poured on the real tombs of the martyrs in the fourth century, and we read in Prudentius,

Nos tecta fovebimus ossa
violis et fronde frequenti
titulumque et frigida saxa
liquido spargemus odore.

and in the poem to St. Hippolytus,

Oscula perspicuo figunt impressa metallo
balsama defundunt, fletibus ora rigant.⁶⁴

We have evidence also that libations of wine were made by the Christians *super tumulos defunctorum*" (Augustine, Sermo 190), and also on the tombs of the martyrs, in the belief that they would enjoy the refreshment. Paulinus of Nola looked with indulgent eyes upon this kind of superstition:

. . . quia mentibus error
Inrepat rudibus; nec tantae conscia culpa
Simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula sanctos
Perfusus, halante mero, gaudere sepulchris.

Poema xxvii. Natale de S. Felice, 564-567.

But we have no proof that this performance was called *refrigerium*, and no evidence whatever that it was done anywhere but at the actual tombs of the martyrs. Moreover, if the *re-*

frigerium was a banquet to be held at the tomb of a martyr, would it not be strange that the Roman Christians, or visitors from the provinces, should hold their banquets in honor of Peter and Paul ad Catacumbas, in the place where the bodies of the Apostles were not, when they could have gone to the real tombs, which were not only equally accessible but even more easily reached than the site three miles out on the Appian Way? ^{64a}

In the last analysis the whole question hinges on the meaning to be assigned to the word *refrigerium* in the graffiti of the trichia. The Roman archaeologists agree that it is used in a way which has no example in Christian epigraphy. When we read *Petro et Paulo Tomius Coelius refrigeravi*," we cannot interpret the words of an offering for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul, as they would first suggest. In the fourth century the cult of the martyrs was already well developed, and although among simple-minded Christians there might be room for misunderstanding, ⁶⁵ yet it is not probable that in Rome the custom of offering prayers and oblations *for* the Apostles could have been so long tolerated in one of the places sacred to their memory. The meaning of the phrase is, "Tomius Coelius celebrated a *refrigerium* in honor of Peter and Paul." But then is it not evident that the word *refrigerium* has lost its original meaning and its connection with a funereal rite which was the essential part of that meaning? The fact, also, that these graffiti ad Catacumbas present the only instances of the use of *refrigerium* in the sense of a banquet, not *for*, but *in honor of*, somebody, joined with the fact that such a use is not found in regular inscriptions which would give it a kind of official sanction, but in scribbles traced on walls by common people — is not this a strong indication that the word *refrigerium* had come in the popular use to signify merely a banquet, having a loose religious connection and celebrated in a place dedicated to the memory of a martyr?

In other words, I do not see why, when it is admitted that the *refrigeria* celebrated ad Catacumbas are not the usual *refrigeria* known to us from other sources, but a peculiar celebration which here for the first time we find called *refrigerium*,

it must be taken as self-evident that such a celebration, improperly called *refrigerium*, retained the original sepulchral character of the true *refrigerium*. We are entitled at least to the benefit of the doubt. The argument would be cogent only in case we were prepared to interpret the graffito as meaning that Tomius Coelius, in his pious ignorance, offered a *refrigerium* for the eternal rest of Peter and Paul. In that case the funereal character of the ceremony could not be denied, and the graffiti would supply the evidence that the bodies of Peter and Paul were — or once had been — there. But as yet no one is ready to accept such an interpretation.

There is a passage in one of Augustine's Epistles which may, it seems to me, suggest a plausible explanation for the *refrigeria* ad Catacumbas. It is well known that the custom of holding banquets at the tombs of the martyrs rapidly degenerated, and like the pagan celebrations of which they were a thinly disguised survival, became veritable orgies. Early in the second half of the fourth century the Church started a campaign for their abolition. In the already quoted epistle to Aurelius, bishop of Tagaste, Augustine, then only a presbyter, tells how he had tried to persuade the people of Hippo to follow the example of those churches beyond the sea which had never indulged in such banquets or had already abolished them. It seems that somebody in his audience remarked that in Rome, even in the Vatican Basilica, people held banquets and got drunk every day:

Et quoniam de basilica beati apostoli Petri, quotidianus vinolentiae proferebantur exempla, dixi primo audisse nos saepe esse prohibitum, sed quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione et in tanta civitate magna sit carnalium multitudo, peregrinis praesertim, qui novi subinde venirent, tanto violentius quanto inscitius illam consuetudinem retinentibus, tam immanem pestem nondum compesci sedarique potuisse.

This custom has been forbidden again and again, says Augustine, but it has been impossible to stop it, because those banquets are celebrated in places far from the surveillance of the bishop, and because Rome is such a large city and there are always so many pilgrims both ignorant and drunkards.

No doubt in Rome, and especially at the tombs of the Apostles, many restrictions must have been imposed to check

the abuses of these banquets. Such restrictions, as always happens, hit first the poor folk, while they were not enforced against wealthy and influential people like Pammachius, who in 397 gave a great banquet at the Vatican, as a *refrigerium* for the soul of his deceased wife, Paulina.⁶⁶ The poor people, and those who wanted more freedom, had to search for a more available place than the gorgeous basilicas of the Vatican or the Ostian Way. For this the site ad Catacumbas was well adapted; it was a *locus remotus ab episcopi conversatione*, and was connected by an old tradition either with both the Apostles, or at least with Peter; and there those who were not allowed to do so at the Vatican held their religious banquets to which they gave the name *refrigeria*, perhaps like those celebrated at the tombs of the Apostles. And thus these banquets, assuming the name of *refrigeria* by analogy, may well have been one of the things which contributed to create the legend of the translation of the bodies of the Apostles ad Catacumbas.

Augustine's epistle is dated in the year 392, but he says that prohibitions against the banquets had been issued again and again, and we may safely assume that in Rome the reaction against these abuses must have been felt strongly at least from the middle of the century. Now, according to Dr. Styger, explorer of the trichia, the graffiti might have been written during the second half of the century, and not very long before the destruction of the trichia. As for the trichia itself, it is probable that in that place there was from much earlier times a trichia connected with the *collegia funeraticia* which owned their tombs there, and that it was either rebuilt or adapted by the Christians for their *refrigeria*.⁶⁷ It seems, however, that it was not in use by them for any very long time, because the graffiti are not very numerous, and may all have been written within a few years. And, finally, the motive for the construction of the basilica itself may have been not only a desire to honor the Apostles, but also to do away with the trichia and with it the abuses of the banquets. If the basilica was erected under Damasus, as many archaeologists think more probable, we should have a correspondence of dates which makes my suggestion plausible.

The final result is that up to the present the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to validate the tradition that the bodies of the Apostles were at some time or other removed ad Catacumbas and temporarily deposited there. But let us remark by the way of conclusion, that even, *dato et non concesso*, that the *refrigeria* mentioned in the *trichia* were ceremonies of a sepulchral character, and that the *hic abitasse* of Damasus meant "here were buried Peter and Paul," we should still be far from having the positive proof of the assumed translation. All that could be legitimately deduced from such evidence is that the tradition which appears in literary sources only in the fifth century already existed in the latter part of the fourth century. But could we say that we had thus found for it a sound historical basis? In making the tradition one century older we should not have disposed of the difficulties which stand in the way of supposing that the bodies of Peter and Paul were at any time removed from their tombs. The burden of proof would still be on the archaeologists.

NOTES

1. The articles and publications of which extensive use has been made in writing this article are the following:

Dr. Paolo Styger, Scavi a S. Sebastiano. Scoperta di una memoria degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo e del corpo di S. Fabiano Martire. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 73-110.

Gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Catacumbas. *Ibid.* 1915, pp. 149-205.

A. De Waal, Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas an der Via Appia. — *Supplementheft d. Römische Quartalschrift*. 1894.

Zu Wilpert's Domus Petri. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 123-132.

Gli Scavi nel pavimento della Basilica di S. Sebastiano sulla Via Appia. — *Ibid.* 1915, pp. 145-148.

O. Fasiolo, La Pianta di S. Sebastiano. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 206-220.

F. Grossi-Gondi, S. J., Il Refrigerium celebrato in onore dei SS. Apostoli Pietro e Paolo nel sec. IV ad Catacumbas. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 221-249.

La Basilica di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia dopo le insigni scoperte degli anni 1915-16. — *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, vol. 2, pp. 588-598: 3, pp. 519-534.

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Orazio Marucchi, Le recenti scoperte presso la Basilica di S. Sebastiano. — *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*. Roma. 1916, pp. 5-61.

Ulteriore studio storico e monumentale sulla Memoria Apostolica presso le Catacombe della Via Appia. *Ibid.* 1917, pp. 47-87.

La Memoria sepolcrale degli Apostoli sulla Via Appia secondo il risultato delle ultime ricerche. *Ibid.* 1920, p. 531.

Conferenze di Archeologia Cristiana. In all the issues of the *Bullettino* quoted above.

H. Grisar, S. J., Die Römische Sebastianuskirche und ihre Apostelgruft im Mittelalter. — *Römische Quartalschrift*. 1895.

E. Buonaiuti, Gli Scavi recentissimi a S. Sebastiano. — *Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*. 1915, pp. 375-381.

G. B. Lugari, I varii seppellimenti degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo sull'Appia. — *Bessarione*. 1898.

T. Wilpert, Domus Petri. — *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, pp. 117-122.

2. Lietzmann, p. 177. W. W. Rockwell, The Latest Discussion on Peter and Paul in Rome, *American Journal of Theology*, 1918, p. 121.

3. Furius Dionysius Philocalus was either the compiler or simply the copyist of a Chronography, which is but a collection of various Roman chronographic lists. Two of them are those related to the Roman Church which are called the *Depositio Episcoporum*, containing the obituary of the Roman bishops from 255 to 352; and the *Depositio Martyrum*, or list of the commemorations of the martyrs celebrated by the Roman Church, which is supposed to reproduce the oldest *Feriale* of that Church that we possess. Philocalus com-

piled his Chronography first in 336, but later revised it and carried the lists down to the year 354. The text of the Chronography in Monum. Germ. Hist., *Chronica Minora I*. See Mommsen, Ueber den Chronographen vom Jahre 354. Leipzig, 1850, and L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. vi.

4. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (English translation) 5th ed., p. 278.

5. The festival of February 22 often occurred in Lent. In countries observing the Gallican rite, where Lenten observance was considered incompatible with the honouring of saints, the difficulty was avoided by holding the festival on the 18th of January. When about the end of the sixth century the bishop of Auxerre, Annarius, compiled the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, he thought it advisable to keep both dates, that of the Roman Calendar (attributing it to Antioch, a see which was believed to have been also occupied by Peter) and that of the Gallican Calendar, attributing it to Rome. But it was only in the sixteenth century that such an arrangement was adopted by the Roman Church. The assumption that the festival of February 22 might have been originally connected with the veneration of the relic known in Rome as the Chair of St. Peter (De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ.*, 1867, p. 38, and Lietzmann, p. 73) is untenable. No trustworthy mention of such a relic is found earlier than 1217. Cf. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 280.

6. Duchesne, *ibid.*, p. 277.

7. O. Marucchi, A. De Waal, F. Grossi-Gondi, P. Styger, and others.

8. According to tradition Paul was executed *ad Aquas Salvias*, which is not exactly *iuxta* the present basilica.

9. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius, I, 175. Cf. P. Styger, *Gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo ad Catacumbas*, pp. 182-188. Cf. also Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, II, 391-404.

10. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 220 f.

11. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, pp. 61 f.

12. *Epist.* iv, 30, Ewald-Hartmann I, 264 f.

13. *Notitia portarum*, compiled about the middle of the seventh century. Cf. Styger, *l. c.* pp. 194-196.

13a. *Itinerarium Salisburgense*. Cf. De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, I, 180.

13b. Decree of Indulgence of Leo X. Cf. Grisar, *op. cit.* *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1895, p. 452.

14. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, p. civ.

15. *Ibid.*, p. xlv. Duchesne suggests the possibility that the text as it is given in the *Hieronymianum* is older than the *Philocalian*.

16. The *Hieronymianum* (recension of Auxerre) contains a separate commemoration under January 25 of a *Translatio S. Pauli Apostoli*, without any indication as to where this translation had taken place. But we are now too well acquainted with the method used by the compilers of martyrologies in filling the days which had no commemoration to give any importance to this *Translatio*.

17. Ambrosius, *Hymn.* x.

17a. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 173. The same motive is repeated in the Greek *Πράξεις*: Χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι μεγάλους προστάτας ἡξιώθητε ἔχειν. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

18. Basil of Caesarea wrote again and again to Damasus and to the western episcopacy, but his advances were coldly rejected. Some of his letters did not even get a reply; to another the only answer of Rome was to send Basil a declaration of faith to subscribe. "When one is haughty," wrote Basil to a friend, alluding to the pope, "when from the height of his throne he refuses to listen to those who from a humble place tell him the truth, it is impossible to deal with him about matters of general interest" (Ep. 215). In another letter he says: "Those western people do not know the truth and they do not want to know it; they are seduced by their false prepossessions and dislike those who tell them the truth. I should like to write to their coryphaeus (the pope); I would tell him nothing about ecclesiastical matters, because he has no idea of our true situation and does not care to know what it is, but I would make him understand that one cannot mistake arrogance for dignity, without committing a sin sufficient to provoke the wrath of God." (Ep. 239.)

19. Basil was already dead, but, as Duchesne says, his spirit was present and triumphed in the dogmatic work of the Council.

20. Καὶ τὸν λογισμόν, ὡς ἐπαινετός, σκόπει.
Δεῖν γὰρ συνάλλεσθ' ἡλίω τὰ πράγματα
'Εντεῦθεν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνονθ' ὅθεν θεὸς
'Ελαμψεν ἡμῖν σαρκικῶ προβλήματι.
Τί γοῦν; Μάθωμεν μὴ σέβειν περιτροπὰς
Χριστοῦ δὲ σάρκα παντὸς ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους
Οἶεσθ' ἀπαρχήν. Εἰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο,
Εἴποι τάχ' ἂν τις, ἔνθα πλείον τὸ θράσος
'Ὡς ῥαδίως ἐνταῦθα καὶ θανούμενος
'Εκ τοῦδ' ἔγερσις, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ σωτηρία.

Carmen de Vita Sua. 1690-96.

21. The epigram for the Martyr Gorgonius:

Hic quicumque venit, sanctorum limina querat
inveniet vicina in sede habitare beatos.

22. Marucchi, *La Memoria Apostolorum*, in *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1917, pp. 51-53.

22a. An argument in favor of this assumption is afforded by the graffito *DOMVS PETRI* which was found on the wall of a chamber under a little chapel near the Platonía, now itself called *Domus Petri* (Plate I). This chamber seems to have been in existence earlier than the basilica. The graffito, however, seems to have been written not earlier than the fifth century, and therefore cannot be considered as reliable testimony to the tradition connecting Peter with the old Roman villa. See Wilpert and De Waal on the *Domus Petri* in *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912.

23. The remark was made by the architect Gamurrini of Rome in a lecture given at the Arcadia, July 1, 1917. Gamurrini, who is an authority in archaeology, rejects the tradition that the Apostles were removed ad Catacumbas.

24. Vers la fin du iv^e siècle, on voit surgir sur certains points de la chrétienté, des cultes à qui semble manquer essentiellement la consécration de la tradition vivante. On découvre des martyrs inconnus jusque-là, et on se hâte de leur rendre les honneurs dont les autres martyrs étaient en possession

de date immémoriale. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des Martyrs*, 1912, p. 85.

25. *Hic multa corpora sanctorum requisivit et invenit. Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, 212.

26. Ihm, *Damasi Epigrammata*, 27.

27. Mansi III, 968, Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, II. 2, p. 129.

28. Delehaye remarks: "L'on reconnaitra aussi que, s'il (Damasus) avait voulu rappeler le séjour de leurs reliques, la tyrannie du mètre ne l'en aurait pas empêché, puisqu'il suffisait, au lieu d'écrire *nomina*, de dire: *corpora quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris*." *Ibid.*, p. 308.

29. The utterances of the Orientals about the nationality of the Apostles, mentioned above, may have contributed to the origin of the legend. It is known how the imagination of the people gives a concrete form to ideas and traditions. It is possible, however, that the legend had an historical foundation in some event which must have occurred in Rome during the first half of the third century. I propose to deal with this point in a work on the Church of Rome at the beginning of the third century, which will appear soon.

30. Delehaye, *l. c.*, pp. 302-308.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 61. Cf. also, Ferrini, *De iure sepulchrorum apud Romanos* (Archivio Giuridico, Pisa, 1883), and Wamser, *De iure sepulchrali Romanorum*. Darmstadt, 1887.

32. In Rome the cult of the martyrs was started much later than in the East and in the Church of Africa. There are no traces of such a cult in Rome before the third or fourth decade of the third century. That explains the fact that when the Church of Rome thought of commemorating its martyrs of the first two centuries it had to fix arbitrarily their *dies natalis*, because nobody knew the exact dates. It is not improbable that the commemoration of the 29th of June in honor of the Apostles was the first to be regularly instituted, and that the date of the institution was recorded (258). I would suggest, also, that such an institution might have been made not only in imitation of what was done in other churches, and especially in the Church of Africa, which was in close relation with the Roman Christian community, but also in consequence of the fact that the Christians were at that time unable to visit the tombs of the Apostles. The commemoration ad Catacumbas was a kind of a substitute for the acts of piety that Christians had been accustomed to perform formerly on the apostolic tombs and which now the persecution prevented them from accomplishing.

33. Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri, *Studi e Testi Vaticani*, 27, fasc. 5, pp. 23 ff.

34. "La translation du pape Zephyrinus n'est point attesté par les documents. C'est un postulat de quelques archéologues et nullement nécessaire pour expliquer des faits établis. Delehaye, *l. c.* p. 77.

35. Of Silanus, the Philocalian says: "*Hunc martyrem Novati furati sunt*. That the Novatians, who posed as the guardians of a rigid morality and of the old traditions, should be guilty of the violation of a tomb, seems impossible. On the other hand, it is quite natural that their enemies might put in circulation slanderous accusations against them. It cannot, however, be considered as an evident fact, especially since as Delehaye remarks: "La mention de l'équipée dans un document qui n'est qu'une aride nomenclature, prouve qu'elle était de fraîche date." *L. c.*, p. 78.

36. The question about the remains of Pope Fabianus is more complex. The supposed translation of them to the Church of Santa Prassede, and later to that of St. Martin, has been proved to be unhistorical (Silvagni, *La Basilica di S. Martino ai Monti*, etc. Rome, 1912); and in any case would fall in a much later period (ninth century). The *Liber Pontificalis* says that he was buried in the cemetery of Callistus, and in fact De Rossi found there the epitaph of Fabianus. The first mention of the removal of the body of Fabianus ad Catacumbas is to be found in the martyrology called *Romanum Parvum*: "*Romae Fabiani papae et martyris ad vestigia Apostolorum sepulti.*" Now the *Romanum Parvum* is a forgery due to Adon, bishop of Vienne, about the middle of the ninth century, as was clearly demonstrated by Dom Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, pp. 408-464. The discovery of a body near the trichia ad Catacumbas in 1915, with the inscription *S. Fabianus Martyr ic requiescit*, was taken by Styger (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 100 ff.) and by Grossi-Gondi (*Civiltà Cattolica*) as evidence that the body of Pope Fabianus was really translated ad Catacumbas. But as Professor Buonaiuti (*Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*, 1915, p. 380) remarks, the inscription found on the body does not say that it was Fabianus the bishop, while such a qualification is always found in the epigraphs of the popes. Moreover, we find in various documents mention of a Fabianus Martyr different from the bishop of the same name. And after all, even granted that the body discovered ad Catacumbas is that of the pope, its translation would have happened in the ninth century.

37. On the legend of the *Quatuor Coronati* an exhaustive study was published by Pio Franchi dei Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche*, Fasc. 24, Roma, 1912, iii, "I Santi Quattro," pp. 57-66, giving evidence that this assumed translation of the four Pannonian martyrs never took place, and that during the sixth century the relics of four unknown martyrs in Rome were identified with the *Quatuor Coronati*.

38. The *Consuetudo Romana* is attested by various documents to have been in full vigor in the fourth century. When the Basilica of St. Pancratius was built on the Via Aureliana, on account of topographic difficulties it was impossible to orient the church in such a way that the body of the martyr would be in longitudinal position in relation with the axis of the building. It would have been necessary to turn the tomb, and yet it was preferred to sacrifice the architectural harmony and the tradition rather than touch the tomb. The body *ex obliquo aulae jacebat*, up to the time of Honorius (625-638), when the *consuetudo Romana* had already vanished, and the position of the tomb was changed.

39. In the beginning of the sixth century the emperor Justinian requested Pope Hormisdas (519-524) for relics of St. Laurentius, but the legates of the pope informed him of the *consuetudo Romana*, which was to send the so-called *sanctuarium* or *brandea*, that is to say pieces of linen which had been deposited for a while on the tomb of the martyrs, and to which were attributed the same miraculous powers as to the real relics. On this custom, see Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, pp. 712 ff. in reference to the tombs of the Apostles in Rome.

40. The so-called Cononian abridgment of the part of the *Liber Pontificalis* which contains the life of Damasus mentions only the Platonia as a work

erected under Damasus ad Catacumbas; but a later redaction (Neapolitan mss.) attributes to Damasus the erection of the basilica. This question gave rise to long debates among archaeologists, and it cannot be considered as settled. But there is no doubt that the basilica belongs to the second half of the fourth century.

41. The peribolos was later called *matroneum*, or place reserved to the women.

42. *Platonia*, *platoma*, or *platuma* is a low Latin word, the derived like *platea*, from the concept of space (*πλατὺς*), and means a slab, or rather a space covered with marble slabs. De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, 241. It was rather recently that this name was given to the crypt, when it was thought to be the *Platomum* of Damasus.

43. Originally they were twelve, but one was destroyed in opening the new entrance, and the two on the left side were added by closing a door on the wall.

44. De Waal, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas*, 1894, and *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, p. 146.

45. O. Fasiolo, *La pianta di S. Sebastiano*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 213-214.

46. Grossi-Gondi, in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1918, 3, pp. 588 ff. Such a theory, which is untenable after the excavations of 1919, was even from the beginning contested. See the letter of Professor Giovenale in *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1917, pp. 148 ff.

47. The first of these columbaria seems to have been the property of a *collegium funeraticium*, of the first or second century, but later had been used for inhumations. O. Fasiolo, *l. c.*, p. 218.

48. The *trichiae*, or *alogiae*, or *pergulae*, were frequent in the precincts of the Roman tombs. See a series of texts in Styger, *l. c.*, pp. 156-158. In Africa they were of a rather simpler type and were called *mensae*. It seems, however, that there also the *trichiae* were common near Christian cemeteries and basilicas. Augustine mentions a *Basilica trichiarum* (*Enarratio in Ps. xxxii. Sermo ii, 29*). Cf. Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 3, p. 521.

49. This trichia ad Catacumbas is the first to be discovered in condition good enough to give us an idea of the plan and the arrangement of such places.

50. The excavations and discoveries relating to classic art and non-Christian archaeology are carried on by the Italian R. Commission of Archaeology, and are illustrated in the *Notizie degli Scavi* and the *Monumenti* of the *Lincci*.

50a. In one of these columbaria an inscription was found with the name of one "Callistus Imperatoris Caesaris Vespasiani Servus." It was surmised that probably the villa and the fields surrounding it were property of the Christian branch of the Flavii, since the cemetery of Domitilla began not very far from there. (Marucchi, *Bull. Archeol. Crist.*, 1917, p. 56). Others, on the contrary, thought of the family of the Uranii, because among the ruins of an old mausoleum close to the northern walls of the basilica, an architrave was found in which were engraved in large letters the name, VRANIORUM. To his family belonged Ambrose of Milan and his brother Uranius Satyrus. Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 2, p. 598).

51. O. Marucchi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Christiana*, 1919, pp. 7-9.

51a. One of Marucchi's capital arguments is his interpretation of the paintings in the vault of the *bisomus*, or double sarcophagus, which he identifies with the Platomum built by Damasus as a cenotaph to commemorate the Apostles' temporary burial ad Catacumbas. The paintings have almost completely disappeared, but in the traces still apparent Marucchi recognizes the figures of Christ and the twelve Apostles. De Waal, on the contrary, sees in them the figures of Christ, of the Martyr Quirinus, and other unknown personages. Probably there will be no way of settling this question. Cenotaphs in honor of the Apostles were built by Constantine in his Basilica of the Apostles in Constantinople, following the ancient custom which dedicated cenotaphs to heroes buried in far away places; but a cenotaph of Peter and Paul in Rome, a few miles from their real tombs, does not seem to be in harmony with the prevalent ideas of the times. Moreover, it seems quite certain, from the description in the mediaeval documents which have preserved its text, that Damasus' inscription was not in the Platonica. To imagine that it had been already removed from its original place, is only an arbitrary assumption.

52. List and facsimiles of them in Styger, *l. c.*, pp. 81-94.

53. Some of them contain Latin words in Greek letters.

54. Classification of the graffiti in Grossi-Gondi, *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1917, 3, p. 521.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

56. The verb *refrigero* is used by classic writers and is found also in pagan inscriptions.

57. In the translations of the Bible, like, "Justus si morte preoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit," Ps. 65, 11. In Christian Latin literature: "Meliores fieri coguntur qui eis credunt, metu aeterni supplicii et spe aeterni refrigerii," Tert. Apol. 39. In Christian Inscriptions, De Rossi, *passim*. Cf. Grossi-Gondi, *Il Refrigerium in onore dei SS. Apostoli*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, pp. 222-225.

58. *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*: Quid utique non permittis nobis refrigerare, etc.

59. Inscription in Pompei. *Giornale degli Scavi*, 1869, i, p. 242.

60. Orelli, *Inscr. Lat. Coll.* n. 2417. Styger, *l. c.*

61. *Epist.* xxix, 11.

62. Marucchi, *Bullettino di Arch. Crist.* 1916, p. 13, and 1920, p. 20.

63. Grossi-Gondi, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1915, p. 242.

63a. According to Marucchi (*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1917, p. 57) the bodies of the Apostles were removed from the place ad Catacumbas to their old tombs during the pontificate of Dionysius, when the cemeteries were given back to the Church (260 A.D.). De Rossi (*Inscr. Christ.* II, p. 231-232) had already come to the conclusion on archaeological evidence that the tomb of Peter at the Vatican was not disturbed when the basilica was built on that site by Constantine. Its supposed removal from the place ad Catacumbas must have happened before the peace of the Church.

64. *Peristephanon* x, 169-172 and xi, 193-194. Dressel, pp. 65 and 450.

64a. Professor Buonaiuti (*Bollettino di Letteratura Critico-religiosa*, 1915, p. 378), called the attention to the fact that the *refrigerium* or *agape*, though an adaptation of the pagan *parentalia*, yet was not absolutely con-

nected with the tomb, but only with the memory of the martyrs, and could be celebrated outside the sepulchral precinct. Such was the case with the commemorations of the martyrs mentioned by Cyprian, as to be celebrated by himself while far from Carthage and from their tombs (Ep. 12, ed. Hartel): "celebrentur a nobis oblationes et sacrificia." Buonaiuti thinks that *oblationes* here means *agape*, as in Tertullian's passage: "Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis annua die facimus" (De Corona, 3). Moreover, it seems from St. Augustine's sermons (13, 305, 310) that agapes in honor of Cyprian were celebrated in three different places, and not only at his tomb in Carthage. To these arguments Grossi-Gondi replied at a great length (Römische Quartalschrift, 1915, pp. 231 ff.) insisting on the strictly sepulchral character of the agape-refrigerium. This reply, however, still leaves room for doubt, and the impossibility of agapes in honor of the martyrs celebrated outside their sepulchral precincts is far from demonstrated.

65. From what we know about the abuses which are so energetically deplored by Augustine in his famous letter to Aurelius of Tagaste, by the unknown author of the *De Duplici Martyrio*, and by the passage quoted above from Paulinus of Nola, such misunderstandings were far from uncommon, but can hardly be imagined to have inspired all the visitors of the trichia.

66. A description of this banquet in Paulinus of Nola, Epist. xiii.

67. The paintings found in the tombs around the deep cavity represent funereal banquets.

NOTES

SIMON, CEPHAS, PETER

It is generally held that these three names apply to one person, who was the chief of the Twelve Apostles and the first witness to the Resurrection. It is, of course, recognized that there was another apostle named Simon, but he plays only a small part in Christian tradition.

The object of this note is to collect and discuss the evidence that suggests the existence of another tradition which separated Peter from Cephas, and — though the evidence for this point is less good — possibly did not regard Peter but some other Simon as the first witness to the risen Lord. It is not intended to increase knowledge but rather to suggest doubt.

According to all the traditions, beginning with that of Mark, Simon was the name of a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee who followed Jesus. He is called by that name in Mark 1, 16 and in Mark 1, 29 f. But according to Mark 3, 16 when Jesus appointed the Twelve he gave Simon the name of Peter. The text (*καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς δώδεκα, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον, καὶ Ἰάκωβον κ. τ. λ.*) is remarkably clumsy, and if there were any evidence one might suspect that the words *καὶ . . . Σίμωνι* were an interpolation. But Matthew has straightened out the Greek, and speaks of *Σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος Πέτρος* (10, 2), and Luke also straightens out the construction with the same statement that Simon was called Peter. Thus there is no reason to doubt the universal tradition that there were two Simons among the list of the disciples and that one of them was called Peter; but was either of these Simons the first witness of the risen Lord? According to Luke 24, 34 the first person to see the risen Lord was Simon, but it is not clear whether this means Simon Peter or some other Simon. The point is one of considerable textual difficulty; in most of the manuscripts we read that the two disciples who had gone to Emmaus had returned to Jerusalem where they found *τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς λέγοντας ὅτι ὄντως ἡγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίμωνι*. If that text is right, Luke is referring in this incredibly casual manner to the first appearance of Jesus, of which he gives absolutely no description. There is therefore not a little to be said in favor of the other reading of *λέγοντες* for *λέγοντας*, found in Codex Bezae and implied by Origen, which must mean that Simon was one of the two who went to Emmaus and

saw Jesus on the road. But in this case Simon cannot be Simon Peter, for the text states that the two who returned to Jerusalem found the eleven, which must include Peter, gathered together in that city. It would be foolish to suggest that this view ought to be adopted, but it suffices to show that the question of the identification of Simon with Peter is not quite so clear as it seems at first.

The question of Cephas is even more difficult, as will be seen if the evidence be taken in approximately chronological order. The apostle Peter is only mentioned once in the Pauline Epistles; Cephas is mentioned eight times. Does Paul mean that they are the same person? In the Epistle to the Galatians¹ he writes . . . *ιδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ γινόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ . . . κ. τ. λ.* Is it Paul's intention to identify Peter and Cephas? To call the same man by two names in the same sentence is, to say the least, a curious device, and Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius² as believing that Cephas is intended to be different from Peter; he suggests that he was one of the Seventy. The *Epistola Apostolorum* and the Egyptian KO go further and produce a list of the Twelve containing the names of both Peter and Cephas.

A similar conclusion might well be reached by a consideration of Corinthians 15, 5, where in recording the appearance of the risen Lord Paul says . . . *ὥφθη Κηφᾶ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα . . . κ. τ. λ.* It is, of course, possible that Cephas is included in the Twelve, but if one had no other information, it would probably be natural to conclude that he was not, in which case he was certainly not identical with Peter.

Why then has Christian tradition so completely lost sight of these doubts, which were clearly present in various forms to Clement of Alexandria and to the still earlier writer of the *Epistola Apostolorum*? The answer is that the Fourth Gospel definitely states in John 1, 43 that Cephas is Peter — *σὺ εἰ Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωάννου, σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος*. So long as it was believed that the Fourth Gospel was written by one of the Twelve, a contemporary of Peter

¹ Galatians 2, 7 ff.

² Eus. *Ecl. Hist.* i. 12, 2. *ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος, ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντίστην, ἵνα φησὶ γεγονέναι τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, ὁμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.*

and a disciple of Jesus, it was reasonable to accept this as final.¹ But for those who take a very different view of the Fourth Gospel it is not unreasonable to ask why they ought not to share the doubts of Clement and the Epistola. The answer is that we are influenced, and probably ought to be influenced, by a combination of the fact that the Gospel of Mark when it breaks off seems to be leading up to an appearance of Jesus to Peter, and that Paul says that the first appearance of Jesus was to Cephas; ergo, Peter is Cephas. This is no doubt a reasonable proposition, but it is just as well to understand that it does not rest on the strongest possible authority, for Paul nowhere says that Peter is Cephas, though commentators have the bad habit² (to which I plead guilty myself) of constantly talking of Peter when he says Cephas, and Mark never speaks of Cephas at all.

K. LAKE.

FOURTEEN GENERATIONS: 490 YEARS

AN EXPLANATION OF THE GENEALOGY OF JESUS

"So the whole number of generations from Abraham to David is fourteen generations, and from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations, and from the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah fourteen generations." Matt. 1, 17.

The difficulties presented by the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke, whether examined separately or compared with each other, were early remarked, and the discussion of them is a voluminous chapter in Christian literature.³ The question why the generations are divided into three periods was raised by Chrysostom in a sermon on Matt. 1, 17 (*In Matt. Hom. iv*). The Jews, he says, had in these periods successively three different forms of government, aristocracy,

¹ It is an interesting speculation to ask why Clement did not hold this view. The answer is partly that he wished to save Peter's reputation at the expense of Cephas, who was only one of the Seventy, partly perhaps that he knew Greek a little better than most men and felt better the implication of Paul's words. But I wish we knew more about the text of the Fourth Gospel used by Clement.

² A consideration of the textual phenomena in the Epistle to the Galatians shows that this bad habit is not confined to modern commentators.

³ Friederich Spanheim (1600-1649), in his *Dubia Evangelica* (1639), deals with no less than twenty-six such problems in Matt. 1, 1-17, at a length of 215 solid and solidly learned pages.

monarchy, and oligarchy, and were as bad under the last as under the first; the captivity itself had failed to work amendment. It was every-way necessary that Christ should come.² Spanheim ingeniously recalls the parable in Luke 20, 9-18: after the failure of three missions, God at last sent his son.

Much more to the point than this insinuation of the incorrigibility of the Jews is an explanation which Spanheim adopts from Jansen:³ It was to indicate that at the time of Jesus' birth, fourteen generations after the beginning of the exile, a great change, a new order of things, was imminent, such as had happened at the end of each preceeding period of fourteen generations — the establishment of the kingdom fourteen generations after Abraham; its fall fourteen generations after David. This next great change, according to common Jewish expectations, was the coming of the Messiah; and precisely at this critical moment in history was born, as the title of our genealogy emphasizes, "Jesus Christ (the Messiah), the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt. 1, 1). To this verse 17 returns: "From the deportation to Babylon to the Messiah, fourteen generations."

That this was the intention of the author seems clear. But why each of the three periods should be measured by *fourteen* generations is not thus explained. It is true that the fourteen generations from Abraham to David correspond to the genealogies in the Old Testament, and are enumerated in precisely the same way in Jewish lists which count fifteen to Solomon;⁴ while for the third period, from the point where the genealogy of Jesus branches off from the lists in Chronicles in the third generation after the exile (Abiud the son of

² Similarly Theophylact *in loc.*, quoted by Spanheim, *Dubium xv.* (Cur Matthaeus cap. 1. 17 partiatur Genealogiam Christi in certas tessaradecades, et quidem in tres: et cur eas per ἀνακεφαλᾶσιν peculiarem collectas Lectori proponat?)

³ Corn. Jansen, *Comm. in suam Concordiam*, etc., c. 6 (Louvain 1576, p. 49): "Ideo autem in tres quaterdenas Christi genealogiam Matthaeus dividit, ut ostendat sicut ab Abraham usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis bis mutatus est status Judaeorum, binis quaterdenis completis: ita et tertiam illam mutationem status Judaeorum, quae ab eis post transmigrationem expectabatur futura per Messiam convenienter factam post tertiam ab Abraham tesseradecadem, ipsumque Messiam tunc nasci debuisse, ac sic Jesum Mariae filium, qui finis est tertiae tesseradecadis, esse expectatum Messiam magis credibile faciat. Deinde ut ostenderet, sicut fuerunt quatuordecim generationes ab Abraham usque ad David, in quo coepit stabile et liberum Judaeorum regnum, et deinde rursum quatuordecim generationes a Davide usque ad deliquium regni, hoc est, exilium Babylonium: ita ab hoc rursum tantae usque ad novam regni Davidis restaurationem fuisse quatuordecim generationes. Ex quibus constat quare et Davidem regem vocat, et mentionem faciat transmigrationis Babylonicae."

⁴ Pesikta (ed. Buber) f. 53a.

Zerubbabel), there is nothing to compare it with. But the fourteen generations of the kingdom are strikingly at variance with the record of succession in the Book of Kings — “Why did he skip three kings?” asks Chrysostom, and commentators and apologists have exercised themselves on the question ever since.

The omission of the three kings is by no means the only discrepancy between the genealogy in Matthew and its sources; but it has always been recognized as the gravest, for the kings thus passed over are not obscure or ephemeral rulers. Joash, Amaziah, and Azariah (Uzziah) are, on the contrary, very prominent figures in the history of Judah, the record of whose eventful reigns may be read at large in 2 Kings 11-15,⁵ and who, according to the chronology of the book, occupied the throne for 121 years (40 + 29 + 52). At the end of his list, again, he makes Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) the son of Josiah instead of his grandson, omitting Jehoiakim.⁶ By itself this might perhaps be ascribed to a confusion of the two names such as occurs in Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament and elsewhere; but taken in connection with the previous omission of the three kings, it is more probably to be attributed to the same intention, namely to make the period of the monarchy fall within exactly fourteen generations, like that which preceded it.^{6a}

Mere love of symmetry can hardly have been the sole motive for so violent a curtailment of the history; it is more likely that the number fourteen had an intrinsic significance for the author and a decisive importance for his purpose in compiling the genealogy. This purpose was not simply to trace the lineage of Jesus back to David in the royal line, showing that as a descendant of David he possessed one of the necessary qualifications of the Messiah according to prophecy and universal expectation — a qualification which he shared with many others who claimed descent from David. For this purpose it was superfluous to continue the line back to Abraham — that David was descended from Abraham required no genealogical demonstration — and the symmetrical periodization of the history would be meaningless. The symmetry of the genealogy was meant to prove, as Jansen saw, that the time for the advent of the Messiah

⁵ See also 2 Chron. 22, 10-26, 23.

⁶ 2 Kings 23, 34-24, 6; Jer. 36.

^{6a} A genealogy of the Messiah is given in Tanchuma, Toledoth c. 20, ed. Buber, f. 70 a-b. The royal line is followed from David through Zerubbabel. From that point on the genealogy in Chronicles is transcribed, leading to Anani (the cloud man, 1 Chron. 3, 24), who is the Messiah according to Dan. 7, 13.

had come, and that Jesus, who was born just at this point, was the Messiah.

It was the general belief of the Jews that in his plan for the history of his people and of the world God had determined not only the events in their succession, but the times at which they should come to pass; and especially that the great epochs in history, such as the end of their long subjection to the heathen powers and the coming of the promised golden age, were unalterably fixed. They believed also that God had revealed through the prophets certain signs which foreboded the approaching crisis; they made catalogues, so to speak, of these signs, and scanned the horizon of the times for their appearance. From the second century before our era, at least, they combined with such prognostications an attempt to ascertain the date more exactly by numerical calculations based on scripture, as in Daniel and Enoch, and thereafter in apocalypses almost universally.

Daniel, taking the seventy years of Jeremiah (25, 12 ff.; 29, 10 ff.) as seventy weeks of years (70×7), operates with a cycle of four hundred and ninety years, dividing the history into three unequal periods ($7 + 62 + 1$),⁷ upon the last of which the golden age was to follow. Enoch has the same cycle in the vision of the seventy shepherds (89,50-90,25), symmetrically divided ($12 + 23$, $23 + 12$); here also the golden age, with the Messiah, immediately follows (90, 28-38).⁸ Both Daniel and Enoch take the beginning of the exile as the *terminus a quo* for their reckoning, and count from that point four hundred and ninety years to the end of the period in which they were living, an end which they believed to be imminent.

The motive of these calculations in the first instance was to prove that the end of the evil time in which the apocalypses were written was close at hand — the widespread apostasy, the cessation of sacrifice and desecration of the temple, the persecution for religion's sake. In less troubled days men turned to them for an answer to the question when the golden age — however they imagined it — was to begin. Christians had another interest in them; namely to prove that their Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, came precisely at the time fixed in prophecy for the beginning of a new era. The attempt to

⁷ Dan. 9, 24 ff.

⁸ In the so-called apocalypse of the ten weeks (Enoch 93; 91, 12-17), which divides the history of the world, past and future, from the creation to the last Judgment, into ten "weeks," the weeks are probably periods of 490 years. A golden age (the eighth week) follows the apostasy of the seventh (coming down to the Hellenistic age). The close of the tenth brings the great judgment. The three last (8-10) lie in the author's future.

demonstrate this from the seventy weeks of Daniel occupies a large space in the history of Christian apologetic.⁹

In the light of what has been observed above and of this apologetic motive, it is probable that the "fourteen generations" from the deportation to the birth of Christ are meant to cover exactly the four hundred and ninety years which according to Daniel and Enoch were to elapse between the beginning of the exile and the inauguration of the new era; and, assuming that the author took the length of a generation at thirty-five years, his fourteen generations give exactly the necessary number ($35 \times 14 = 490$).

The use of generations as the basis of a schematized chronology is common. Hecataeus of Miletus and other Greek logographers derived their chronology in this way from genealogies, reckoning forty years to a generation. Herodotus calculates how long it was from the first king of Egypt to Sethos (ca. 700 B.C.) from the statement of the priests that between the two there were three hundred and forty-one generations of high priests, and exactly as many of kings. He counts three generations to a century, and thus obtains 11,340 years for the duration of the period. The systematic chronology of the Old Testament historical books employs periods of four hundred and eighty years, or twelve generations of forty years each. Apart from this chronological scheme, which appears to have been imposed on the history in the sixth century, there is no evidence in the Old Testament that a generation was reckoned at forty years; and to infer from it that the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era counted thus is as unwarranted as it would be to make a similar generalization for the Greeks from the chronology of Hecataeus.

Herodotus counts, as we do, three generations to the century;¹⁰ but the century had no such significance for the Jews at any time as it had for the Greeks and their successors, and it is for this reason unlikely that the Jews fixed the length of a generation at a third of a century. It would be much more natural for them to divide the

⁹ The older interpretations in this sense — Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Eusebius — are quoted at length by Jerome in his commentary on Dan. 9. To these may be added Jerome himself, Chrysostom (*Adv. Judaeos* ii), and Aphraates (*Demonstratio* 23). A "futurist" interpretation seems to have been first proposed by Apollinarius of Laodicea (quoted by Jerome, *u. s.*).

¹⁰ Another estimate, thirty years, based on physiological considerations is ascribed by Plutarch to Heraclitus, and later became common. The same reasons for it are set forth by Porphyry, *Quaest. Homer.* 14 (on *Iliad* i, 250), quoted by Wettstein on *Matt.* 1, 17.

seventy years of normal human life by two, giving a generation of thirty-five years, which is close enough to the average as far as common observation goes, and keeps the generation in its proper genealogical relation. An example in which a generation is reckoned at thirty-five years is Job 42, 16, where it is said that after his rehabilitation "Job lived a hundred and forty years, and saw his sons and his son's sons, four generations."¹¹ If Matthew meant his fourteen generations to fill four hundred and ninety years, he was reckoning in the same way. It is, therefore, not an objection to our hypothesis that it requires us to assume a generation of thirty-five years.

The fourteen generations in each of the two preceding periods, from Abraham to David and from David to the deportation, must be meant to give the same measure of time, four hundred and ninety years. The duration of the latter period agrees tolerably well with the chronology of the historical books, which gives four hundred and eighty years from the building of Solomon's temple to the return from the exile; from the accession of David to the beginning of the exile would be about the same.

To express this in terms of generations, however, the author is compelled to do such violence to the history as has been noted above. From Abraham to David he had the fourteen generations given him; but here he was compelled to ignore the biblical chronology, which allows four hundred and eighty years from the exodus to the building of Solomon's temple alone (1 Kings 6, 1), to say nothing of the time between Abraham and the exodus.¹²

The really important thing for the author are the four hundred and ninety years that end with the birth of Christ. By our chronology, based on the canon of Ptolemy, there is a discrepancy here of a whole century, for Jehoiachin was deported to Babylon in 597 B.C. Such a comparison is unreasonable; the Jews, who, until the Seleucid era came into use, had no fixed era, and no canon of Ptolemy, were widely at sea in the chronology of these centuries. There was no native succession of rulers before the Asmonaeans; the records of the priests were doubtless destroyed when Antiochus Epiphanes sacked the temple and converted it into a temple of Zeus. Their own historical books, with the exception of the brief episode of Ezra and

¹¹ A mediaeval Jewish interpreter, Isaac ibn Jasos, inferred that wherever a generation is spoken of in the Bible, it is to be taken as thirty-five years, for which hasty generalization he is castigated by Ibn Ezra.

¹² Exod. 12, 40 gives (in the present Hebrew text) 430 years to the sojourn in Egypt; Gen. 15, 33 a round 400. Cf. Gal. 3, 17; Acts 7, 6.

Nehemiah, were a blank from the restoration of the temple¹³ to the time of Alexander, and there end. The "seventy weeks" of Daniel, to the predicted fall of Antiochus Epiphanes, whatever *terminus a quo* be taken for Dan. 9, 25, are from fifty to seventy years too long; for the Christian interpretation, which finds its *ad quem* at the birth or at the death of Christ,¹⁴ they are not long enough by a hundred years or more. The Talmudic chronology in Seder Olam Rabbah 28, which makes the seventy weeks stretch from the first destruction of the temple to the second¹⁵ (seventy years the temple lay in ruins, it stood after it was rebuilt four hundred and twenty years), is in the same case: its four hundred and ninety years are by our chronology a hundred and sixty-six years too short.¹⁶ Even if the Jews had had more accurate knowledge of dates in the Persian and Greek periods than they possessed, chronology could never be allowed to contradict the sure word of prophecy.

The fact that four hundred and ninety years bring us, according to *our* reckoning, only to 96 B.C. does not therefore militate against the intention of the genealogy to bring them down to the birth of Christ; and it can at least be said that in measuring them as a whole by fourteen generations the author did not involve himself in a whole series of intermediate conflicts with ascertained dates such as appear in the more detailed chronology of the Seder Olam.

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THE MEANING OF JOHN XVI, 8-11

Καὶ ἔλθων ἐκεῖνος ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως· περὶ ἁμαρτίας μὲν, ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουσιν εἰς ἐμέ· περὶ δικαιοσύνης δέ, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὑπάγω καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με· περὶ δὲ κρίσεως, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου κέκριται.

In all the English versions except the Rheims New Testament of 1582 δικαιοσύνη in this passage is translated 'righteousness.' The

¹³ In our chronology 516 B.C.

¹⁴ Or the destruction of Jerusalem, or even the war under Hadrian.

¹⁵ In our dates, 586 B.C. to 70 A.D.

¹⁶ In a later chapter (30) the Seder Olam specifies: for the duration of Persian rule after the restoration of the temple 34 years; for the dominion of the Greeks, 180; Asmonaeans 103; Herod and his successors 103, or 420 years in all; which with the 70 of the exile make 490.

Rheims translators, who based their work on the Vulgate, wrote 'justice' wherever they found *iustitia* in the Latin text before them; ¹ and hence δικαιοσύνη in verses 8 and 10 is rendered 'justice.' Which-ever way the word is translated, John 16, 8-10 probably conveys no definite meaning whatever to most readers of the English Bible.

The commentators agree in taking δικαιοσύνη in the sense of 'righteousness,' understanding it as the opposite of ἀμαρτία. The Paraclete will convict the world, i.e., all those who are alienated from God and opposed to Christ, concerning the three "cardinal elements in the determination of man's spiritual state." ² Or, as a more recent commentator puts it, sin, righteousness, and judgment are among the things with which the Christians had chiefly to deal in the conflict with their opponents. In regard to these the Paraclete will deliver authoritative pronouncements and maintain the cause of the disciples against the world. ³ What then is meant by righteousness here? Westcott understands it in the widest sense: "In Christ was the one absolute type of righteousness; from him a sinful man must obtain righteousness." ⁴ Meyer, B. Weiss, and others refer it to the righteousness or moral perfection of Jesus. ⁵ His departure from the earth and presence with the Father are the proof of his righteousness. ⁶

The present writer believes that another and a better interpretation of John 16, 8-11 can be given. The office of the Paraclete, according to the Fourth Gospel, is the twofold one of convicting the world and of guiding the disciples into all the truth. In the verses quoted above the first part of the Paraclete's function is described, namely that of convicting the world. Ἐλέγχειν means properly to convince or bring home something to one; often, as in the present case, it signifies to confute or to convict. Δικαιοσύνη in the LXX and in the New Testament has two closely related meanings — 'righteousness' or

¹ The Vulgate renders δικαιοσύνη by *iustitia* everywhere except in Acts 17, 31 and Rom. 8, 10. In Rev. 22, 11, where the best manuscripts read *iustitiam faciat*, the text used by the Rheims translators, like the standard edition of the Vulgate (1592), had *iustificetur*.

² Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John* (1900), p. 228. It should be noted that the Paraclete is not the disciples' comforter. He is God's advocate in the world on behalf of the truth, just as Christ is the believers' advocate in the presence of the Father (cf. 1 John 2, 1).

³ Walter Bauer in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum N. T.*, II, ii (1912), p. 149.

⁴ Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁵ Cf. Meyer, *Commentary on the N. T., Gospel of John* (Eng. tr.) II (1881), p. 263; B. Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar, Johannes-Evangelium*, 8th ed. (1893), pp. 523 f.

⁶ Euthymius Zigabenus says: δικαίου γὰρ γνῶρισμα τὸ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ συνέιναι αὐτῷ.

'moral excellence,' and 'justification' or 'acquittal.'⁷ The word occurs only here in the Fourth Gospel, and in view of the context it seems to be used in the forensic sense of justification or acquittal.⁸ *Κρίσις* takes its color from the context. It properly means 'judgment,' but sometimes, as in the passage before us, it denotes adverse judgment or condemnation.

The *ἐλεγξίς* which the Paraclete is to effect at his coming will be threefold (*περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ περὶ κρίσεως*), and in each case the world will be convicted. It will be brought to recognize three things by the power of the Paraclete: First, that it has sinned because it has not believed in Christ; second, that believers are justified or acquitted because Christ has gone to the Father to act as their advocate (*παράκλητος*);⁹ and third, that evil has been condemned because the ruler of this world (the devil) has been condemned. The whole context is forensic. *Ἀμαρτία*, *δικαιοσύνη*, and *κρίσις* are contrasted with one another, as the particles *μὲν . . . δὲ . . . δέ* show; but there is no special emphasis on the contrast between *ἁμαρτία* and *δικαιοσύνη*. The sin of the world in not believing in Christ, the justification, or acquittal, of believers through the advocacy of Christ in heaven, and the condemnation of evil in the person of the devil, are the three points of the contrast.

The justification, or acquittal, here mentioned is not justification by faith, as in the Epistles of Paul, though his use of *δικαιοσύνη* to denote the sinner's acquittal was no doubt familiar to the author of the Fourth Gospel. It is rather the Johannine form of the doctrine of justification, according to which the believer is justified, or acquitted of his sins, through the pleading of Christ as his advocate in the presence of the Father in heaven. The Fourth Evangelist, like the Apostle Paul, expresses by means of a forensic figure the Christian's experience of forgiveness.

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⁷ On the meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* see J. H. Ropes, "'Righteousness' and 'The Righteousness of God' in the Old Testament and in St. Paul," in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxii (1903), pp. 211 ff.

⁸ *Δικαιοσύνη* occurs three times in the First Epistle of John (2, 29; 3, 7-10), and in each case with the verb *ποιεῖν* (עשה צדק or פעל צדק).

⁹ Cf. 1 John 2, 1. According to Rom. 8, 26f. the Spirit makes intercession in behalf of the saints.

THE MEDICAL LANGUAGE OF HIPPOCRATES

In my "Style and Literary Method of Luke" I have argued that the attempt to confirm by means of so-called technical medical terms the tradition that Luke and Acts were written by a physician has failed to establish the presence in these writings of words that were not used freely also by non-medical writers. Indeed, the attempt was bound to fail for the reason that unlike the present medical profession the ancient physician scarcely had a technical vocabulary at all. As Professor G. F. Moore there pointed out (pp. 53 f.), while modern medical terminology is largely made up of foreign words, the scientific words of the Greeks were native to the living language and congenial for ordinary use. To support this Galen's statement was quoted (p. 64, n. 91), that for the sake of clearness he preferred to employ, not unfamiliar terms, but those which the bulk of people are accustomed to use. I would now add that Galen makes the same claim for the linguistic practice of Hippocrates, his famous predecessor. In *Comm. Hipp. de Epidem. iii*, 32 (ed. Kuhn XVII. i. 678) Galen says: *ὁ γάρ τοι τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου υἱὸς Ἱπποκράτης . . . φαίνεται συνηθεστάτοις τε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σαφέσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεχρημένος, ἃ καλεῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς πολιτικά.*

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A DECADE OF LUTHER STUDY ¹

PRESERVED SMITH

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

SINCE the last biographies of Luther in English appeared, nearly ten years ago, a vast amount of light has been shed on the subject by the discovery of new documents and by the intensive research of a great army of the learned. A special stimulus was supplied to their zeal by the celebration of the Reformation quadricentenary in 1917; and the fact that America was cut off from Germany for four years out of the last ten, and that the books of her production have only begun to reach us in large numbers, may add another reason, were it necessary, for offering an extensive review of the outstanding work in this field since the end of the year 1910. For the sake of convenience the more detailed studies will be taken up first, in the chronological order of events in Luther's life; the more general collections of works, bibliographies, biographies, and estimates, will follow after.

I. EARLY LIFE, 1483-1517

The German proverb,

Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Muss in des Dichters Heimat gehen,

is true of other great men besides poets. A good introduction to the beautiful scenery and historical relics of Eisenach and Mansfeld has been furnished by Kutzke ² and, on a much less pretentious scale, by Helen Kendall Smith.³ In this region Hans Luther "the Big" lived with his large family, and here

¹ Presented at the meeting of the American Society of Church History, December 27, 1920.

² G. Kutzke, *Aus Luthers Heimat*, 1914.

³ 'Luther Byways,' *Lutheran Survey*, October 23, 1918.

also lived another Hans Luther "the Little," his own brother, if we may believe Otto Scheel, whose thorough research has put him at the head of the authorities for this period of Martin's life.⁴ The other Hans Luther, if indeed we can accept the distinction made very remarkable by the same name for the brothers, may have been the rough character to whom Wicel's well-known anecdote that Luther's father fled from Eisenach because he had committed a murder applies. That Martin was the oldest son seems now to be settled, though Köhler credits a saying in the Table Talk that he was the second.⁵ From the fact that Luther, when matriculating at Erfurt on May 2, 1501, paid the full fee of thirty groschen, it has been inferred that his father at this time was in fairly comfortable circumstances.⁶ Much new light on Luther's student life may be derived not only from the researches of Neubauer, Bernay,⁷ and Scheel, but from the recent discovery, by H. Degering, of an old letter-book containing letters of Luther and his friends to their former teachers and pastor in Eisenach.⁸

One of these epistles, from the schoolmaster of Eisenach, Trebonius, dated February 5, 1505, speaks of Martin's good health and success, and holds him up as a model to the addressee of the missive, Lewis Han. Three of the letters are attributed by Degering to Luther, one dated April 28, 1507, inviting a teacher to his first mass, and signed by his name, being almost universally accepted as genuine. Another letter, unsigned, dated February 23, 1503, modestly disclaims the praise bestowed upon the writer by his correspondent, asks to borrow a book of Lyra, and apologizes for having eaten and drunken too much. This letter, though defended by Paquier as a welcome proof of the Reformer's early intemperance, has

⁴ Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther: Vom Katholizismus zur Reformation*. 2 vols. 1917 (vol. i in 2d ed.). On the two Hans Luthers, see Scheel, i, 6; Buchwald, *Lutherkalendar*, 1910, and *Luther's Correspondence*, i, 22, note 2.

⁵ 'Luther,' in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii (1912), col. 2412. Against this, Scheel, i, 3.

⁶ T. T. Neubauer, *Luthers Frühzeit*, 1917, p. 46 (*Jahrbücher d. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Erfurt*, N. F. xliii).

⁷ F. Bernay, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt und der Universität Erfurt am Ausgange des Mittelalters*, 1919.

⁸ Published in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxxiii, 1916.

been rejected by all other scholars, and in my opinion rightly.⁹ On the third letter, dated September 5, 1501, and signed "Martinus Viropolitanus" or "Martin of Mansfeld City," there is much difference of opinion. Neubauer, Böhmer and Scheel reject it; Kawerau and Flemming are undecided; but I concur with Freitag in regarding it as perfectly genuine and a valuable new light on the boy's student days. In order to enable English readers to judge for themselves I here translate it:¹⁰

*Luther to John Braun at Eisenach*¹¹

PORTA COELI, ERFURT, SEPTEMBER 5, 1501

Greeting. Kindest of men. Joyfully I received both your messenger and your salutations chosen for me, by which I learn that your kindness towards me has not only not diminished but has even increased. I quite rejoice; and for the special and familiar benevolence with which you visit me, although I am not able to return fitting thanks, yet I have great and immortal gratitude, for you sufficiently deserve this from me more than from any mortal.

Now, to satisfy your curiosity, know that fair fortune and good health are mine, and that, by the favor of the saints,¹² I am settled here as pleasantly as possible. Nor would I have you ignorant that I am serving under that teacher of liberal arts N.,¹³ my countryman, at the house of Porta Coeli.¹⁴

⁹ Paquier, *Luther et l'Allemagne*, 1918, p. 95; Köhler in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 19; Kawerau in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1916, col. 331 f.; Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix, 247 f., and *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiii, 24. Freitag thinks the letter from Han to Trebonius.

¹⁰ Scheel, *op. cit.*, i (2d ed.), 140, and note on p. 293. The most thorough discussion is in Neubauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff. (1) He says Luther would not have been guilty of writing the hybrid word "Viropolitanus," and that it means "Manstedt," not Mansfeld, but I think it means the city as distinguished from the county of Mansfeld. (2) He thinks there is difficulty in identifying the teacher of whom Luther speaks as fellow-countryman, but this is not convincing. (3) He says that Luther's known teacher, J. Greffenstein (John Ansorg of Gräfenstein, on whom see *ibid.*, pp. 225 ff.), was not at Porta Caeli. (4) He says that Luther was at Bursa of St. George, not at Porta Caeli. But he might have changed. Cf. also Biereye, *Die Erfurter Lutherstätten nach ihrer geschichtlichen Begläubigung*, 1917; P. Flemming in *Luthers Briefwechsel*, xvii, 1920, p. 83; W. Köhler, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 19. H. Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*,⁵ 1918, p. 309 doubts the genuineness of all three letters.

¹¹ Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, xvii, 82; *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xxxiii (1916), 78.

¹² *Diis faventibus*, "by favor of the gods," meant the same as the "favor of the saints" at this period.

¹³ According to Degering's note, *loc. cit.*, this teacher was John Greffenstein.

¹⁴ This was a foundation for the support of poor students: a full account of it in O. Scheel, *Luther*, i (2d ed., 1917), and A. Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix (1919), 247 ff.

This is due to the persuasion of my generous kinsmen when I visited my father's house. But this is nothing to you.

Finally I beg and beseech you to bear it patiently that so long a time has passed without my sending you a letter. Could I have done so I should have complied with your wishes thus, for indeed long ago I had two letters ready to be taken to you, but I could not find a messenger.

Last of all, as I close, please give my warm greetings to your neighbor.^{14a} Farewell, most revered of men.

Martin of Mansfeld, your honorary umpire.¹⁵ To N., the soldier of the Lord.¹⁶

The problem of Luther's inner development from the day he took the vow to be a monk until the day when the message came to him, with such force that he believed it to be a revelation of the Holy Ghost, that man was justified by faith only, has attracted more attention than perhaps any other in this field. After Grisar's discoveries that the essence of the doctrine was pure passivity, and that the supposed revelation came to him as late as 1519 and in a most unpleasant place, a fresh attempt to solve the problem was made by the application of the psycho-analytical theories of Sigismund Freud.¹⁷ An early, indeed infantile, experience of bodily hardship and spiritual terror implanted in the boy's mind a desperate impression of the power and danger of concupiscence, and it was this, working out under manifold modification of later study and ascetic experience, that brought him, through a sense of his own weakness, to throw himself entirely on the merits of the Saviour. The attempt, though in line with previous researches by Braun, Hausrath, Köhler, and others, who had noticed the neurotic elements in Luther's strong character, was criticized by Scheel

^{14a} Text *conterminam*, might be changed to *Catarinam*, meaning Braun's sister, but much more likely *conterminam*, 'neighbor,' referring to some lady Luther had known at Eisenach, perhaps to Ursula Cotta.

¹⁵ *Martinus viropolitanus arbiter tuus onerarius*. That *viropolitanus* means "from the town of Mansfeld" is quite certain, however meaningless the barbarous compound itself may be. The *arbiter tuus onerarius* was a jocose title given Luther by Braun, with allusion to Cicero, *Tusc.* v. 120, where Cicero says that in philosophical disputes on virtue and the good, Carneades would act *tanquam honorarius arbiter*.

¹⁶ That this letter is really to Braun is proved by the fact that the same title *divinus miles* is given to him in Letter 11.

¹⁷ Preserved Smith, 'Luther's Early Development in the Light of Psychoanalysis,' *American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1913; *Id.*, 'Luther's Development of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith Only,' *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1913.

as derogatory to the Reformer's personality. Scheel not only idealizes Luther, but, as Köhler noticed in a review, makes him too normal; Scheel is always asking simply what the average student or friar would have experienced, and applying this to his subject. Thus he denies the value of some of Luther's own most explicit sayings, such as that he was forced to do the menial work of the cloister as a novice, and that he almost broke down through nervous terror when saying his first mass. But Scheel has no right to set aside testimony inconvenient to his thesis — as he does both in his large book and in a small selection of extracts from the Reformer's works, intended to illustrate the course of his development¹⁸ — and for this he has been severely and on the whole justly criticized by A. V. Müller.¹⁹ Müller accuses him not only of this tendency but of ignorance of "the Catholic psyche" and of medieval theology, in which field Müller's own reading is remarkably large.²⁰ His own thesis, doubtless carried too far, is that everything in Luther can be found in his predecessors, and that there is practically nothing original at all in the Reformer's thought. Ernst Troeltsch²¹ speaks of Luther's early days as an insoluble problem, full of nervous crises and melancholy.

The tendency, however, is now to emphasize the normality and cheerfulness of the boy's life as a student, and consequently to throw into stronger relief the suddenness of his vow to be a monk and the regret he felt for it afterwards.²² That it was influenced by the outbreak of plague in 1505 is denied by Scheel, but is again made probable by Neubauer. That he was ordained priest on April 3, 1507, is now considered likely.²³ Scheel denies the early influence of Staupitz, and Müller thinks that the spiritual director who helped him so much in the

¹⁸ O. Scheel, *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung*, 1911.

¹⁹ A. V. Müller, *Luthers Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis*, 1920, and in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1917, pp. 496 ff.

²⁰ A. V. Müller, *Luthers theologische Quellen*, 1912.

²¹ 'Luther und der Protestantismus,' *Neue Rundschau*, xxviii (1917), p. 1312.

²² Scheel, i, 259; Neubauer, p. 99; Freitag in *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxix, 270 ff.; Biereye, pp. 180 ff.

²³ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxvii (1917), p. 216; Scheel, 'Luthers Primiz,' in *Studien G. Kawerau dargebracht*, 1917, pp. 1 ff.

cloister was Usingen.²⁴ The importance of the doctorate has attracted the attention of Steinlein.²⁵

The exact course of Luther's development during these cloister years has been traced by a large number of scholars, and agreement on it seems far from reached. The date of the "conversion" has been put by Böhmer in 1505, by Scheel in the winter of 1512-13, by Müller in 1514, and by Grisar in 1519. My own opinion that it came when Luther had begun to lecture on Romans, in the late spring or early summer of 1515, has been confirmed by the subsequent researches of Bonwetsch.²⁶ Particularly thorough studies have been made of the influence of the mystics on the Reformer.²⁷

A new source of considerable importance for these years is the publication, for the first time, of Luther's earliest lectures on Galatians, given from October 27, 1516, to April 24, 1517.²⁸ While they contain no such treasures as the lectures on Romans, they offer many a welcome addition to our previous knowledge. For one thing they show the Erasmian influence at its maximum, not only by the many quotations from the editor of the Greek Testament, but by the preference of the author for Jerome against Augustine (pp. 18, 39). This is particularly interesting, as Humbert has derived the alienation of Erasmus

²⁴ Werdegang, p. 15.

²⁵ H. Steinlein, *Luthers Doktorat*, 1912. Cf. Enders, xvii, 86 f.; *Luther's Correspondence*, i, no. 4.

²⁶ *Harvard Theological Review*, 1913, p. 420, note; Scheel, ii, 318 ff.; Müller, *Werdegang*, 130; Cf. *Tischreden*, Weimar, iii, no. 3232; *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, xxxv, 86. Cf. also O. Ritschl, 'Luthers seelische Kämpfe in seiner früheren Mönchtum,' *Internationale Wochenschrift*, January 21, 1911; F. Loofs, 'Justitia dei passiva in Luthers Anfängen,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1911, pp. 461-473; A. Humbert, *Les origines de la théologie moderne*, 1911; W. Köhler, 'Luther bis 1521,' *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, ed. Pflugk-Harttung, 1912; E. Billing, *1517-1521: ett bidrag till frågan om Luthers religiosa och teologiska utvecklingsgång*, 1917; H. von Schubert, *Luthers Frühentwicklung bis 1517-19*, 1916; G. N. Bonwetsch, *Wie wurde Luther zum Reformator?*, 1917.

²⁷ A. V. Müller, *Luther und Tauler*, 1918; *Die Predigten Taulers*, hrsg. von F. Vetter, 1910; *Der Frankfurter (deutsche theologia)*, hrsg. von W. Uhl (*Kleine Texte*, no. 96); Hunziger, 'Luther und die deutsche Mystik,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xix, 972-988; G. Siedel, *Die Mystik Taulers*, 1911; M. Windstosser, *Étude sur la 'Théologie germanique'*, 1912.

²⁸ *Luthers Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief 1516-17*, hrsg. von Hans von Schubert, 1918. On this, further, J. Ficker, *Luther, 1517*, 1918.

and Luther from the preference of the humanist for Jerome and of the friar for Augustine.²⁹ These lectures also show that Luther had fully arrived at his doctrine of justification by faith only, and that he was still exercised by the distinction between the law and the gospel which he later described as the crux of his early theology. The best commentary on Luther's early exegesis of Scripture is not found in the recent Protestant work of Schlatter,³⁰ or in the Catholic essay of Lagrange,³¹ but in a brilliant little book by Meissinger,³² pointing out the exact limitations as well as the strength of the Wittenberg professor. More light may be expected from the publication of the commentary on Hebrews, now in preparation. Extracts from it may be found in Grisar's first volume.

The journey to Rome has been carefully studied by Böhmer,³³ by whom the exact condition of the city at the time is well set forth. In this respect much may also be gathered from the sumptuous work of Rodocanachi.³⁴ The discovery by Kawerau of some notes of the Augustinian General, Aegidius Viterbo, has definitely settled the time of the trip as in the winter of 1510–1511.³⁵ That Luther was sent as a delegate of the convents protesting against Staupitz's attempt to force them all into the "Observants," and that while at Rome he changed sides and went over to Staupitz, thus making his transfer from Erfurt to Wittenberg necessary soon after his return, as asserted by Grisar, is probable, though it has been denied by Scheel. A new light on the famous story of the ascent of the Scala Santa interrupted by the thought, "Who knows whether the prayer said here avails?" has come from a sermon of 1545 recently discovered.³⁶ According to this Luther was performing the act in order to get the soul of a forbeare out of purgatory, and

²⁹ Humbert, *op. cit.*, chap. 5: St. Jérôme contre St. Augustine.

³⁰ A. Schlatter, *Luthers Deutung des Römerbriefes*, 1917.

³¹ M. J. Lagrange, *Luther on the Eve of his Revolt*, translated by W. S. Reilly, 1918 (originally written 1914–16, on Luther's Commentary on Romans).

³² K. A. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in der Frühzeit*, 1911.

³³ H. Böhmer, *Luthers Romfahrt*, 1914.

³⁴ E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au Temps de Jules II et de Léon X*, 1912. Cf. what Luther says of seeing the Barigel at Rome (*Werke*, Berlin, viii, 134) with Rodocanachi, p. 276.

³⁵ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxii, 604.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 607.

stopped because of doubt. Since then a plate has been found at Delft with a picture of the Scala Santa and the legend, "Who knows whether this is genuine?"³⁷ showing possibly that Luther's doubts were occasioned rather by suspicion of the genuineness of the relic than by the dawning thought of justification by faith. One of the most interesting new discoveries is that by Grisar that on his return journey, in order to avoid the wars in North Italy, Luther returned through France, saying mass at Nice probably on January 20, 1511, thence through Pernes near Avignon, where he was the guest of the Augustinian cloister, and then up the Rhone Valley and through Switzerland.³⁸

II. THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, 1517-1521

A general review of this period is offered in convenient form in two works by Professor Dau.³⁹ On the theory and practice of indulgences something may be found scattered here and there in recent works,⁴⁰ notably in a study of contemporary documents by Göller. New studies of the Ninety-five Theses have exhibited their logical order,⁴¹ have shown that they were printed by Luther himself before they were posted on the castle church,⁴² and have discussed their theological postulates.⁴³

³⁷ *Theologische Rundschau*, xv (1912), 88 f.; Grisar, iii, 958. A. Eckhof, 'Luther en de Pilatus-Trap te Rome,' *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N. S., xii, 1 ff., 1916.

³⁸ H. Grisar, 'Lutheranalekten,' *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xxxix (1919), 487 ff.

³⁹ W. H. T. Dau, *The Leipzig Debate*, 1919; Id., *The Great Renunciation*, 1920.

⁴⁰ E.g. in H. de Jongh, *L'ancienne Faculté de Théologie de Louvain*, 1911, pp. 92 ff.; C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, 1912, p. 51, on an English play on indulgences in 1518; G. Guinness, *Peru*, 1908, p. 372, showing that in South America indulgences for the dead are still profitable; E. Göller, *Der Ausbruch der Reformation und die spätmittelalterliche Ablasspraxis*, 1917.

⁴¹ T. Brieger, 'Die Gliederung der 95 Thesen,' *Lenz-Festschrift*, 1910, pp. 1-37.

⁴² O. Clemen in *Luthers Werke*, Bonn, i, 1912, p. 1. They were probably printed at Wittenberg with types borrowed from Melchior Lotther of Leipzig, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxv, 164 f. A different conclusion is reached by O. Günther, 'Die Drucker von Luthers Ablassthesen 1517,' *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. ix, 259 ff., 1918. He thinks they were first printed by Jerome Hölzel of Nuremberg and John Thanner Herbipolensis of Leipzig.

⁴³ M. Rade, *Luthers Rechtfertigungsglaube und seine Bedeutung für die 95 Thesen und für uns*, 1917.

Paul Kalkoff, having mastered this period as has none other, has in many works illuminated the subject of the Roman process against Luther.⁴⁴ He shows that Cajetan's *Tractatus de Indulgentiis*, finished at Rome on December 8, 1517, was already directed against Luther, and that the same theologian drafted the bull *Cum postquam* condemning his position; he also shows that the influence of Miltitz has been recently exaggerated.

The influences that bore on Luther during these great years have also been carefully studied by Kalkoff, who would reduce to a minimum the part played by Hutten,⁴⁵ whom he thinks neither sincere nor able; and on the other hand would exalt the rôles of Elector Frederic⁴⁶ and of Erasmus. Professor D. S. Schaff's interesting study of "A Spurious Tract of John Huss" suggested to a Luther scholar the probability that the work was forged in the interest of the Reformer about 1521.⁴⁷ Recently a sixteenth-century manuscript containing Huss's Prophecy of Luther, has been discovered.⁴⁸

A fresh study of the Address to the German Nobility has discovered in it traces of the influence of Marsiglio of Padua and of Occam's politics.⁴⁹ New sources have been unearthed relating to the publication of the bull *Exsurge Domine* by Eck in Germany,⁵⁰ and to the battle against him waged by the

⁴⁴ P. Kalkoff, 'Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxii (1911), pp. 1 ff., 199 ff., 408 ff., 572 ff.; xxxiii (1912), 1 ff. *Id.*, 'Die von Cajetan verfasste Ablassdekretale und seine Verhandlungen mit dem Kurfürsten von Sachsen in Weimar, 28 und 29 Mai, 1519,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, ix (1912), 142 ff.; *Id.*, *Die Miltiziade*, 1911. Cf. also H. Barge, 'Das Vorgehen der Kurie gegen Luther 1518-21,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xxvii (1911).

⁴⁵ On Hutten, cf. O. Harnack, 'Ulrich von Hutten,' in *Im Morgenrot der Reformation*, hrsg. von Pflugk-Harttung, 1912, pp. 451-554; P. Kalkoff, *Ulrich von Hutten und die Reformation*, 1920.

⁴⁶ P. Kalkoff, 'Friedrich der Weise,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiv (1917).

⁴⁷ Preserved Smith, 'Note to D. S. Schaff's Spurious Tract of John Huss,' *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1915. On Huss's influence on Luther, cf. *Werke*, Weimar, vol. I, p. 37.

⁴⁸ J. Truhlar, *Catalogus manu scriptorum Latinorum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Pragensis*, 1906, no. 2774, "Hussi de Luthero vaticinium."

⁴⁹ P. Imbart de la Tour, in *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, p. 607. On the influence of Hutten and Capito, Kalkoff, *Hutten*, 1920, p. 74.

⁵⁰ J. Greving, 'Zur Verkündigung der Bulle Exsurge Domine,' in *Briefmappe*, i, 1912, pp. 196 ff. Bibliography of early printed editions of the bull in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. ix, 197 ff., and x, 19, 1918-19.

University of Paris.⁵¹ The decisive importance of the burning of the Canon Law has been thus well stated by Workman:⁵²

With his usual insight Luther saw that the overthrow of the ecclesiastical jurisprudence of the Middle Ages was a prime necessity if the Augustinian doctrine of grace was ever to receive its old place in the life of the church and the claims of the papacy to be overthrown. . . . In burning the Decretals Luther claimed more than his civil freedom; he asserted the need for a spiritual theology.

A flood of works⁵³ on the Diet of Worms have laid bare the inner workings and the ecclesiastical-political log-rolling of that famous body. It now appears probable that Leo offered Frederic of Saxony his support in obtaining the imperial crown in return for the surrender of Luther, and it is certain that at the election of Charles, and in the capitulations drawn up by his agents at this time, Frederic stipulated that his subject should be heard, or at least should not be outlawed without a hearing. Thus were foiled Aleander's efforts to prevent Luther's appearance. Some discussion has been aroused by the assertion that Luther's promise to give an answer "without horns or teeth" referred to the student ceremony of "deposition" or hazing a freshman by pretending to extract his horrid horns and tusks.⁵⁴ Kalkoff has shown that the placard friendly to Luther, signed with the words "Buntschuch, Buntschuch, Buntschuch," was posted at Worms by Hermann van der Busche.⁵⁵ He has also demonstrated that the Edict of Worms was carried through the Diet by imperial pressure and intrigue, contrary to the

⁵¹ A. Clerval, *Régistres des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, i, 1917, pp. 273 f., 278 ff., 285; *Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, 1917, pp. 35 ff.

⁵² *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, 1911, p. 165.

⁵³ P. Kalkoff, *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiment und der einzelnen Reichsfürsten*, 1917; P. Kalkoff, *Luther und die Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation*, 1917; Kalkoff, *Die Entstehung des Wormser Edikts*, 1913; H. von Schubert, *Die Vorgeschichte der Berufung Luthers auf den Reichstag zu Worms*, 1912 (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, vi.); F. Boller, *Luthers Berufung nach Worms*, Giessen Dissertation, 1912. Documents in J. Kuhn, *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag*, 1913; Kalkoff, 'Zur Entstehung des Wormser Edikts,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiii (1916), pp. 241-276.

⁵⁴ H. Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 4th ed., 1917, p. 147; W. Köhler, *Die deutsche Reformation und die Studenten*, 1917, p. 21; T. T. Neubauer, 'Luthers Frühzeit,' *Erfurter Jahrbücher*, N. F. xliii (1917), p. 47.

⁵⁵ *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, viii (1911), pp. 341 ff.

wishes of the majority, and that it was practically a dead letter even in the Catholic states of Germany.

III. THE GROWTH OF A PROTESTANT PARTY

No sooner had Luther, after his brave deed at Worms, gone to the seclusion of the Wartburg,⁵⁶ than the struggle with radicalism, scarcely less hard or less important for the history of his church than the battle with Romanism, began. The old sources having been edited with more care,⁵⁷ and some new ones having been added,⁵⁸ Barge has defended, while other scholars have impugned,⁵⁹ the thesis that the true line of development in the direction of lay religion and of real Protestantism was found by Carlstadt and the other radicals, and was from this time forth rather hindered than helped by the intervention of Luther. In regard to the Zwickau prophets it is interesting to note that the town had long been a hotbed of Waldensian heresy.⁶⁰ Luther's sermons against them have been declared by the most recent criticism⁶¹ to be unreliably handed down to us; on the other hand new sayings revealing his really frightful hatred for the radicals have come to light.⁶²

⁵⁶ Fine historical description of the Wartburg by O. Schmiedel, *Address of Welcome to the Wartburg*, August 12, 1910, reprinted in *Congress of Free Christianity*, 1911, p. 675. One of the noted sights there is the inkspot on the wall, or rather the hole where it was said to have been. Interesting to note that Fynes Moryson saw at Wittenberg in 1591, "an aspersion of ink cast by the Divell when he tempted Luther upon the wall of St. Augustine's college." F. Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1907, i, 16.

⁵⁷ H. Barge, *Aktenstücke zur Wittenberger Bewegung*, 1912; H. Lietzmann, *Karlstadt's Abtueung der Bilder und die Wittenberger Beutelordnung (Kleine Texte, no. 74)*.

⁵⁸ Accounts of the doings at Wittenberg 1522 by H. Mühlport and J. Pfau, ed. by H. Böhmer, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxv, 397 ff.

⁵⁹ H. Barge, 'Zur Genesis der Frühreformatorischen Vorgänge in Wittenberg,' *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xxv (1914), and article 'Karlstadt' in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii; M. von Tiling, 'Der Kampf gegen die Missa privata,' *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xx.

⁶⁰ H. Böhmer, in *Schriften des Vereins für niedersächsische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, xxxvi (1915), pp. 1-38.

⁶¹ O. Clemen, *Luthers Werke*, Bonn, ii, 1913, p. 311.

⁶² "If Carlstadt believes there is any God in heaven or earth, may Christ never be gracious to me," said Luther. *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte*, xi (1914), 141. On Luther's battle with James Schenck, see P. Vetter in *Neues Archiv für sächsische Geschichte*, xxx (1909), 76 ff.; xxxii (1911), 23 ff.

The same years that saw the struggle with radicalism saw the controversy with Henry VIII and the much more important break with humanism in the person of Erasmus. Two studies⁶³ of the former aim to probe the causes of the alternate enmity and rapprochement of the king and the Reformer and to exhibit the amazing number of opinions offered Henry by divines that bigamy would be a permissible solution of his matrimonial difficulties.

Well worn as is the attractive subject of the relations of Luther and Erasmus, new light may be expected, as it has to some extent been already shed, by the splendid edition of Erasmus's epistles by Mr. P. S. Allen.⁶⁴ Even if little new material on this subject has as yet been forthcoming, the proper arrangement of all the letters in order and with full notes is valuable. It is interesting, for example, to know that Erasmus sent the Ninety-five Theses to Colet and More, with favorable comment, on March 5, 1518,⁶⁵ and probably sent a greeting to Luther as early as January of that year.⁶⁶ Kalkoff has shown,⁶⁷ with success on the whole even though with some exaggeration, that Erasmus took a much more favorable view of Luther during his first years than he would himself later admit, and that he tried with great energy and even hardihood to secure him a fair hearing before an impartial court. Luther's completely Augustinian doctrine of the bondage of the will has been illuminated by A. V. Müller,⁶⁸ while a few new sources as to the prog-

⁶³ Preserved Smith, 'Luther and Henry VIII,' *English Historical Review*, 1910; *Id.*, 'German Opinion of the Divorce of Henry VIII,' *ibid.*, 1912. A note on the play against Luther given at the English Court by the children of St. Paul's School is found in C. W. Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, 1912, pp. 66 ff.

⁶⁴ *Opus Epistolarum Erasmi*, iii, 1913, to June, 1519. Mr. Allen writes me that the fourth volume is now in press and the fifth and sixth ready in manuscript.

⁶⁵ Allen, Epp. 785, 786.

⁶⁶ Allen, Ep. 755, *saluta Eleutherium Audacem*. Allen does not make the identification with Luther, which, however, seems probable to me. "Eleutherius" was the form in which Luther then wrote his name and by which Erasmus first knew him.

⁶⁷ P. Kalkoff, *Erasmus, Luther, und Friedrich der Weise*, 1919.

⁶⁸ *Luthers theologischen Quellen*, 1912, pp. 209 f., and *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxv, 135 f. It seems that Luther's comparison of the will to a beast of burden is found in Raymund of Sabunde, and in Augustine, or perhaps Pseudo-Augustine, *Lib. iii Hypomnesticum*; see Seit, *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation*, p. 28.

ress of the controversy have seen the light.⁶⁹ A scholarly, if somewhat diffuse, comparison of the Reformer and the humanist, has now come from the pen of Dr. R. H. Murray, of Dublin.⁷⁰

As the Lutheran church was losing the radicals and the humanists, it sustained another shock in the sacramentarian schism, begun indeed by Carlstadt, but carried to its most important lengths by Zwingli and Oecolampadius. New light on the course of the controversy has shone from the pages of the latest edition of Zwingli's works, now in course of publication though much delayed on account of the war,⁷¹ and from several special studies based in large part on this,⁷² and by a few new sources;⁷³ to which will presently be added Bullinger's correspondence, now in preparation for printing. The influence of Carlstadt and Hoen on Zwingli is now clear, as is his somewhat disingenuous tactic in spreading his views by means of an open letter nominally addressed to a Lutheran pastor, Matthew Alber, but in reality not sent to him or to anyone who could forward it to Wittenberg. Hans von Schubert⁷⁴ has shown, in a thorough and original work, that the basis of the discussion at Marburg was the symbol known as the Schwabach Articles, drawn up not, as hitherto believed, after, but in reality before, the meeting took place. The unhappy effects of the schism long after Zwingli's death were noted by his followers in Italy⁷⁵ and in Switzerland.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ Letters of M. Förster, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1911, 1 ff.

⁷⁰ *Luther and Erasmus: their Attitude towards Toleration*, 1920.

⁷¹ *Zwingli's Werke*, hrsg. von E. Egli, G. Finsler, und W. Köhler, 1905 ff. Volumes 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 and parts of 4 and 9. The treatises now come to 1525, the correspondence to 1528. An English translation of *The Latin Works and Correspondence of H. Zwingli*, ed. S. M. Jackson, has begun. Vol. i, 1912.

⁷² W. Köhler, 'Zum Abendmahlsstreite zwischen Luther und Zwingli,' *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation*, 1917, pp. 114 ff.; J. A. Faulkner, 'Dies ist mein Leib: a Celebrated Debate,' *Baptist Theological Quarterly*, 1915, pp. 397 ff.

⁷³ Daniel Greser's Autobiography, in *Zwingliana*, ii (1920), 324; and W. Köhler: *ibid.*, pp. 356 ff., on the Marburg Conference.

⁷⁴ *Bündnis und Bekenntnis 1529-30*, 1910.

⁷⁵ Letter of Venetian Protestants to Luther, November 26, 1542; Enders, xv, 26.

⁷⁶ Bullinger to Vadian, May, 1544; *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, ed. Arbenz und Wartmann, vi (1908), p. 321.

Perhaps this is the most convenient place to recall briefly the new sources and treatment of Luther's relations with Duke George of Saxony.⁷⁷

IV. CHURCH BUILDING

None of the numerous recent studies of Luther's Bible are quite so interesting as the protocol of the revisions of 1531 and 1539-41 now first published in the Weimar edition.⁷⁸ The immense care, the linguistic genius, and the practical interest of Luther stand out here as never before. Thus, during the sessions of the committee of revision, Luther is reported as saying: "I will sing Psalm 64 as a farewell to the papists and hope they will howl Amen to it" (p. 28); and again, on Genesis 1, "Aristotle says much of this chapter but proves little" (p. 169), and of Genesis 3, "No fable could be more fabulous" (p. 172). Errors are freely admitted in the sacred writings, as in the contradiction between Genesis 12 and Acts 7, 2 ff., or in the exaggerated numbers in 1 Kings 5, 15. Reichert has added to this an account of two new protocols of the revision of the New Testament,⁷⁹ and the first edition of the German Testament (September, 1522) has been accurately reproduced by the Furche-Verlag in Berlin, with good introductions by G. Kawerau and O. Reichert.

Various studies of the relation of Luther's translation to its predecessors have shown that it borrowed little;⁸⁰ and its immediate success in driving out all other versions, except to

⁷⁷ F. Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*. Band ii, 1524-27, 1917; O. A. Hecker, *Religion und Politik in den letzten Lebensjahren Herzog Georgs des Bärtigen von Sachsen*, 1912. *Bibliographie der sächsischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von R. Bemmman, i, 1918.

⁷⁸ *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, *Deutsche Bibel*, iii. Vol. v has also been published. Cf. also, Risch, 'Welche Aufgabe stellt die Lutherbibel der wissenschaftlichen Forschung?' *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1911.

⁷⁹ O. Reichert, 'Zwei neue Protokolle zur Revision des Neuen Testaments,' *Luthersstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation*, 1917, pp. 203 ff.

⁸⁰ W. W. Florer, *Luthers Use of the Pre-Lutheran Versions of the Bible*, 1913, maintains that he did; but on the other hand, see M. Burgdorf, *Johann Lange*. Rostock Dissertation, 1911, pp. 79 ff.; W. Walther, *Die ersten Konkurrenten des Bibelübersetzers Luther*, 1917; W. Walther, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, 1917; Weber, 'Zu Luthers September und December-Testament,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 399.

some small extent the Swiss one by Leo Jud, has been demonstrated by Zerener.⁸¹ Other studies on the linguistic side aim to show that Luther had practically completed his version, in small bits, before he went to the Wartburg.⁸² It has now been proved by Reichert that the Bible of 1546 represents Luther's final revision, and not, as previously thought, the changes made by Rörer on his own initiative.⁸³

The problem of church government facing Luther has been best stated, perhaps, among recent contributions, by E. Förster,⁸⁴ and best answered by Professor Macmillan.⁸⁵ Of the two alternatives open to him, that of congregationalism and that of state rule, he would have preferred the former, but was driven by force of circumstances, particularly by the unruly radicals, to embrace the latter. New sources and fresh analyses of his order of divine service,⁸⁶ of his system of church visitation,⁸⁷ and of his political theory⁸⁸ have come forth. A new note is the attention now paid to economic questions and the capitalistic revolution of the sixteenth century.⁸⁹ Old, on the other hand, is the problem of Luther and toleration, now again

⁸¹ H. Zerener, *Studien über das beginnende Eindringen der lutherischen Bibelübersetzung in die deutsche Literatur*, 1911.

⁸² W. W. Florer, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxvi, 1911, and in a paper read at Modern Language Association, 1915; E. Giese, *Untersuchungen über das Verhältnis von Luthers Sprache zur Wittenberger Drucksprache*, 1915.

⁸³ *Lutherstudien*, u. s. w., 1917, p. 221; *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xiv (1917), p. 227. On the subsequent life of the book, see J. P. Hentz, *History of the Lutheran Version of the Bible*, 1910, and H. Guthe, *Luther und die Bibelforschung der Gegenwart*, 1917.

⁸⁴ In *Fifth International Congress of Free Christianity*, English, 1911, p. 225.

⁸⁵ K. D. Macmillan, *Protestantism in Germany*, 1917.

⁸⁶ P. Drews, *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes und des gottesdienstlichen Lebens*, iv und v, 1910; K. Holl, 'Die Entstehung von Luthers Kirchenbegriff,' *Forschungen und Versuche zur Geschichte*. Festschrift Dietrich Schäfer dargebracht, 1915, pp. 410 ff.

⁸⁷ Berbig, 'Akten der Kursächsischen Visitationen,' *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, xxi (1912), pp. 386-429.

⁸⁸ K. Holl, 'Luther und die landesherrliche Kirchenregiment,' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*. Ergänzungsheft, 1911; E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 1912.

⁸⁹ J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and Economic Questions,' *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d series, ii, 1910; J. Schliter, 'Luther's Kampf gegen den Kapitalismus,' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1917, pp. 126 ff.; A. Hilpert, *Die Sequestration der geistlichen Güter in Kursachsen, 1531-43*. Leipzig Dissertation, 1911.

approached with greater acumen and depth than ever.⁹⁰ It is clearer than ever that Luther was tolerant in his early years, but that with the triumph of his church, and under the pressure of men more impatient of dissent than himself, he came to justify persecution on the plea that he was putting down, not freedom of belief, but open blasphemy. It is also clear that, however much the Reformation may have temporarily overclouded the European sky with dark fanaticism, it eventually worked out the academic freedom of the Renaissance into a far broader religious liberty for the peoples as a whole.

Passing over, as not particularly important, what has recently been done on Luther's preaching,⁹¹ teaching,⁹² and hymns,⁹³ a word must be said as to the catechisms.⁹⁴ A source for the first part of the catechisms has now been found in a book on the Ten Commandments printed at Strassburg in 1516. Since that same year, at least, Luther had regularly preached on them; three cycles of sermons of the year 1528 furnishing him with the well-worked material digested into the Small and Large Catechisms. These were prepared together, the Small Catechism coming out in tabular form in January, 1529, and in book form in May, and the Large Catechism in

⁹⁰ N. Paulus, *Protestantismus und Toleranz*, 1911; K. Völker, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1912; F. Ruffini, *Religious Liberty*, 1912; R. Lewin, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden*, 1911; P. Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens und Philipps von Hessen zur Taufbewegung*, 1910; G. L. Burr: 'Anent the Middle Ages,' *American Historical Review*, 1913, 710-726; K. Sell, 'Der Zusammenhang von Reformation und politischen Freiheit,' *Abhandlungen und Theologischen Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Predigerverein*, N. F. xii, 1910; J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and Toleration,' *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 2d Series, iv (1914), pp. 129 ff.; Preserved Smith, *Life and Letters of Luther*, 2d ed., Preface, 1914.

⁹¹ L. Ihmels, *Das Dogma in der Predigt Luthers*, 1912; J. A. Singmaster, 'Luther the Preacher,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, July, 1917.

⁹² W. Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg*, 1917; W. Köhler, *Die Reformation und die Studenten*, 1917.

⁹³ J. F. Lauchert, *Luther's Hymns*, 1917; O. Albrecht, 'Das Lutherlied, Was fürchtest du Feind Herodes?' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1912, pp. 287 ff.; O. Brenner, 'Und keinen Dank dazu haben,' *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 72 ff.; Böhmer (*Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 4th ed., p. 145) now asserts that Luther composed the music to *Ein' feste Burg*. Grisar (iii, 290), dates this hymn in 1528, calling attention to the striking parallels in the Sermons on John (*Werke*, Weimar, xxviii).

⁹⁴ J. Adam, in *Evangelische Freiheit*, xii, 5; O. Albrecht, *Luthers Katechismen*, 1915.

April. As early as 1528 Melanchthon speaks ⁹⁵ of a schoolbook, or primer, containing the alphabet, creed, Lord's Prayer, and other prayers. Luther's catechism was soon used in the same way; an example of an edition apparently unknown to the Weimar editors is in the library of Mr. G. A. Plimpton of New York. ⁹⁶

Among the newer works on Luther's theology may be mentioned those of McGiffert, Gottschick, Seeberg, and Tschackert, and the slighter essays of Faulkner, Baranowski, Preuss, Pohlmann, Lagrange, and Stange. ⁹⁷

V. LAST YEARS

Luther's private life continues to attract attention, especially as our chief source for knowing it, the wonderful Table Talk, is now coming out in the Weimar edition in fuller and better form than ever. ⁹⁸ Various studies ⁹⁹ of the reliability of

⁹⁵ *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, xxvi, 237.

⁹⁶ *Parvus catechismus pro pueris in Schola nuper auctus*. . . . *Ad ludum literarium*
Autor: Parve puer, parvum tu ne contemne libellum, Continet hic summi Dogmata summa Dei. Follows a woodcut of the crucifix. There is no date, It begins with letters, vowels, diphthongs and consonants in Latin. There is a picture illustrating each Commandment, one showing baptism by immersion and one showing the wafer put into the communicant's mouth. Mr. Plimpton also has a *Deutsch Catechismus Mar. Luther. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Friederichen Peypus aus verlegung des Ersamen mans Leonard zu der Aych Büchführer zu Nürnberg.* MDXXIX. Mr. Plimpton also possesses, *Parvus catechismus pro pueris in schola nuper auctus per Marti. Luth. Witebergae.* 1543. Preface by John Sauromannus to Hermann Crotus Rubeanus, dated September 29.

⁹⁷ A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, 1911; J. Gottschick, *Luthers Theologie*, 1914; Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und der Reformierten Kirchenlehre*, 1910; J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and the Divinity of Christ,' *Methodist Review*, 1913, pp. 373 ff.; R. Seeberg, *Luthers Lehre*, (*Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 4), 1917; L. Ihmels, *Das Christentum Luthers in seiner Eigenart*, 1917; H. Preuss, *Luthers Frömmigkeit*, 1917; Pohlmann, *Die Grenze für die Bedeutung des religiösen Erlebnisses bei Luther*, 1920; J. M. Lagrange, *The Meaning of Christianity according to Luther and his Followers in Germany*, 1920; C. Stange, *Luther und das sittliche Ideal*, 1919.

⁹⁸ *Luthers Tischreden*, Weimar, 4 vols. 1912 ff.

⁹⁹ Kroker, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, viii (1911), pp. 160 ff.; and in *Jahrbuch des Luther-Vereins zu Wittenberg*, i, 1919; A. Wahl, 'Beiträge zur Kritik der Überlieferung von Luthers Tischgesprächen der Frühzeit,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xvii (1920), pp. 11 ff.; F. Cohrs, in *Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier*, 1917, pp. 159 ff.; L. Christiani, 'Les Propos de Table de Luther,' *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1911, pp. 470 ff.; 1912, pp. 101 ff., 436 ff.

this record agree that it is of inferior value to the written works, but nevertheless of considerable worth. An English translation of selections, practically all based on the new editions, has been published in Boston.¹⁰⁰

The treasures of the Luther house, now a museum, at Wittenberg, have been catalogued by J. von Pflugk-Harttung.¹⁰¹ Various short articles deal with the Reformer's life within that house and with his family.¹⁰² The old story that Catharine von Bora came to Amsdorf and offered to marry either him or Martin Luther has been traced to its source in an ungallant passage from the memoirs of Amsdorf, who added, untruly, that she was avaricious and took poor care of her husband.¹⁰³ It may interest Americans to know that the Reformer's wedding ring, or betrothal ring, has been brought to America by its owner, a German baroness born, now Mrs. Maximilian Pinkert.¹⁰⁴ A novel by J. Knudsen, translated into German by Mathilde Mann under the title *Angst*, turns on Luther's supposed love for a niece of Frau Cotta. A photo-play showed at Berlin in 1914 made Catharine von Bora follow her hero to the Diet of Worms.¹⁰⁵

A study of Luther's Early Portraits that appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*¹⁰⁶ traced to their origins several contemporary woodcuts, one of which, now in the London Record Office, was apparently sent to Henry VIII by his ambassador in Germany. Much fuller works¹⁰⁷ exhibit the early authentic likenesses of the man and the subsequently changing ideal of the Reformer

¹⁰⁰ *Conversations with Luther*, transl. and ed. by Preserved Smith and H. P. Gallinger, 1915.

¹⁰¹ 'Aus dem Lutherhause zu Wittenberg,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxx; E. Kroker, in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, xvii (1920), 280 ff. On the looting of this museum by robbers recently, see the *New York Times*, January 4, 1919.

¹⁰² Preserved Smith, 'The Personal Side of Luther,' *Homiletic Review*, October, 1917.

¹⁰³ E. Kroker, 'Luthers Werbung von Katharina von Bora,' *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 140 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Times*, January 24, 1916. The ring was for some time on exhibition at the New York Historical Society.

¹⁰⁵ On this, H. von Schubert, *Luthers Frühentwicklung*, 1916, p. 7. The plot of *Angst* must resemble that of Mrs. Charles's *Schönberg-Cotta Family*.

¹⁰⁶ July, 1913, by Preserved Smith.

¹⁰⁷ H. Preuss, *Lutherbildnisse historisch-kultisch gesichtet und erläutert*, 1914; J. Ficker, *Die ältesten Bildnisse Luthers*, 1920.

throughout the centuries, to all of which he appeared in a different character, as the Man of God, the Prophet, the Pietist, the Rationalist, the Liberal, the Patriot, the Personality. It may be worth noting here that paintings of Luther and his wife were made, probably after Cranach, by Lorenzo Lotto in Venice in 1540.¹⁰⁸ Are these the ones now in the Milan Gallery? Other likenesses now and then turn up.¹⁰⁹ The death-mask is now known to be spurious.¹¹⁰

Various studies of several aspects of Luther's declining years have thrown into relief his relations with Philip of Hesse,¹¹¹ with Schwenckfeld,¹¹² and with Calvin.¹¹³ Three new accounts¹¹⁴ of his death have been discovered in America, the first, believed by Spaeth to be by John Albrecht, clerk of Mansfeld, has been criticized by Strieder in Germany; that published by Burr is a worthless account by an unknown writer; the third is a letter from Caspar Hedio to Count Philip of Hanau, dated March 16 and 19, 1546. A new form of the Catholic legend of Luther's death, to the effect that the devil carried him away as he was blaspheming the Virgin, has been discovered in France.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*. I. Roma. 1884, p. 123, "Libro dei conti di Lorenzo Lotto," entry in Lotto's hand: "1540, 17 ott. A Mario d'Armano, suo nipote, doi quadretti del retratto de Martin Luter et sua moier per donarli al Tristan." On the portrait of Luther seen by Bembo at Mantua in 1537, see V. Cian, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, ix (1887), p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ See *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. iv, 221 ff., 1913, and ix, 173 ff., 1918.

¹¹⁰ Böhmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*, 5th ed., 1918, p. 297.

¹¹¹ J. A. Faulkner, 'Luther and the Bigamous Marriage of Philip of Hesse,' *American Journal of Theology*, 1913, pp. 206 ff.

¹¹² *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, ed Hartranft, vols. ii to iv, 1911 ff.; K. Ecke, *Schwenckfeld, Luther, und der Gedanke einer apostolischen Reformation*, 1911.

¹¹³ Nösgen in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xxii (1911), 7 ff.; E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, ii, 562 ff.

¹¹⁴ G. L. Burr, 'A new Fragment on Luther's death,' *American Historical Review*, xvi (1911), 1 ff.; A. Spaeth, in *Lutheran Church Review*, xxix (1910), 313 ff. On this, denying its value, see J. Strieder, in *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xv (1912), 379 ff.; and *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1913, pp. 314 ff.; J. Strieder, *Authentische Berichte über Luthers letzte Lebensstunden* (Kleine Texte, no. 99); J. Heederschee, 'Luther's Laatste Levensdagen,' *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, li (1917), 5 ff.; C. Schubart, *Berichte über Luthers Tod und Begräbnis*, 1917; Preserved Smith, 'Some Old Unpublished Letters,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1919, pp. 204 ff. Two letters on the subject were published by G. Kawerau in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1913, pp. 134 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Les Regretz et Complaintes de Passe partout et Bruict qui court. . .* Par Fr. Picart, 1557; quoted by H. Hauser, *Études sur la Réforme française*, 1909, p. 273.

VI. WORKS, DOCUMENTS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The great Weimar edition of Luther's works is now, with sixty volumes, nearing completion.¹¹⁶ A number of German editions of selections and translations from the works have come out recently, the most important for scholars being that in five volumes by O. Clemen.¹¹⁷ Two volumes of an excellent English translation are due to the labors of American Lutherans; let us hope that the other eight volumes will follow as planned.¹¹⁸ A convenient list of the Reformer's works, complete, and with references to the best edition, has come from the pen of Professor Gustav Kawerau.¹¹⁹

Eleven volumes of Luther's letters were published by Enders before his death in July, 1907. The work was then taken up by Professor Gustav Kawerau, who brought out the next five volumes, and had almost completed reading the proof of the seventeenth when he died, December 1, 1918. Professor Paul Flemming completed the printing of the seventeenth volume, containing the letters of the year 1546 and supplements to the year 1536;¹²⁰ he writes me that another volume of supplements may be expected. An English version¹²¹ of copious selections from Luther's correspondence and of contemporary letters bearing on his career, furnishes also some new material and aims to correct Enders in the light of recent research. Numer-

¹¹⁶ *Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, u. s. w., Weimar, 1883 ff. On this, O. Albrecht in *Lutherstudien*, 1917, pp. 29 ff.; the same volume contains much else on Luther's manuscripts, and on their first printing.

¹¹⁷ *Luthers Werke in Auswahl*, hrsg. von O. Clemen, 1912 ff.

¹¹⁸ *Works of Martin Luther*. Philadelphia, Holman. 2 vols., 1915, 1916 (translations by C. M. Jacobs, W. A. Lambert, J. J. Schindel, A. T. W. Steinhäuser, and A. L. Steimle).

¹¹⁹ Kawerau, *Luthers Schriften nach der Reihenfolge der Jahren verzeichnet*, 1917.

¹²⁰ *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel*, bearbeitet von E. L. Enders, fortgesetzt von G. Kawerau, weitergeführt von P. Flemming. Vol. 17. 1920. Professor Flemming has most kindly sent me the proofs of part of volume 18, publication of which is delayed. Professor Kawerau's death was a personal sorrow to me, as I shall never forget the extraordinary kindness he showed to me, an utter stranger, during my student years in Berlin.

¹²¹ *Luther's Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters*, translated and edited by Preserved Smith. Vol. i, 1913. Vol. ii, in collaboration with C. M. Jacobs, 1918.

ous supplements to the letters may be found scattered throughout German magazines; and various studies of the subject should not pass without notice.¹²² Among collections of pertinent documents that by Kidd¹²³ should be remembered, and among paleographical studies those by Clemen and Mentz.¹²⁴

At the head of recently published bibliographies stand the comprehensive work of Gustav Wolf,¹²⁵ and the eighth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz.¹²⁶ A less pretentious but well selected bibliography has been published in English by Kieffer, Rockwell, and Pannkoke.¹²⁷ New editions of Böhmer's *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*,¹²⁸ now translated into English, are as readable as ever but no more reliable than before. Thoroughly trustworthy estimates of recent research in this field may be found in the works of Reu¹²⁹ and of Köhler.¹³⁰ *The Lutheran Quarterly* has printed a complete list of English translations of Luther's works, numbering an even hundred titles.¹³¹

Of the many new biographies of Luther called forth by the quadricentenary or its approach, only the scientifically noteworthy can here be reviewed. By far the most important is

¹²² T. Lockemann, *Technische Studien zu Luthers Briefen an Friedrich den Weisen*, 1913; P. Flemming, 'Die Lutherbriefe in der Rörersammlung,' in *Studien G. Kawerau dargebracht*, 1917, pp. 21 ff.; G. Kawerau, 'Die Bemühungen im 16, 17, und 18 Jahrhundert, Luthers Briefe zu sammeln und herauszugeben,' in *Lutherstudien*, 1917, 1 ff.

¹²³ B. J. Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, 1911.

¹²⁴ G. Mentz, *Handschriften aus der Reformationszeit*, 1912; O. Clemen, *Handschriftenproben aus der Reformationszeit*, 1911.

¹²⁵ *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformation*, 2 vols., 1915, 1916; on Luther, ii, 167 ff. To this should be added A. Herte's dissertation, *Die Lutherbiographie des J. Cochlaeus*, 1915, and the bibliography in Preserved Smith, *Age of the Reformation*, 1920.

¹²⁶ *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, 8th ed., 1912. Cf. also *Bibliographie der sächsischen Geschichte*, hrsg. von R. Bemmman, i, 1918.

¹²⁷ *List of References on the History of the Reformation in Germany*, by G. L. Kieffer, W. W. Rockwell, and O. H. Pannkoke, 1917.

¹²⁸ Fourth edition 1917, fifth 1918; English translation from third edition, 1916.

¹²⁹ J. M. Reu, *Thirty-five Years of Luther Research*, 1917.

¹³⁰ 'Der gegenwärtige Stand der Lutherforschung,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxvii (1918), pp. 1-60.

¹³¹ Preserved Smith, 'Complete List of Works of Luther in English,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1918. Cf. also F. Wiener, *Naogeorgus in English*, 1913.

the immense effort represented in Hartmann Grisar's 2500 lexicon-octavo pages, three stout volumes in the German now turned into six English ones.¹³² Disclaiming the intention of writing an "artistic biography," with which he thinks the market drugged, he purposes to judge Luther solely as a religious phenomenon. Thus he is enabled to pass lightly over such things as are well known or favorable to the Reformer, and to dwell at immense length on whatever makes for his hostile, albeit courteously expressed and temperate, verdict. The most original and permanently valuable portion of the work is the study of the early years, showing how the Reformer's life reacted on the development of his doctrine. It was his quarrel with the Observant friars that gave him his first idea of the worthlessness of good works; it was his own hopeless struggle against concupiscence that convinced him of man's impotence of will. Grisar's further criticisms of Luther's character and influence are in part justified; but had he been in really genial relations with his subject he would never have thought that what he objected to much mattered. But if the book be judged not by its bias or by the merits of the question, but by what can be learned from it, Grisar's immense erudition will give it high rank.

Other biographies, mostly of the popular sort, must be mentioned for special qualities—Elsie Singmaster's for its charming style;¹³³ Schubert's new edition of Hausrath for its combined brilliancy and insight;¹³⁴ the work of Schreckenbach and Neubert¹³⁵ for its astounding wealth of instructive illustration; those of Harnack, Lenz, and Köhler¹³⁶ for their thorough re-

¹³² H. Grisar, *Luther*, 3 vols. 1911, 1912; English translation by E. M. Lamond, 6 vols., 1913 ff. Among the many reviews of this work or replies to it, the most important Protestant criticism is G. Kawerau, *Luther in katholischer Beleuchtung*, 1911.

¹³³ E. Singmaster (Mrs. E. S. Lewis), *Life of Martin Luther*, 1917.

¹³⁴ A. Hausrath, *Luthers Leben*. Neue Auflage von H. von Schubert, 1914. Hausrath occasionally makes rash and unsupported statements, some of which were taken over from the first edition by A. C. McGiffert in his life of Luther, 1911.

¹³⁵ *Martin Luther. Mit 384 Bildungen*, von P. Schreckenbach und F. Neubert, 1916.

¹³⁶ A. von Harnack, *M. Luther und die Begründung der Reformation*, 1917; W. Köhler, *M. Luther und die deutsche Reformation*, 1916; Id., *M. Luther der deutsche Reformator*, 1917; M. Lenz, *Luther und der deutsche Geist*, 1917. Cf. also Etzin, *M. Luther, sein Leben und sein Werk*, 1917; P. Severinsen, *M. Luthers Liv*, 1911.

liability and skilful compression; that of Christiani¹³⁷ for its worthlessness. The new volume of A. Berger's *M. Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*¹³⁸ is notable for its careful analysis of the Reformer's influence on contemporary and subsequent art, literature, music, and philosophy. He reckons Luther's career as the first revelation of German inwardness in its world-transforming might, and he calls his discovery that the church was a purely spiritual entity the greatest that had ever come into the history of the church.

Perhaps a little study by Walther on Luther's character is best placed next to the biographies. Taking, as usual, the rôle of an attorney for the defence, Walther feels called upon to apologize for, or to praise, every single act and trait of his hero, though this is difficult, for the very brilliancy of the man's moral complexion makes the blotches on it stand out all the more distinctly.¹³⁹ An Italian, writing on the same subject, concludes that Luther was a paranoiac afflicted with morbid egotism as a monomania.¹⁴⁰

Of the general histories in which Luther plays a large part no more can be said than to mention by name those of Vedder, Walker, Hulme, Below, W. C. Abbott, G. F. Moore, Bauslin, Taylor, and Preserved Smith.¹⁴¹ But the monographs devoted to an explanation of his influence and place in thought call for

¹³⁷ L. Christiani: *Du Luthéranisme au Protestantisme 1517-28*, 1911.

¹³⁸ A. E. Berger, *Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*. Zweiter Teil, zweite Hälfte, 1919.

¹³⁹ W. Walther, *Luthers Charakter*, 1917. See also N. Söderblom, *Humor och Melankoli och andra Lutherstudier*, Stockholm, 1919.

¹⁴⁰ Rivari, *La mente ed li carattere di Martino Luthero*, 1914.

¹⁴¹ H. C. Vedder, *The Reformation in Germany*, 1913. Good summary, though too severe, of effects of Reformation, pp. 389-393; W. Walker, *History of the Christian Church*, 1918; E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation*, 1914; G. von Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation*, 1917; W. C. Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe*, 2 vols. 1918; G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, ii. *Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism*, 1919; D. H. Bauslin, *The Lutheran Movement of the Sixteenth Century*, 1919; H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, 2 vols. 1920; Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, 1920. One might add for the sake of completeness the worthless Catholic review by P. Bernard, 'Pour le quatrième centenaire de la Réformation,' *Études*, Tome 153, pp. 137 ff., 308 ff., 468 ff., 733 ff.; Tome 154, pp. 157 ff., 305 ff., 420 ff. (1917-1918). The famous *Outlines of History* by H. G. Wells has only a few conventional sentences on Luther.

a slightly more specific treatment. First of all, for the sake of convenience, one may put the anthologies, or studies tracing the changing opinion of the Reformer throughout the centuries. To the general reviews by Wentz and Harvey may be added the special studies of estimates of Luther in Germany by Eckart, in France by L. H. Humphrey, and in England by Preserved Smith.¹⁴²

Ernst Troeltsch¹⁴³ continues to defend and develop his view of Luther as a conservative force in religion, to emphasize the likeness of Old Protestantism and Catholicism and their common contrast with the New Protestantism which began in the Enlightenment. Luther's sole object, he urges, was the old one of attaining salvation, and as he sought to attain it in a new way he overemphasized the means at the expense of the end sought, thus finally making the tyranny of dogma unbearable. With Luther, Troeltsch writes:

The assurance of salvation must be based on a miracle in order to be certain; but this miracle must be one occurring in the inmost centre of the personal life, and must be clearly intelligible in its whole intellectual significance if it is a miracle which guarantees complete assurance. . . . The sensuous sacramental miracle is done away, and in its stead appears the miracle of thought, that man in his sin and weakness can grasp and confidently assent to such a thought. That is the end of priesthood and hierarchy, the sacramental communication of ethico-religious powers.

Walter Köhler, on the other hand, attributes a high value to the new thought brought in by Luther, finding in him the forerunner of transcendentalism; his greatness was that "he so completely penetrated the objective world of concepts that it lost, not indeed its existence, but its value, and instead of on

¹⁴² A. E. Harvey, 'Martin Luther in the Estimate of Modern Historians,' *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1918; A. R. Wentz, *Martin Luther in the Changing Light of Four Centuries*, 1916; R. Eckart, *Luther und die Reformation im Urteil bedeutender Männer*, 2d ed., 1917; L. H. Humphrey, 'French Estimates of Luther,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, April, 1918; Preserved Smith, 'English Opinion of Luther,' *Harvard Theological Review*, 1917. The last chapter of *The Age of the Reformation* by the same writer is devoted to a history of the historiography of the Reformation.

¹⁴³ E. Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress*, 1912, pp. 198, 192 f.; *Id.*, 'Luther und der Protestantismus,' *Neue Rundschau*, October, 1917; *Id.*, 'Protestantismus und Kultur,' *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1912. Troeltsch's view that Luther was medieval is exaggerated by R. Wolff, *Studien zu Luthers Weltanschauung*, 1920.

this the postulates by which we live became anchored on the ground of the subject and of its experience.”¹⁴⁴

A judicious and philosophical estimate of the problem of Luther's significance is given by P. Imbart de la Tour.¹⁴⁵ Calling attention to the fact that Luther revolted from the church only in the interests of a larger church, he argues that, though autonomy of religion and conscience would have been the logical result of some of his doctrines, nevertheless in fact, “his completely mystical doctrine of inner inspiration has no resemblance whatever to our subjectivism. The idea of a doctrinal truth and of a religious society always obsessed him.” Imbart de la Tour finds it remarkable that Luther's pessimistic doctrine could succeed in the young, ardent society of the Renaissance, and thinks this success was due to his personality, which was his only true originality. He sums up adversely: “The classic spirit, free institutions, the democratic ideal, all these great forces by which we live are not the heritage of Luther.”

Nietzsche's idea of the Reformation as a great reaction and nothing more is now held in many quarters. The extreme and amusing expression given to it by Anatole France may be quoted on account of its author's fame. After recounting the triumphs of the Renaissance, when men began to revive antiquity and to make discoveries, he continues:¹⁴⁶

From that time the star of the God of the Christians paled and began to set. . . . Already the comely Graces and the Nymphs and Satyrs danced in merry choir; at last the earth rediscovered joy. But, oh horror! oh ill fortune! oh fatal event! A German friar, swollen with beer and theology, set himself against this nascent paganism, threatened it, fulminated against it, prevailed alone against the princes of the church, and, rousing the people,

¹⁴⁴ ‘Luther hat die objective Begriffswelt so völlig durchdrungen, das sie zwar nicht ihre Existenz, wohl aber ihren Wert verlor, und statt dessen der Anker der Lebensbehauptung auf den Boden des Subjects und seiner Erfahrung fiel.’ *Luther und die deutsche Reformation*, 1916. Santayana would agree with Troeltsch in this statement, but would deplore instead of exulting in it. See his *Egotism in German Philosophy*, 1917, pp. 1 ff., 23.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Luther,’ in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1912, 6^{me} période, pp. 309 ff.; the same reprinted in *Les Origines de la Réforme*, iii, 1914, chap. 1; *Id.*, ‘Pourquoi Luther n’a-t-il pas créé qu’un Christianisme allemand?’ *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, pp. 575–612.

¹⁴⁶ A. France, *La Révolte des Anges*, 1914, pp. 237 ff.

led them to a reform which saved what was about to be destroyed. . . . This robust sailor repaired, caulked, and relaunched the derelict bark of the church. Jesus Christ owes it to this scamp of a friar that his shipwreck was put off for perhaps more than ten centuries. From this time things went from bad to worse. After the big fellow with the cowl, drunken and quarrelsome, came the long, dry doctor of Geneva, full of the spirit of the antique Jehovah, who tried to force the world back to the abominable times of Joshua and the Judges of Israel, a madman in his cold fury, a heretic burning heretics, the most savage enemy of the Graces.

From the opposite point of view the Catholic admits and laments the same facts. For Hilaire Belloc the Reformation was the turning back of the tide of culture and Christianity represented by the Catholic Church, and Luther was "one of those exuberant, sensual, rather inconsequential, characters," who did not know what he was doing, or what he wanted to do.¹⁴⁷

The same view of Luther as the great reactionary is set forth by Havelock Ellis, who speaks of him as "the gigantic peasant who, with too exuberant energy, battered the dying church into acute sensibility, kicked it into emotion, galvanized it into life, prolonged its existence a thousand years."¹⁴⁸ The subject of Luther's personality has drawn from his pen an original, if not quite exhaustive, study.¹⁴⁹ He calls him an "adept in the culture of his land and day, eagerly devoted to literature, a poet, a good musician, accomplished in the mechanical uses of his hands, the intimate friend of Cranach, a skilful dialectician," and "a true German in his close combination, alike in speech and act, of the abstract with the realistic, of the emotional with the material." Notwithstanding coarseness and "a spitefulness once termed feminine," there is in him "something homely, human, genial, almost lovable."

Among the popular writers to pay their respects to the Reformer the Irish novelist George Moore has taken his place. Having written an absurd drama on St. Paul and an obscene biography of Jesus, he at one time designed to construct a five-act play on Luther's career.¹⁵⁰ Mercifully, perhaps, he

¹⁴⁷ H. Belloc, *Europe and the Faith*, 1920, pp. 219 f.

¹⁴⁸ Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments*, 1915.

¹⁴⁹ H. Ellis, *The Philosophy of Conflict*, second series, 1919, pp. 89-99.

¹⁵⁰ George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, 1886, new ed. 1917, p. 161; on the drama see further, *Salve*, 1912, pp. 183, 191 ff.; *Vale*, 1914, p. 104.

got no further than the dedication, a French sonnet to Swinburne, worth quoting for its popular interest:

Accepte, tu verras la foi mêlée au crime
 Se souiller dans le sang sacré de la raison,
 Quand surgit, redempteur du vieux peuple saxon,
 Luther à Wittemberg comme Christ à Solime.

These interesting outbursts express in unbridled language the not uncommon conviction that the Reformation was essentially a reaction. Many voices ¹⁵¹ have been raised on both sides of the hotly debated problem; it is amusing to notice another popular writer speaking of Luther in exactly opposite terms, as the restorer and not the destroyer of the antique paganism. Gilbert Keith Chesterton writes: "That great and human, but very pagan person, Martin Luther . . . was a sign of the break-up of Catholicism, but was not a builder of Protestantism. . . . He was an anarchist and therefore a dreamer." ¹⁵²

Professor Arthur C. McGiffert, who once saw in Luther "the conservative and intolerant" man who "introduced a régime of religious bigotry for a long time as narrow and as blighting to intellectual growth as Roman Catholicism at its worst," ¹⁵³ and whose "ideals of liberty were not ours," now ¹⁵⁴ asserts: "Not justification by faith is the central principle of the Protestant Reformation, but freedom for human service." Professor W. W. Rockwell's summary account of "Luther and the Catholic Church" ¹⁵⁵ is well worth reading for its combined

¹⁵¹ A. von Harnack, 'Die Reformation,' *Internationale Monatsschrift*, xi, 1918; M. Lenz, 'Luthers Weltgeschichtliche Stellung,' *Preussische Jahrbücher*, clxx (1917), pp. 165 ff.; F. Heiler, *Luthers religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, 1918; *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, articles by C. A. Bernouilli, 'La Réforme de Luther et les problèmes de la culture présente'; E. Ehrhardt, 'Le sens de la révolution religieuse et morale accomplie par Luther'; J. Chevalier, 'Les deux Réformes: le Luthéranisme en Allemagne, le Calvinisme dans les pays de langue anglaise'; C. Andler, 'L'esprit conservateur et l'esprit révolutionnaire dans le Luthéranisme.'

¹⁵² G. K. Chesterton, *The Crimes of England*, 1918. Cf. also his *Irish Impressions*, 1920, p. 206.

¹⁵³ *Martin Luther: The Man and His Work*, 1911, p. 382.

¹⁵⁴ 'The Unfinished Reformation,' in *Bulletin of Union Theological Seminary*, October 31, 1917.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

judiciousness and brilliance of statement. My own estimate of Luther and the Reformation has often been given, and need not be repeated here.¹⁵⁶

The connection between the Reformation and the Great War has received attention in a large number of books, of which only a few can be mentioned here.¹⁵⁷ Paquier, the French Catholic, holds that Luther was largely responsible for the war by his teaching of blind obedience to the state, by his separation of inward justification from outward works, by his express approval of war, and by his brutality and chauvinism. Weiss, a French Protestant, asserts that the war is an apostasy from Luther's doctrine, though the actions of the Germans in it might have been foretold in his saying, "We Germans are and remain Germans, that is, swine and beasts without reason." Kawerau, a German Protestant, mobilizes Luther in favor of an active prosecution of the war and quotes his severe judgments of French, English, and Italians. Bishop Hensley Henson,¹⁵⁸ in a sermon preached on the quadricentenary festival of the Reformation, exonerates Luther from responsibility for the subsequent growth of German materialism and militarism. On the contrary, "his supreme and unassailable merit," Henson thinks, "lies in the fact that he led the way in a process of spiritual emancipation. . . . He was cast in a large mould and was never consciously false to his perception of truth."

Three special topics for which no convenient place has been found in the above summary, must perforce be put in the ap-

¹⁵⁶ *Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, 1911, and preface to second edition, 1914; 'Luther,' in *International Encyclopaedia*, 1918; 'Luther 1517-1917,' *Outlook*, October 31, 1917; 'The Reformation 1517-1917,' *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1918; 'The Reformation interpreted in the Light of its Achievements,' Paper read at American Historical Association, December, 1917, to be printed in *Papers of the American Society of Church History; The Age of the Reformation*, 1920.

¹⁵⁷ J. Paquier, *Luther et l'Allemagne*, 1918, with list of books on the subject, pp. viii ff.; N. Weiss, 'Pour le quatrième centenaire de la Réformation,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 1917, pp. 178 ff.; K. Kawerau, *Luthers Gedanken über den Krieg*, 1916; E. Vermeil, 'Les aspects religieux de la guerre,' *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, 1918, pp. 893-921; J. A. Faulkner: 'Luther and the Great War,' *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1920, pp. 448 ff.

¹⁵⁸ *Sermons*, 1918, p. 274. Cf. Preserved Smith, 'Luther and the Hohenzollerns,' *Outlook*, April 23, 1919.

pendix to this report. Lauchert¹⁵⁹ has made an interesting and thorough study of the opposition to Luther in Italy; E. Wolff¹⁶⁰ has tried to prove that the Faust of the original German Faust Book was a parody of Luther, this Faust being a professor at Wittenberg, learned and fond of drinking, his marriage with Helena recalling the Catholic parody of the wedding of Catharine von Bora, and the appearance before the emperor that of his call to Worms; even his compact with the devil being such as an apostate might make. An American student¹⁶¹ has found the missing link between Luther and Shakespeare in the "mooncalf" adopted by the English poet apparently from a translation of the Reformer's work of that name.

¹⁵⁹ F. Lauchert, *Die italienischen literarischen Gegner Luthers*, 1912.

¹⁶⁰ E. Wolff, *Faust und Luther*, 1912. Luther is discussed in F. B. Busoni's new opera, *Doktor Faust*, 1920. The libretto is not from Goethe, but is original.

¹⁶¹ Preserved Smith, 'The Mooncalf,' *Modern Philology*, January, 1914.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF ACTS

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THE article 'Chronology of the New Testament' by C. H. Turner in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* marks an epoch in this important subject. Its astronomical and calendar data are indeed not unimpeachable, for the more recent studies of Fotheringham¹ make it highly probable that A.D. 30 should be taken as the year of the crucifixion, rather than Turner's date of A.D. 29. But Turner's careful survey of ancient sources proves that from a very early time "the year of the two Gemini" (A.D. 29) was fixed upon by tradition, and became the accepted starting-point for primitive reckonings in both directions. Convenience of adjustment to the paschal cycle had probably much to do with the adoption of this particular year, which facilitated harmonization; but at the very early period to which it can be carried back tradition is not likely to have varied more than a year or two from the correct date for so all-important an event. While, then, a slightly earlier or later absolute dating, such as A.D. 30, may obtain the preference of modern chronographers it seems not impossible that the traditional date of 29 A.D. for the crucifixion may go back to the period of Luke himself.²

A second contribution of value in the article referred to is Turner's observation (p. 421) that the picture of the Book of Acts "is cut up, as it were, into six panels, each labelled with a general summary of progress," the protagonist in the first three being St. Peter, in the last three St. Paul; so that "the two halves into which the book thus naturally falls make almost equal divisions at the middle of the whole period covered." It is no surprise to find this view of the structure of Acts adopted in so standard a work as Moffatt's *Introduction to the*

¹ *Journal of Philology*, xxix (1903), and *Journal of Theological Studies*, xii (1910), 45.

² The name "Luke" which tradition assigns to the author of the third Gospel and Book of Acts is employed in the present article without prejudice to the question of real authorship.

New Testament, for as to the division there can be no doubt, while the reader who carefully examines the recurrent rubric of Acts 6, 7; 9, 31; 12, 24; 16, 5, and 19, 20 will readily see from its relation to the context that the author really does employ it to subdivide his work according to subject matter. It seems the more surprising that in a chronological enquiry such as Turner's the critic should not first attempt to estimate the length of time required for the series of events related in each of the successive 'panels,' so as to do full justice to the Lukan chronology in and for itself, before introducing outside considerations such as the conveniences of travel, or the requirements of Paul or Josephus, in the attempt to reach an ultimate chronology. Right method would seem to suggest that we first get clearly the author's own idea before seeking to adjust it to others. Unfortunately Turner's subdivision of the story of Gentile evangelization in Acts 13-28 into periods of longer or shorter duration (p. 421b) is made almost without reference to the Lukan divisions at 12, 24; 16, 5; and 19, 20.

A recent article by Professor C. J. Cadoux in *The Journal of Theological Studies*³ entitled 'The Chronological Divisions of Acts' adduces some further considerations which should be taken into the account, if Turner's discovery is to have proper valuation. Here, too, unfortunately, we can give no sweeping endorsement.

It can hardly be conceded to Cadoux that the closing sentence of the book (Acts 28, 31) should be counted as one of the 'rubrics.' Its whole tenor and purpose are different, and there is little or no resemblance even in language. More could be said for including in the series Acts 2, 47b ("And the Lord added to their number daily those that were being saved"), though even here we are inclined to attribute the clause to the source only, and to explain the resemblance of its language to the five 'refrains' from the compiler's having taken the idea — and to some extent the language — of his summary from this passage. An almost exact parallel can be found in the rubric employed by the compiler of our first Gospel in Matt. 7, 28; 11, 1; 13, 53; 19, 1, and 26, 1 to divide his five 'books' of the

³ Vol. xix (1917-18), pp. 333-341.

teaching of Jesus, prefaced each by its introductory narrative, from one another and from the epilogue. A comparison of Luke 7, 1 (β text) taking into consideration the peculiarities of the idiom will show that the refrain is not a creation of our first evangelist, but is merely adopted (like a whole series of similarly stereotyped phrases) from the source he is following. However, even Cadoux himself does not regard Acts 1, 1–2, 47 as a separate ‘panel,’ but as merely “introductory”; and since the other addition he would make is at the end, where a natural terminus is reached anyway, his scheme for the division of Acts into seven parts does not differ at all “chronologically” and but very little otherwise, from Turner’s into six. Cadoux’s really important contribution to the subject lies elsewhere. It is a suggested explanation of the principle on which the various stages of the story have been marked off by the ‘refrain.’

Moffatt⁴ in adopting Turner’s division had spoken of the refrain as summarizing each section “by a rubric of progress”; but he takes the word “progress” in the geographical sense. Cadoux rejects this on grounds which seem quite adequate, and reverts to the view of Turner that the stages marked off are chronological. We may venture to transcribe the extract which he makes from the well-known article:

It remains only to adjust, by the help of these points, the division into periods (see p. 421b), which is the single hint at a chronology supplied by St. Luke in the earlier part of his work. . . . That the chronology here adopted (*i.e.* Turner’s) results in a more or less even division of periods — i. from A.D. 29; ii. from A.D. 35; iii. from A.D. 39–40; iv. from A.D. 45–46; v. from A.D. 50; vi. from A.D. 55 (to A.D. 61) — such as St. Luke seems to be contemplating, must be considered a slight step towards its verification (Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, i, p. 424).

It is also quite apparent that Turner’s dates require readjustment by reference to the well-known inscription at Delphi, from which the pro-consulship of Gallio in Achaia can be dated in A.D. 51–52. This is now commonly regarded as furnishing our most reliable *point d’appui* for the chronology of Paul. It is true, as Cadoux observes, that Turner “makes no use of it”; but this is pardonable since the discovery was not made known until six years after the appearance of his article. It is, how-

⁴ *Introduction to the New Testament*, pp. 284 f.

ever, a striking confirmation of Turner's results that his date for Paul's arrival in Corinth is less than a year later than that deduced by Deissmann from the inscription. A discussion of Pauline chronology by the present writer which appeared in the same year with Turner's came six months nearer still; but that is attributable to good luck rather than to good scholarship.⁵ Turner himself would probably concede a correction on this ground of perhaps a year in his later dates.

If we make the slight correction required by the Delphi inscription, and in addition identify the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem of Acts 11, 30 with that which Paul also records as his *second* in Gal. 2, 1-10, as many leading scholars now demand, Turner's chronology will be verified in even higher degree than its author claims — so Cadoux maintains — by comparison with the Lukan division. For since the first and last of the *seven* 'refrains' counted by Cadoux coincide with the beginning and end of the total period, extending from the crucifixion (A.D. 29-30) to the end of Paul's stay in Rome (A.D. 59-60) the whole will consist of some thirty years, as Turner's chronology requires. Acts, like the Gospel, will cover a period of 30-31 years. But in addition — and this is the important point — the intervening five 'refrains' will appear to be so distributed by the historian as to mark off his narrative into periods of approximately five years, of which three are given to the work of Peter and the Twelve in Palestine, while the remaining three are occupied by the Gentile missions of Paul, which start from Antioch. Starting from Passover A.D. 29 these five-year periods will be reckoned as follows:

Founding of the church to Martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 6, 7) . . . A.D. 29-34	
Expansion in Palestine to Conversion of Paul (9, 31)	34-39
Beginnings of Gentile Evangelization to Death of Agrippa (12, 24)	39-44
Antiochian Missions to Distribution of Decrees (16, 5)	44-49
Greek Missions to Founding of Ephesian Church (19, 20)	49-54
Delegation to Jerusalem to Paul's Witness at Rome (end of Acts)	54-59 (60)

The end of the Lukan narrative leaves the terminus of Paul's activity somewhat vague. By what event it was marked does

⁵ See Bacon, *Introduction to New Testament*, 1900, p. 280, comparing the preliminary studies in *Expositor* V, lix, lx (November and December, 1899). The date arrived at, is "spring of 50." Deissmann's is "early in 50"; Turner's "fall of 50."

not appear; but the data of 28, 11-13 carry us on to only a month or two from the succeeding Passover, the beginning season of the series. Otherwise the summaries might be exact, and certainly coincide with principal divisions of the subject.⁶ Moreover the third refrain, brief as it is, surpasses all in the clearness with which it coincides with a strongly marked transition. The story here passes from the apostleship of Peter among the Circumcision to the apostleship of Paul among the Gentiles. There is further good fortune in the fact that in this case we can also positively control the datings. For the narrative of Josephus also implies the summer of A.D. 44 as the date for the death of Agrippa. On the other hand we have no means of controlling the other dates save, *first*, inference from the Pauline Epistles, *second*, the requirements of time implied in Paul and in the Lukan narrative itself. Cadoux's theory of "the chronological divisions of Acts" must stand the double test, *first*, of real consonance with the Lukan grouping of material, *second* of agreement with absolute chronology.

1. The placing of the refrain in Acts 6, 7 is somewhat peculiar, since we clearly have at 6, 1 a transition in subject matter, and (in the general judgment of those who at all admit distinctions of sources used by the compiler) transition to a new source as well. With Acts 6, 1 we enter a new environment, and meet presuppositions unexplained in the preceding narrative. We also proceed to wholly new interests and a new outlook. The source-critic will be disposed to look upon this opening paragraph (6, 1-6) as largely reconstructed by the editor in the effort to adapt his extract from the new source (Antiochian?) to the narrative already framed.⁷ The upshot of the editorial changes is that the seven Hellenistic leaders, who both by their actual work and by subsequent reference (Acts 21, 8) are really "evangelists," are transformed into subordinates to the Apostles. They relieve the twelve of the task of "serving

⁶ On the placing of refrains 1 and 4, see below. In both cases it is necessary to distinguish the compiler's point of view from that of the sources he employs.

⁷ See Bacon 'Stephen's Speech' in *Contributions by the Semitic and Biblical Faculty*, Yale Bicentennial Publications, 1901. The references in 6, 8 and 11, 18 suggest a special interest in Antioch.

tables," and become an order of "deacons"⁸ in the mother church, ranking below the Apostles but above "the widows," who also now appear for the first time, and quite unexpectedly. Considering this opening paragraph (Acts 6, 1-6) to be largely bridge-work of the editorial character described, the very object of which is to minimize the gap between disparate sources by assigning a place for the new *dramatis personae* in the existing framework, it is not surprising that the retrospective summary should be postponed until the editor has completed his account of the organization of the mother church. He can proceed more appropriately thereafter with his story of the dispersal by persecution. From the point of view, then, of the ultimate compiler the refrain of Acts 6, 7 stands just where it ought. It looks back over and sums up the story of the establishment of the mother church in Jerusalem, the "church of the Apostles and Elders." The position of the fourth refrain (16, 5) seems to be chosen with equal care on similar grounds. For this story of development five years is a very reasonable time.

Again the date A.D. 34 for the outbreak of "the persecution which arose about Stephen" (8, 1; 11, 19) is probable on external grounds if sufficient allowance be made for the Lukan tendency to transform a scene of mere uncontrolled mob violence into a formal trial and condemnation before the Sanhedrin. The outbreak against Stephen and the Hellenists (Acts 8, 1 explicitly excepts "the Apostles" from its effects) would be quite conceivable in the last years of Pilate, somewhat more so than under his immediate successors. On both internal and external evidence A.D. 29-34 seems, therefore, a reasonable conception of date to have been entertained by the compiler.

2. What, then, of the period of expansion described in Acts 6-8, during which in spite of persecution the gospel was carried both northward to Samaria and southward through Philistia to the border of Egypt?

Luke concludes his story of this development with a glowing account of the conversion of the persecutor and his early witness in Damascus and Jerusalem. If the account be properly interpreted by its own implications solely, without intrusive

⁸ The actual term appears only in the β text.

influence from Galatians upon our judgment of Luke's meaning, this early preaching will be understood as antedating but slightly the close of the period. Standing where it does it might possibly be regarded as falling in part within the limits of the next; for it is notoriously in Lukan style to introduce proleptically at the close of his sections material which really belongs later, but serves to carry on the thread of connection.⁹ Here, however, no such extreme assumption is required. The natural understanding will be that Paul's conversion, beginning of work in Jerusalem, and escape through Caesarea to Tarsus fell toward the close of this period, *i.e.*, in A.D. 37-39. In order to pass upon the question whether Luke really intends his second refrain summarizing the growth of the church "throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria" (Acts 9, 31) to mark the year 39 A.D. we must here pause for some further enquiry as to the datings implied in the period of the Hellenistic persecution, in particular that of the conversion of Paul.

i. Considered in themselves, without reference to Galatians, the events related in Acts 6, 8-9, 31 would fall quite naturally and easily within the limits 34-39 A.D. This being so, we have no right to say that these were not the limits actually in the mind of Luke, even if they fail to agree with data derived from Galatians. For the wide divergence of Luke in just this portion of his work from the data of Galatians makes it quite supposable that he is here somewhat in error. On the other hand it is not wholly insupposable that current datings of Paul's conversion based on Gal. 2, 1 may be ten years out of the way, since a group of scholars are ready to adopt the conjecture of Grotius changing the reading of Gal. 2, 1 from "fourteen" to "four" years by the omission of a single *ι*. The supposition, then, that Luke intends his second division to cover a period corresponding to the years 34-39 A.D. has nothing against it save the unwarranted assumption that he must agree with the date for Paul's conversion implied in Gal. 2, 1.

ii. Paul's escape from Damascus as related in Acts 9, 23-25 is referred to by himself in 2 Cor. 11, 32 as having taken place

⁹ So Luke 24, 44-53, with which compare Acts 1, 6-9. Acts 11, 30 is susceptible of similar interpretation.

while the city was being guarded by the ethnarch "under Aretas the king." Not one of the interpretations thus far proposed is wholly successful in removing the difficulty in understanding how this could be possible at any date earlier than 37-38 A.D., when Damascus probably did pass into the control of Aretas. Under Roman control, which can be traced with certainty from its coinage down to A.D. 33-34, and on other less cogent evidence down to the second summer of Caligula's reign (A.D. 38), Paul the Roman citizen would hardly have been forced to such ignominious means of egress. So far as the Epistles are concerned there is no need to connect this escape with Paul's stay in Damascus *immediately* following his conversion. It might equally well be assigned to the subsequent period of which he writes in Gal. 1, 17, "Again I returned to Damascus." But Acts connects it with the conversion. According to the exact sense of Acts 9, 23 it was only "some days" (ἡμέραι ἱκαναί) afterward. The time was in fact so short that when the fugitive reached Jerusalem the astounding news of his conversion to the faith he set out to persecute had not even then been conveyed to the brotherhood. Between this escape and the escape from Jerusalem, Luke inserts nothing but Paul's interrupted work to the Hellenists of that city. Is it not reasonable to suppose that he really means to date the conversion of Paul in A.D. 37-38, even if he did not know that Damascus was then "under Aretas the king"?

iii. Were we at liberty to alter the reading of Gal. 2, 1 from 'fourteen' to 'four' years the terminal dates of the Pauline chronology would easily fall in line with Acts, however wide the discrepancy as to the nature of the Apostle's work before coming to Antioch and as to the intervening date of his first visit to Jerusalem. As already suggested we must either throw out altogether the Lukan report of a 'famine-relief' visit, or identify it, as Paul's *second*, with that of Gal. 2, 1-10. For the idea (still maintained by Turner) that Paul could pass over such a visit unmentioned in Gal. 1, 18-24 is inadmissible. On this point even champions of Lukan infallibility are at last willing to concede something to Paul. The occasion referred to in Acts 11, 30 and Gal. 2, 1 must be the same; but what of the

difference as to agenda? An answer to this question will involve some discussion of Luke's relation to his sources.

Of all the sections of Acts the four verses here concerned (11, 27-30) are among the least reliable. From verse 22 we expect action of some sort on the question of the admission of Gentiles, for this was the object of Barnabas' mission to Antioch. Paul, in Gal. 2, 1-10, gives exactly what we should expect; but Luke gives something else. He defers the settlement of the pending question of the admission of uncircumcised Gentiles till after the First Missionary Journey (Acts 13-14), when Paul and Barnabas on an alleged *third* visit to Jerusalem can meet the objections raised by the Mosaists with an appeal like that of Peter in 11, 1-18 to "the signs and wonders God had wrought through them among the Gentiles." This first section (verses 1-11) of Luke's story of the Apostolic Council is in fact little else than a parallel in the compiler's own words to the story told by his source in 11, 1-18 (cf. β text). Acts 15, 1-11 could easily be reconciled with Paul if it stood in the place now occupied by 11, 27-30. The rest of the story of the Council tells of a settlement, by means of the four "decrees" adopted at the instance of James, of the further question on what basis believing "Jews which are among the Gentiles" are to 'eat and associate' with their Gentile brethren. All are to be protected from "the pollutions of idols" by certain rules of "abstinence." The difficulty of reconciling this with Paul's account of his controversy with Peter at Antioch, and with his uniform treatment of the issue at stake, is notorious. But one could hardly expect an Antiochian writer¹⁰ whose attitude toward Peter and James is that displayed in Acts to tell the story as Gal. 2, 11-21 reveals it. If, however, the whole question was to Luke's mind determined by the "decrees" proposed by James at the council of "the Apostles and Elders" at Jerusalem, it seems probable that he would assign another motive for the visit recorded in 11, 22 ff.

What then, of this story of famine-relief? Its chief actor is a

¹⁰ Very ancient tradition recorded in the Old Latin prologues, and referred to by Eusebius, makes the author a native of Antioch. The tradition is strongly corroborated by the internal evidence.

prophet named Agabus, who came down from Jerusalem to Antioch and predicted "a great famine over all the world (*οἰκουμένη*), which came to pass in the days of Claudius." Agabus is known to us from the most reliable of Luke's sources in 21, 10-12. But, here, in the Travel Document, where Agabus meets Paul at Caesarea with an entreaty not to imperil his life at Jerusalem, he appears as a previously unknown character. He must be introduced to the reader as "a certain prophet." Moreover there is no indication that he has ever met Paul before, or even visited Antioch. He "came down from Judaea." Equally unreliable is the story of church action which takes the place in Acts occupied in the Pauline Epistles by the great contribution of the Greek churches "for the poor among the saints that are at Jerusalem" (Rom. 15, 26). The Antioch church may possibly have followed the famous example of the royal convert Helena of Adiabene in 45-46, and may have made Barnabas and Saul bearers of its gift. But this was not the main occasion for the journey; nor was it *this* contribution, but that of the Pauline churches, which called for mention at the hands of an impartial historian.

Again we may assume, in order to meet the implications of Luke's order, that there was another famine in 40-41.^{10a} But it fails to appear in any other record, unless the *assiduae sterilitates* which according to Suetonius distinguished the reign of Claudius are called in to aid. The famine made memorable to all Jews as well by its severity as by the liberality of Helena began at least a year after the death of Agrippa, extending over the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander (46-47), after having started under his predecessor, Cuspius Fadus (45-46). Luke may have been misled by the Aramaic word ארעא ('land,' or 'earth') as Torrey conjectures, into regarding the famine as world-wide (*οἰκουμένη*); but he certainly misconceives its extent, since if it had not been limited to Palestine Antioch would have been no better off than Jerusalem, and (unless we take refuge in our ignorance by assuming some other famine) he is equally at sea regarding its date. For he takes pains to insert the mission of Paul and Barnabas to relieve it *before* his

^{10a} So Harnack.

account of the persecution and death of Agrippa, under the vague statement that it "came to pass in the days of Claudius," while the return of the envoys accompanied by Mark ¹¹ is related immediately *after*. Luke seems thus to have a perfectly correct idea of the date of Agrippa's death, with which he interlocks very closely the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem; but he has a very vague idea of the date of the famine, as he indicates by introducing his digression to tell the fortunes of the mother church with the words "Now about that time" (κατ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν). Doubtless he knew the date of Agrippa's accession (41) "in the days of Claudius," but he does not seem to recognize the persecution as an *initial* policy. He thinks of the famine as occurring *ca.* A.D. 43-44, and therefore places the delegation from Antioch before the account of Agrippa's persecution and death. But by placing the return of the envoys *after* the royal demise he indicates his belief that this, at all events, was not earlier than the end of 44. Now if his refrain is really intended to divide the story chronologically into (approximate) pentads his date for the conversion of Paul will be, as we have seen, A.D. 37-38. His date for the visit to Jerusalem will be 44-45. It is certainly noteworthy that this should agree so closely with Gal. 2, 1 as emended. For if we read here 'four' instead of 'fourteen,' and count both termini (as the rule of antiquity requires) in the intervals named in Gal. 1, 18 and 2, 1, Paul also will be reckoning six years from his conversion to his visit with Barnabas to Jerusalem; and this on other grounds cannot be dated far from A.D. 44-45, where Luke seems to place it.

Finally the date of "fourteen years" in 2 Cor. 12, 2 will be found to fall in quite as smoothly with this Lukan scheme. The passage in question belongs to the last months of Paul's stay in Ephesus ¹² or slightly later. By Turner's dating, corrected in conformity to the Delphi inscription, this would be *ca.* 54-55, bringing the vision referred to into the period of

¹¹ Mentioned in the source (12, 12) in the phrase Luke employs in 12, 25, "John whose surname was Mark."

¹² On the supposition that 2 Cor. 10, 1-13, 10 is a fragment of the painful letter of self-commendation referred to in 2 Cor. 2, 3-9; 3, 1.

Paul's stay in "Arabia" (Gal. 1, 17). It might even be brought into a certain correspondence with Luke's account of a vision in the temple (Acts 22, 17-21), since both would mark the beginning of Paul's ministry to the Gentiles. In all respects save the inconvenient *l* of Gal. 2, 1 the date A.D. 39 (in absolute reckoning 40) for the retrospective rubric Acts 9, 31 is unexceptionable.

It does *not* follow that we are at liberty to make the emendation. The business of the exegete is not to change his texts, but to interpret them. Moreover the Grotian emendation falls very far short of removing the discrepancies between Acts 9, 1-30 and Gal. 1, 11-24. On the one side we have a ministry to (Greek-speaking) Jews in Judaea (Jerusalem-Caesarea); on the other a ministry to the Gentiles in "Syria and Cilicia." On the one side a flight from Damascus, after "some days" witness for Christ in the synagogues, to the mother church in Jerusalem; on the other an express denial of "going up to Jerusalem to those that were Apostles before me," and a going away into Arabia, followed (one would infer shortly) by a "return to Damascus." On the one side a work of evangelization among the Greek-speaking Jews in Jerusalem in constant relation with the leaders of the mother church interrupted only by the outbreak (stereotyped in Luke) of Jewish jealousy in mob violence;¹³ on the other a work of evangelization in Damascus lasting for three years (minus the stay in Arabia), and terminated by a two-weeks' visit privately to Peter in Jerusalem. On the one side a flight from Jerusalem to Caesarea and a stay there under protection of the church until "the brethren" send the fugitive to his native city of Tarsus; on the other missionary activity "in Syria and Cilicia" in such complete independence of the churches of Christ in Judaea¹⁴ that the Apostle's very face was unknown to them. "They only heard by report, He that once persecuted us now preacheth the faith of which he once made havoc." As respects the nature and sphere of Paul's activity the disagreement could hardly be

¹³ Not to be reconciled with Acts 22, 17-21, where Paul's departure is occasioned by a vision in the temple forestalling the outbreak.

¹⁴ In Pauline usage "Judaea" includes Caesarea, the principal port, and metropolis of Samaria.

greater. The author of Acts is certainly not well informed on this part of Paul's career, and has exactly the opposite idea as to how his apostolic authority should be vindicated. It does not follow that Luke may not have conceived the conversion as having taken place in A.D. 37-38. If the Grotian emendation were admitted the interval assumed by Acts 11, 30; 12, 25 of six (?) years between the conversion and the second visit would be substantially correct. Looking back, then, over this 'panel' of Acts, its evidence must be held to confirm Cadoux's theory, that (whether correctly or not) the author employs his retrospective rubrics for the purpose of subdividing his story into periods of *five* years. His second period, that of the spread of the gospel throughout "Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee" in consequence of "the persecution that arose about Stephen," is brought to a signal close by the conversion of the arch-persecutor, and a brief season (one year?) of "peace." He may well have conceived it to end with the first decade from the crucifixion, in A.D. 39; for which we may substitute 40 if the crucifixion be dated in 30.

3. The next 'panel' (9, 32-12, 24), which closed, as we have seen, with the persecution and death of Agrippa, covers the beginnings of (sporadic) Gentile conversions under Peter, and includes the founding of the church in Antioch. So far as internal indications go it might well be taken to require about five years in the view of the narrator. Certainly the event which brings it to so dramatic an end must be dated, as we have seen, in the summer of 44. In reality Agrippa's death took place but fourteen years and some months after the crucifixion, if we are right in dating the latter in 30 A.D. But as Luke seems to date it in 29 he probably counts fifteen and a fraction for the whole period, and five for the present 'panel' as well as for each of the two preceding. As the ultimate terminus falls about February 1 according to Acts 28, 11, 30, the entire story covers more nearly 31 than 30 years; but if the author considers the fractional ten months, they are about equally divided between the two halves of the book, since the death of Agrippa occurred several months after the Passover, which was the starting point.

With the exception of the founding of the church in Antioch and the connected incident of the sending famine-relief to Jerusalem (11, 19-30), this whole section is devoted to two incidents in the story of Peter related with exceptional detail in most graphic style. They are, *first*, his inauguration of work for the conversion of the Gentiles (9, 32-11, 18), and, *second*, his miraculous deliverance from the sword of the persecutor (12, 1-24). These two elements appear to be both taken from the same source, a narrative whose hero is Peter, and whose author shows such minute acquaintance with conditions in the mother church that it is commonly designated the Jerusalem source. The intervening verses (11, 19-30) on the other hand may be attributed to a source whose interests centre at Antioch. But the two sections from the Jerusalem source would also seem to have been inverted in order by Luke. For Peter is clearly assumed to be in permanent residence at Jerusalem throughout chapter 12 down to the point where he takes leave of James and departs "to another place"; whereas in the story of 9, 32-11, 18, especially in the Western form of the text of 11, 1f.,¹⁵ he is no longer a permanent resident of Jerusalem, but is occupied in visitation of "the saints" in "all parts" including Lydda, where the church already had its guild of "widows," and whence the whole plain of Sharon is evangelized (9, 35). Joppa, where "Simon the tanner" is Peter's host, and doubtless that of the church also, became his headquarters for so long a time that he is able to take "six brethren" from their number as his supporters and witnesses for the momentous occasions at Caesarea and Jerusalem (11, 12). It is true that we have no external means of dating the conversion of the centurion of the "Italian Cohort" stationed at Caesarea, since (as Torrey ap-

¹⁵ The β text has: "And report came to the Apostles and to the brethren that were in Judaea that the Gentiles also had received the word of God. Now Peter for a considerable time had wished to journey to Jerusalem. So when he had called the brethren unto him and had established them, making a long discourse, he (went) through the districts teaching them. And when he was come up to Jerusalem," etc. Either the α text obtains a closer adjustment to the context by trimming off the protruding corner (printed in italic) which still remained to resist a smooth bedding of the section in its new situation, or the β text shows consciousness of the duplication by imitating the parallels. Cf. 15, 2-3; 20, 17 ff.

pears to have shown in opposition to the present writer) the difficulties in the way of conceiving Cornelius in the situation here represented while the country was still under the rule of a (nominally) independent *socius rex* — difficulties which lead Preuschen to declare that the statement “must rest on some misunderstanding”¹⁶ — are not insuperable. But there is further internal evidence for the transposition, and this has no unimportant bearing on our present enquiry.

Peter’s vision at Joppa, with the subsequent account of the planting of the gospel at Caesarea, and vindication of Peter’s course to the satisfaction of the authorities at Jerusalem even as to the question of “eating with the Gentiles” (11, 3), carries us far beyond the point of development reached by the general Lukan narrative. It is already a serious discrepancy that the source of 8, 40 (Antiochian?) attributes the beginnings of the church in Caesarea to Philip the evangelist; and this is confirmed by 21, 8, where Philip’s house in Caesarea becomes Paul’s abiding place. But in addition the revelation to Peter in the Jerusalem source is certainly not intended by the original writer for the restricted application made of it by the compiler. Peter is divinely instructed as to two things: *first*, That “God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him”; *second*, that his Jewish scruples against eating “anything common or unclean” are of human, not divine origin (10, 13–15), and should be no barrier to his “joining himself or coming unto one of another nation” (10, 28; *cf.* 11, 3). In other words we have a complete settlement on a basis more than Pauline in its liberalism of the entire question covered in the succeeding context from 11, 19 to 15, 29; and the settlement concerns not its first phase only (freedom of Gentiles from the Mosaic ordinances), but its second also (conduct of “the Jews which are among the Gentiles”). Thus all the great questions to whose working out the remainder of Acts is devoted already receive their authoritative and final decision by Divine revelation endorsed by official action of the mother church in this single story of how Peter planted the gospel among Gentiles in Caesarea.

¹⁶ Commentary, *ad loc.* in the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*.

The settlements implied in the teaching of the vision that distinctions of meats are a human convention without warrant in the sight of the Creator ¹⁷ and in the vindication of Peter on the score of having gone in to men uncircumcised and eaten with them (11, 3) are certainly anticipations relatively to the story of Luke, as well as irreconcilable with the story of Gal. 2, 11-12. But in the relation in which they now stand to the persecution and death of Agrippa (12, 1-24) they are almost as flagrant anticipations in the Jerusalem source itself. It is only part of the truth to say that Peter in 9, 32-11, 18 has ceased to be domiciled at Jerusalem. Consideration of the extreme amplitude and detail with which Peter's call to preach the gospel to the Gentiles is here divinely sanctioned, and all objection silenced in a manner quite surpassing anything Paul could relate, makes it insupposable that the author continued by relating that after the Conclave ¹⁸ Peter merely settled down in Jerusalem until driven out by the persecution of Agrippa. The inference drawn by the Conclave, "Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life," looks forward to something greater. It is no more natural to think of Peter after all this going back and subsiding in Jerusalem to wait until Paul needs his testimony than it is to conceive the Council of Acts 15 settling all these questions over again after the Conclave of Acts 11, 1-18 has already settled them no less authoritatively and on a much broader basis. If, then, we place ourselves sympathetically at the original writer's point of view we shall see that *in the source* Peter after the Conclave must have followed the career implied in the utterance Luke himself places in his mouth in 15, 7: "Brethren, ye know how that God made choice among you that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe." Peter must not only have removed entirely from Jerusalem, taking his wife with him for extended journeys, as

¹⁷ For the broad appeal to divine principles seen in nature as superior to the conventions of Mosaic law, such as the distinctions of meats, compare Mark 7, 1-23 and 10, 1-10. "What *God* hath cleansed make not *thou* common" is an utterance cast in the same mould as "Ye make the word of God of none effect that ye may keep your tradition," and "What *God* hath joined together let not *man* put asunder."

¹⁸ The assembly of Acts 11, 1-18 is here distinguished from that of Acts 15, 1-35 by designating the former the Apostolic Conclave, the latter the Apostolic Council.

Paul expressly informs us in 1 Cor. 9, 5, but must have carried the gospel to the Gentiles in some such work of evangelization as is related in *The Preaching of Peter*, or in such an Apostolic progress to Caesarea and Antioch as the *Clementina* describe.

But granting that the Jerusalem source thus transferred to Peter the work which Paul tells us was explicitly recognized as his and not Peter's (Gal. 2, 7-9), why should it be necessary for Luke in employing it to make the alleged transposition? Try the experiment and the reason leaps to the eye. Place the two sections of the Jerusalem source in the order which consistency of internal development requires and the contradiction with the Antiochian source becomes unbearable. On the one side we shall have Jerusalem and the plain of Sharon from Joppa to Caesarea as the scene of expansion; on the other, Antioch and the provinces of Cyprus and South Galatia. On the one side a revelation of the Spirit sending Peter to the conversion of Cornelius; on the other a similar revelation sending Barnabas and Saul "to the work whereunto I have called them," which begins with the conversion of Sergius Paulus. On the one side a vindication of the evangelization of Gentiles by Peter accompanied by the "six brethren" of his new foundations in the plain of Sharon before the Jerusalem Conclave; on the other a vindication of it by Paul and Barnabas accompanied by "certain other" of the Antioch church before the Jerusalem Council. On the one side a settlement of the question on what terms a Jewish believer may "eat and associate" with "one of another nation" by deed and word — action corresponding to Peter's when he "ate with the Gentiles" at Antioch disregarding 'distinctions of meats' as man-made, coupled with a sweeping declaration that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him"; on the other a settlement of it on the basis of the four "decrees" of abstinence; which aim to protect the entire body, Jewish and Gentile, from the "pollutions of idols," and which imply the continued validity of the distinctions (*ἐπ' ἀνάγκης*). On all points save the last it is the Antioch source which is substantially in the right, and the Jerusalem source which by the inexpugnable witness of the Pauline Epistles is in the wrong.

But it is simply inconceivable that any compiler should attempt to place the rival accounts of the great transition side by side, heedless of their flagrant inconsistencies. Unaltered, the two sources were incompatible. For such a compiler as Luke the remedy was self-evident. The course of Peter as related in the Jerusalem source must be in the main admitted (*cf.* 1, 8), but restricted in its application and treated as a mere precedent, pigeon-holed (as it were) until required for the ultimate solution. In short it was simply unavoidable that the story of expansion to the Gentiles in Acts 9, 32-11, 18 should be transposed, in spite of all its surviving implications of later and larger application, to the earlier time and more limited significance of Peter's occasional excursions from Jerusalem. The joint official action of Antioch and Jerusalem in the Apostolic Council must be, to Luke, the supreme and final settlement.

This admission of the claims of the Jerusalem source to the extent of conceding to Peter precedence over Paul as *inaugurator* of Gentile evangelization, while the actual work is *carried out* by Paul, involved Luke in two assumptions, both of which are flatly contradicted by Paul, and are more or less inconsistent with Luke's extracts from the sources themselves. *First*, he was obliged to transfer to Peter that title which was to Paul the very heart of his commission "not from men but from God," the title and commission of "Apostle to the Gentiles." Luke puts in Peter's (!) mouth the words, "God made choice among you (the Twelve) that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe." Paul is for him only the great "vessel of the Spirit" destined (when the way has been opened and the time is ripe) to carry on the work in partnership with Barnabas as commissioned evangelist ¹⁹ of the church in Antioch. *Second*, Luke was also obliged to deny to Paul any attempt to evangelize Gentiles until after Barnabas had brought him to Antioch, and the two had been officially "appointed to the work whereunto God had called them." Such admissions as he makes

¹⁹ The title "Apostles" is restricted in Acts to the Twelve, and its conditions are so defined in 1, 21, 22 as to exclude Paul. The only exceptions are two references in the Antioch Source (14, 4, 14); but here Barnabas shares it with Paul showing that the missionaries are so called only in the ordinary sense, as 'delegates' of the Antioch church.

of preaching to the Gentiles before this time (Peter's special authorization excepted) are at least treated as questionable and unauthorized, if not denied altogether.²⁰ As we shall see, he appears even to have altered the reading of the Antioch source in 11, 20 to reach this result; while his treatment of the Hellenistic missions in his second 'panel' (chapter 8) is such as to indicate a determination to exclude if possible any actual admission of "men uncircumcised." How completely this puts his story in contradiction with Paul's own account in Gal. 1, 11-24 and 2, 1-10 needs no reiteration here. But the readers for whom Luke wrote were not supposed to consult Galatians; and if moderns do, they are quite content for the most part to do so with a veil upon their understanding, which whensoever Luke is read remaineth unlifted. On the other hand if Luke had carried his concessions to the Jerusalem source to the extent of adopting unaltered its representation of how the gospel was actually carried to the Gentiles he might perhaps have avoided contradicting Paul on the question of the "decrees" as the basis of protection from the "pollutions of idols"; but he would have robbed him of all that remained of his title to be called the Apostle to the Uncircumcision, and would have deprived Antioch of its chief glory as being the mother church of Gentile Christianity. As a compiler of discrepant sources, both of which obviously commanded high respect, and without access (as it would appear) to the great Epistles, it is difficult to see how Luke could have performed his task with greater skill or greater loyalty to each of his two great heroes.

We have again been compelled to digress at considerable length to the question of Luke's relation to his sources. But the bearing of the preceding considerations upon the Chronological Scheme of Acts will be at once apparent. Acts 12, 1-24 considered for itself alone, without reference to the preceding paragraph 11, 19-30 taken from the Antiochian source, would naturally be understood to cover a period of something over three years, viz., from Claudius' bestowal upon Agrippa of the authority, title, and territory of his grandfather, Herod the Great, early in 41, to the death of Agrippa in the (late?) summer of 44.

²⁰ See below, p. 155.

This may be somewhat obscured by the paragraphing in our printed texts and the sixteenth-century division into verses; but ancient texts such as the Codex Laudianus at Oxford make the division into lessons fall in the middle of 12, 19, the twenty-ninth lesson ending with the words "commanded that they should be put to death," and the thirtieth beginning, "Now he went down from Judaea to Caesarea and tarried there." Manifestly it was fully appreciated in ancient times that the story (apart from the editorial setting) assumes an interval of some length between the account of the crime against God's people and the judgment which ultimately befell the wrong-doer. In narrative for purposes of edification much longer intervals than this may be passed over without record for the greater sharpening of the moral, as when Hegesippus makes the besieging of Jerusalem by Vespasian follow "immediately" upon the martyrdom of the other James. Those authorities who, with Harnack, have perceived that in 12, 1 ff. the (original) writer is describing (quite correctly) the initial policy of Agrippa on his accession to power in Jerusalem, viz., an obsequious attempt to win the favor of the Pharisees without incurring too much obloquy from other elements or provoking Roman intervention, are on safer ground than those who date the persecution at the very end of Agrippa's reign; whether to reduce the discrepancy with the mention of the famine in 11, 27-30, or because they can see no room for an interval after 12, 19a. But the compiler of Acts as it now stands, if he has arranged the story of Petrine activity in its first half to cover three periods of five years each, undoubtedly intends his third rubric (12, 24) to mark the fifteenth year from the date assumed for the crucifixion. His introduction of a paragraph (11, 19-30) on the beginnings of Christianity in northern Syria is doubtless due to his desire to include within this period of the spread of the gospel from Gaza to the Taurus the founding and early years of the great church of Antioch. But his suppression of all deliberately purposed undertakings of Gentile evangelization until Antioch sends forth Saul and Barnabas on the First Missionary Journey (Acts 13, 1 ff.) is more than a forced harmonic device for the adjustment of conflicting sources. It coincides with Luke's own heart-felt conviction emphatically ex-

pressed throughout his work, and wide-spread in many forms in ancient Christian apologetic, that opportunity must first be given to the Jews to hear the message and repent, before it was right to "turn to the Gentiles." Ancient tradition, traceable to a period contemporary with Acts if not older, even specifies the duration of this special *locus poenitentiae* accorded to Israel. In a fragment of the so-called *Preaching of Peter* quoted by Clement of Alexandria, Jesus after the resurrection commands the Twelve as he sends them forth: "If any man of Israel willet to repent and put his trust in God through the efficacy of my name, his sins shall be forgiven. *After twelve years* go forth into the world, that no man may say (in excuse), We did not hear."²¹ Harnack is surely correct in maintaining that this tradition has not been without its influence upon the Lukan postponement of work among the Gentiles till the First Missionary Journey.

We need scarcely invite renewed attention to Luke's well-known inconsistency on this score with Paul. Galatians informs us with the greatest emphasis that from the moment of his conversion Paul had given himself systematically and exclusively to the conversion of the Gentiles. Acts describes all his work up to the time of his appointment by the church in Antioch as limited on principle to Greek-speaking *Jews*. It requires a special vision in the temple according to Acts 22, 17-21 to dissuade Paul from his attempt to labor in Jerusalem. According to Acts 9, 29, 30 he yielded only to mob violence when finally driven to take refuge first in Caesarea and thereafter in Tarsus. Even here nothing is said of work among Gentiles. Paul merely remains in hiding until summoned by Barnabas to Antioch. Luke goes so far, apparently, as to alter the reading of his source in 11, 20; for the context makes it quite obvious that the "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" who carried

²¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi, 5, 43. Von Dobschütz, who edits the fragments in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi, 1 dates the work so early as 90 A.D. The embodied tradition is probably older. It appears in several diverse forms (see Harnack, *Chronologie*, i, 243 f., 472 f.). In Harnack's judgment 90 A.D. is too early for the *Preaching* (which, however, he would admit to be identical with the *Teaching* (Doctrina) of Peter quoted according to Origen by Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 3, 2), but the "twelve year" tradition, which is calculated to end in A.D. 41 or 42 (persecution of Agrippa) "may well be historical" (p. 244).

the gospel to Antioch in the "tribulation that arose about Stephen" did *not* confine themselves to evangelizing Greek-speaking Jews ('Ελληνισταί), but "spake to the Greeks" ('Ελληνες) also." So clearly is this sense required by the context that all the later manuscripts, the ancient versions, and even modern translators adopt the reading "Greeks"; although the textual evidence is convincing that Luke actually wrote "Greek-speaking Jews" ('Ελληνιστάς) as his theory requires.²² We may conclude, then, that he means the great transition to be marked by the persecution and death of Agrippa, both of which are related between the coming and going of Paul and Barnabas, and are immediately followed by the story of how they with Mark, whom they had brought with them from Jerusalem, were sent out on the First Missionary Journey. After this crisis in Jerusalem, Antioch, through these its commissioned agents, became the mother-church of Gentile Christianity. Luke's date for this turning point of Christian history, is, as we have seen, *fifteen* years from the crucifixion. That of his source was the traditional *twelve*. The difference arises from the fact that the Jerusalem source takes the persecution which resulted in the death of James, imprisonment of Peter, and affliction of others in the church, as marking the limit. As in the Antiochian source the martyrdom of Stephen and connected "afflictions" had spread the gospel abroad (8, 1, 4; 11, 19) so also in the Jerusalem source. The cup of Israel's obduracy is now made full and Peter is free to go "to another place" (12, 17).²³ Luke, on the other hand takes the death of the persecutor as his terminal point. The source, as Harnack has seen, contemplates a date shortly after the accession of Agrippa, early in 41, or, in other words "twelve years" after the crucifixion.²⁴ Luke knows, of

²² See B. B. Warfield, 'The Readings 'Ελληνες and 'Ελληνιστάς in Acts 11, 20,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, iii, 113-127.

²³ An exodus of members of the conservatively minded Jerusalem church after the death of James in 41-42 falls in very well with Paul's reference in Gal. 2, 4 to the incoming of "false brethren who came in privily to spy out the liberty in Christ Jesus" enjoyed by Gentile Christians in Syria and Cilicia, an invasion which soon led (in 45?) to his appeal to the Pillars and the resulting Compact (Gal. 2, 1-10; cf. 6, 12).

²⁴ The source probably counts from Passover to Passover (cf. 12, 4), and therefore aims at an exact fulfilment of the traditional "twelve years." It is possible, however,

course, that Agrippa's death took place in the summer of 44, and assumes that the persecution to which it was the wrathful answer of God was but shortly before. Both source and compiler probably make Passover 29 A.D. their point of departure.

There would seem thus to be no doubt of Luke's intention to take the year 44 as the terminus for his third 'panel'; nor have we adequate reason to think of either more or less than five years as his conception of its duration.

4. If the theory we are testing be correct, the period between Acts 12, 24 (third rubric) and 16, 5 (fourth rubric), covering the First Missionary Journey and Settlement of the Mosaic Controversy, is also a period of approximately five years in the intention of the author.²⁵ The reason for the placing of the fourth rubric after the visit of Paul and Silas to the churches of the First Missionary Journey, instead of immediately at the close of the Jerusalem Council, is, of course, that the author follows the model of 11, 1 ff. in making the Council take its origin from this missionary adventure, instead of from the differences at Antioch whose beginnings are referred to in 11, 22, and whose culmination is described by Paul in Gal. 2, 11-13. The episode is therefore not complete until Paul and Silas have distributed the Council's "decrees" to these churches "for to keep" (Acts 16, 4). The decrees themselves, which solve the whole question of Jewish-Christians eating and associating with Gentile-Christians not subject to the Mosaic ordinances, by protecting both parties from "the pollutions of idols," are limited in their address to "the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia." They are *not*, therefore, intended for the distribution which Luke reports, and which is so notoriously difficult to reconcile with Paul's own settlement of the vexed question. The address calls for a slightly earlier date, before this important new province (South Galatia) had come into the foreground. We may reasonably suppose that they were drawn up at Jerusalem, at the instance of James, to meet the situation

that the Passover of the persecution is intended to be that of Agrippa's *second* year (42), in which case we reach a date for the crucifixion (A.D. 30) in better accord with the data of astronomy and the Jewish calendar system.

²⁵ Turner (*op. cit.* p. 422a) makes it end *ca.* November 1, 48; Ramsay (*Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 65-73) in July 49.

created by the conduct of Peter at Antioch on the visit which Luke passes over in silence, but which Paul relates as occurring shortly after his compact with the 'Pillars' at Jerusalem. Of this visit we obtain a hint even in Acts; for Acts itself relates Mark's return to Jerusalem from Perga, midway of the First Missionary Journey, and mentions his renewed presence in Antioch just before the Second Journey (Acts 15, 37-38); but it fails to explain why, how, or with whom, he went from Jerusalem a second time to Antioch. We infer that it was with Peter.

At Antioch Peter adopted first the Pauline interpretation of the agreement with the 'Pillars,' that "the Jews which are among the Gentiles" shall be "as without the law," disregarding entirely the Mosaic distinctions, since the law as a whole is "done away in Christ." But the consequences of this example would be fatal to Jewish Christian 'purity' outside of Palestine itself. Wherever believing Jews found themselves "among the Gentiles" they would be "compelled" to Hellenize. Some sort of action at Jerusalem giving authoritative expression to the interpretation the Pillars put upon the Compact²⁶ was absolutely imperative if any hold whatever was to be retained upon "the Jews which are among the Gentiles." The Pillars' interpretation was entirely simple and intelligible: Gentiles are free from the law; Jews are bound. The natural — the unavoidable inference for men who did not appreciate or accept Paul's peculiar doctrine of "dying to the law" — was that some concession must be made by the "brethren which are of the Gentiles." Abstinence was "necessary" (ἐπ' ἀνάγκης) from at least the four²⁷ things which involve "the pollutions of idols." Peter's action at Antioch called forth a delegation "from James" so authoritative as to overawe even Peter (φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς), but who at the same time bore injunctions so plausible as to carry with them "even Barnabas" as well as "all the rest of the Jews" and (apparently) the entire Antioch church.

²⁶ We designate as the Compact the agreement described in Gal. 2, 6-10 as sealed by "right hands of fellowship."

²⁷ Three, if "things strangled" be a gloss.

We can find no other situation so perfectly adapted as this crisis of Peter's "eating with the Gentiles" at Antioch for the convening of the Jerusalem Council, which according to Acts 15, 12-35 makes final settlement of the entire question of the relations of Jews and Gentiles in the Church. It is true that neither Peter (whose conduct was in dispute), Paul, nor Barnabas can have been present; as indeed we cannot imagine Paul consenting to the compromise, or even recognizing the right of the Jerusalem leaders to "lay burdens," whether "greater" or smaller, upon his Gentile converts. Paul might well ignore the whole proceeding both in Galatians and later when minutely treating the whole subject for the Corinthians (1 Cor. 8-10), and less fully for the Romans (Rom. 14-15). On the other hand neither Peter, Barnabas, nor the church at Antioch would be likely to regard such action "from James" as *ultra vires*, since nothing more is intended than an application of the Compact as they must certainly have understood it ²⁸ to the specific case which had arisen through Peter's coming to Antioch. Least of all should we be surprised to find an Antiochian writer such as Luke, dependent upon Antiochian and Petrine sources, ignoring the unpleasantness which had taken place between his two principal heroes, and treating the Jerusalem Council as responsible for a complete settlement of the entire question, wholly satisfactory to all the parties concerned except the unauthorized advocates of circumcision who had "troubled (the Gentile believers) with words subverting their souls." As regards date, the Council falls toward the close of the fourth 'panel,' the distribution of the "decrees" in the cities of the First Missionary Journey being the last event narrated before the refrain of 16, 5. On the theory now in question this would correspond to the year 48 A.D. Such possible reference as may be found in Gal. 2, 12 to the same assembly presents no chronological obstacle. So far as the modern chronographer can judge, A.D. 44-49 appears to be unexceptionable as a date for this period, whether as regards the time needful for the incidents

²⁸ In the period of Augustine the understanding of the compact of Gal. 21, 1-10 is still correct: Gentiles qui in Christo credidissent legis onere liberos, eos autem qui ex Judaeis crederent legi esse subjectos.

narrated as the author would be apt to view them, or absolutely, as fitting in with the course of events as otherwise known.²⁹

No other external data are available for the period save the famine, already considered.

5. In the fifth period, marked off by the rubrics of Acts 16, 5 and 19, 20, Luke is more generous than hitherto with indications of the lapse of time. It is the period of the founding of the Greek churches, with Corinth and Ephesus as the chief centres of Pauline evangelization. Acts 18, 11 informs us that "a year and six months" was the length of Paul's stay in the former centre, and Acts 19, 10 gives "two years" as the length of time for the evangelization of "all that dwelt in Asia" from the latter. In the speech of farewell to the Ephesian leaders at Miletus Paul sets "three years" as the period during which they had had opportunity to test his character. This doubtless is intended to include the "three months" of work in the synagogue before Paul "separated the disciples" (19, 8), and perhaps also the interval between his first coming (18, 19) and his return from a journey to Syria (18, 21-23). If we estimate at six months the time spent on the missionary journey through Macedonia and Achaia (Acts, 16, 6-17, 34), we shall probably do no injustice to Luke's intention. In Turner's reckoning the period covers almost exactly five years.³⁰ By absolute dating we should reach practically the same results starting from spring of 50 A.D. as the date for the Apostle's arrival at Corinth required by the Delphi inscription.

6. The starting point for the last period of Luke's story is Paul's departure from Ephesus for a final tour of confirmation of the Greek churches before the fatal journey to Jerusalem. If he really has a five-year division in mind it must extend, then, from A.D. 54 to A.D. 59. Now the journey to Macedonia and Achaia (19, 21), may be assumed to begin about Pentecost, as 1 Cor. 16, 8 shows to have been Paul's intention. It is followed the next winter by "three months" in Corinth (20, 3).

²⁹ The years 51 and 52 are not possible for the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus (Turner, *op. cit.*).

³⁰ From Passover A.D. 50 to the spring, A.D. 55, *op. cit.* p. 422a and b.

The earlier months of the next year (55 up to "Pentecost"; 20, 16) are spent on the journey to Jerusalem. They are followed by "two years" of captivity in Caesarea (24, 27) counting from "twelve days" after Pentecost A.D. 55 (Acts 24, 11). The prison days in Caesarea extend till the coming of Festus in 57. As Luke speaks only of intervals of "days" ("three days," verse 1, "eight or ten days," verse 6, "certain days," verse 13, "many days," verse 14) after the coming of Festus it is natural, though perhaps not necessary, to assume that he understands the journey to Rome, which began shortly before "the Fast," *i.e.*, about October 1, to have been undertaken the same year (A.D. 57). In this case Paul's arrival in Rome would fall early in A.D. 58 (Acts 28, 11-13). After this we hear of a period of "two whole years" during which he is permitted to occupy his own hired house without molestation, but no special event is mentioned as its terminus, and the book ends without a repetition of the summarizing rubric. It is possible, therefore, that there was less care in this case to make the division fall just five years before the end. At all events the numerous data cannot easily be put together without reaching a total of thirty years and nine months, bringing the story down to a final absolute date about February 1, A.D. 60.

To all this, external synchronisms such as the recall of Felix³¹ (A.D. 55-56 Harnack, 57-58 Turner) offer no obstacle. But what must be our verdict upon the proposal of Cadoux to regard the summaries of Acts as intended to divide the story into periods of five years each?

The fact that the closing periods of the two halves of the book bring us to points some months later than the starting point should be a warning not to look for a mechanical and rigid framework. It would have been easy for a compiler who desired to bring his material into such a Procrustean bed to count back from his closing date in such a manner as to make Paul's departure from Corinth (Acts 20, 3) the dividing line, and thus obtain a more exact proportion. The fact that he

³¹ The reference in Acts 24, 10 to Felix, "many years as judge of this people," may well include the period before his sole procuratorship, when he shared its responsibilities with Cumanus.

chooses rather the Apostle's departure from Ephesus, including the journey of confirmation through Macedonia and Achaia in the last 'panel,' shows that he prefers to group his material with reference to contents; for the preceding 'panel,' which began with the setting forth of Paul and Silas from the territory evangelized on the First Missionary Journey, is occupied throughout with the story of the founding of the Greek churches on both sides of the Aegean. On the other hand the Jerusalem Council (48) would have been a more natural terminus had he not really wished to complete the pentad from 44. At the lower limit the refrain of 19, 20 is followed by a proleptic forecast of the remainder of the story in 19, 21, giving conclusive evidence that to Luke's mind the new phase of Paul's activity represented by the journeys first to "Macedonia and Achaia," then "to Jerusalem," finally to "Rome," begins at this point.

On the whole it can hardly be accidental that the main division at 12, 24 so nearly subdivides the work chronologically into two parts of approximately fifteen years each, while each of these halves falls into three equal parts through the refrains of 6, 7 and 9, 31; 16, 5 and 19, 20. In all these cases five years is a probable allowance of time for the events narrated, and in those which we can best control the dates are found almost exact. If with Turner we take A.D. 29 to be Luke's starting point he will probably have set the crucifixion one year too early; but his central date, terminating the work of Peter, will extend but a very few months beyond the total of fifteen years, while 34 and 39 A.D. will be entirely appropriate termini for the periods of the founding of the mother-church in Jerusalem and of the spread of the gospel through "Judaea, Galilee, and Samaria" respectively. For the duration of the work of Paul described in the second half of the book Turner thinks it possible to fix "a period of fourteen years, certainly not less, and apparently not more." For this, however, he takes as the starting point not the rubric itself of 12, 24, but the appointment of Paul and Barnabas to their work of Gentile evangelization in 13, 2, making at this point "a considerable interval" to allow for the 'famine-relief' visit, which had been placed too early by Luke, and must necessarily come after (according to

Turner two years after) the death of Agrippa. This "considerable interval" must therefore be added to the period "certainly not less and probably not more than fourteen years" which in Turner's judgment represents the duration of the three 'panels' of the second half.

But it is not our present problem to determine the correctness or incorrectness of Luke's order. Our primary question is only whether, taking the story as he relates it, the events of 12, 25-28, 31 would reasonably fall within the compass of fifteen years. Since no such allowance as the several years assigned by Turner, but at most a few months are required for the interval between 12, 24 and 13, 2, we may take fifteen years as a very close approximation, perhaps the closest possible, to the period of time the historian had actually in mind. In addition we have already seen that the story of the founding of the Greek churches, closed by the rubric of 19, 20, covers as nearly as possible five years, and that of the beginnings of missions to the Gentiles, closed by the rubric of 16, 5, approximately the same period. It is difficult to deny the probability that the compiler of the work has really intended these divisions to mark some such periods of time.

The further question whether the Lukan chronology agrees with the Pauline, and how the data on both sides are to be adjusted to external dates with reference to obtaining an absolute chronology, is matter for later consideration. The preliminary step is perhaps not ill-advised of determining the chronological structure of Acts, taken as the author himself would appear to have conceived it. From the point of view thus defined the datings of salient events would seem to be substantially as follows:

Crucifixion	A.D. 29
Death of Stephen	34
Conversion of Paul	38
Escape from Damascus	38
Famine	about 44
Death of Agrippa	44
Visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem	44-45
First Missionary Journey	45-47
Jerusalem Council	48
Second Missionary Journey	49-51

Paul's Arrival in Corinth.....	January-March	A.D. 50
Three years in 'Asia'.....		51-54
Winter in Corinth.....	January-March	55
Arrest in Jerusalem.....	May	55
Imprisonment in Caesarea.....		55-57
Recall of Felix.....		57
Departure for Rome.....	October	57
Arrival at Rome.....	January-February	58
End of "two years" of semi-liberty.....	February	60

THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL SITUATION IN FRANCE

VICTOR MONOD¹

PARIS

IN reading various American periodicals I have noted the interest with which French affairs are followed on the other side of the ocean, but American observers seem to be somewhat uncertain in their opinions about contemporary France and particularly to be baffled by the internal policy of France. For this policy differs profoundly from that which was pursued before the war. The attitude of the French government in religious affairs has been considerably modified. It may therefore interest American readers to learn something about the great currents by which the religious and moral spirit of France are today borne along, and to try to divine their probable outcome.

I

The dominant fact beyond question is the political supremacy of the peasant class. The destinies of France have always been subject to the influence of two very different social elements, the population of the cities and the population of the country.

The rural population has always been numerically by far the more important; France is essentially a nation of peasants. But before the war the political and intellectual guidance of the country was in the hands of the urban population, notwithstanding its numerical inferiority.

The French peasants, very industrious but often very poor, were engrossed in hard labor in the fields. The working-men and the people of the middle class filled the whole political

¹ M. Victor Monod, who at the request of the editors of the Review has written this survey of the present religious and moral conditions in France, visited the United States in 1917-18 with a delegation representing the French Protestant Churches. He served during the war as a chaplain in the army; and is now the minister of a large church in one of the residential suburbs of Paris.

stage, and their ideas and prejudices were taken to be those of the whole French people.

Fifteen years ago, in most of the cities, these ideas were in general anticlerical and even antireligious. There were societies of free-thinkers whose members pledged to one another their word of honor never to set foot in a church and not to summon a priest at the hour of death. It seemed self-evident that an intelligent man could not believe in God. M. Poincaré, the future President of the Republic, speaking of Professor William James's book on the *Varieties of Religious Experience* said in the French Academy: "We hear these narratives with the same kind of interest with which men listen to the tales of travellers recounting strange journeys in the heart of Africa!"

The rural populations retained more respect for the Church and religious things, but they were unable or unwilling to oppose the separation of Church and State somewhat rudely effected in 1906, by which all the churches of France were left in a very precarious situation from a legal point of view and prevented from creating for themselves a solid financial organization.

Now all at once the war has brought the rural population of France into the primacy of influence. It has gained this rank in the first place by its immense sacrifices. It was the peasants far more than the industrial laborers who shed their blood. Of one million four hundred thousand dead, one million were peasants.

In the smallest rural communes of France are to be seen to-day memorial monuments, inscribed with the long lists of those who died for their country. "Passer-by, bow thy head," reads a beautiful funerary stone erected in a little village in the valley of the Garonne, "There were sixty-five men of this village who died for thy freedom." The village had fifteen hundred inhabitants. In another village of three hundred inhabitants, twenty-two were lost. Of another rural commune, the schoolmistress wrote as early as April, 1916, "Here the men between twenty and thirty have all been killed except two."

But while the war carried off a million French peasants it did not a little to develop and emancipate this whole social

class, which is the prop and stay of French society. In his furloughs the peasant travelled everywhere in France; he is acquainted with Paris and the large cities where he was treated in the hospitals. He learned to handle the most delicate and the most dangerous weapons in the trenches. He knows the value of words and the value of things. Henceforth he will not allow his vote to be captured by lawyers from the town; he has his own ideas and looks for men to represent them.

And above all the French peasant has today large material interests to protect, for he has gained prodigiously in wealth.

During the war it was among the manufacturers and laborers in the cities, among the ammunition makers, that most of the profiteers and *nouveaux riches* were found; but since the armistice French industries have slowly become involved in difficulties, and the wages of the working-men in cities have been somewhat reduced, while the peasant has seen the price of the products of the soil steadily rise.

To stimulate the production of wheat, the government promised to buy the harvest at a price fixed in advance, and in 1920 this price was one thousand francs the metric ton, which was four times the price before the war. The French peasant has also rapidly freed his land from the mortgages by which it was encumbered, and has in very many cases become a proprietor. In one poor *arrondissement* the peasants in 1919 bought land to the value of ten millions of francs, in another *arrondissement* nineteen millions, and it is not an extravagant estimate that peasants invested in land in the course of the first year after the armistice three milliards of francs.

Thus France in 1921 is very different from that of 1914. The peasant, grown rich, has become a landed proprietor and profoundly conservative. The Chamber of Deputies elected in 1919 is the most conservative that has been seen for more than twenty years, and has in it the largest number of millionaire deputies. The influence of the city agitators has been completely annihilated by the resolute determination of the peasant class to secure social stability. The socialist party in France has lost much of its power. The railway strike attempted in May, 1920, totally failed, and resulted in the dissolution by

law of the General Federation of Labor, which was proclaimed amid popular indifference. The industrial crisis came in to accelerate the downfall of the French socialist party, now much divided and numerically greatly weakened. The true dictator is today the producer of wheat, milk, meat — the peasant of France.

II

The new situation has favored the growth of the influence of the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church has always seemed to many Frenchmen to be the bulwark of order and social discipline, and as soon as the results of the legislative elections of 1919 were known, all those who felt which way the wind blew said, "France is going to re-establish relations with Rome."

The first argument that was offered in favor of sending a representative of the French Republic to the Vatican was excellent.

Since the separation of Church and State France has always had to have a semi-official representative to treat with the papal authority on certain matters. In its colonial expansion, for instance, France came into the possession of territories in which the religious interests of Catholics had been committed by the Pope to foreign religious orders. This was the case particularly with Morocco, where the Vatican had conferred on the Spanish clergy the exclusive right to exercise the functions of the Catholic ministry. It was necessary to negotiate directly with the Pope to obtain for French Catholic priests the right to exercise their functions in that French territory. And above all the victory of 1918, which restored Alsace and Lorraine to France restored to it a territory in which the Concordat signed by Napoleon in 1802, that is to say an agreement between the Pope and the civil government, was still in force. It was impossible to apply the Law of Separation to Alsace and Lorraine immediately. But it was equally impossible to leave things as they were because the bishops of Strasbourg and Metz, the two heads of the Catholic Church in Alsace and Lorraine, were of German extraction. It was indispensable

that they should be replaced by French bishops. And this result could not be brought about without conference with the Vatican, the only power competent to nominate Catholic bishops and priests.

Immediately after the armistice, Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, was sent by the French government to Rome to negotiate for the replacement of the two bishops. In this mission he succeeded, and on the 24th of April, 1919, the *Journal Officiel* of the French Republic published a decree signed by M. Poincaré and M. Clemenceau, naming Mgr. Ruch and Mgr. Pelt bishops of Strasbourg and Metz respectively.

Practical considerations of this sort made an impression on a great many deputies, including even non-Catholics, and it seemed to them essential from the point of view of foreign affairs that France should be represented at the Vatican, not as heretofore in a semi-official and precarious fashion, but officially by an ambassador.

This matter played a considerable part in the election of M. Deschanel to the presidency of the Republic. A certain number of Catholic deputies were bent upon securing a resumption of official relations with the Vatican. M. Clemenceau showed little enthusiasm for this project, and had declared in the lobbies of the Chamber, "With *that* Pope, never!" M. Deschanel, on the contrary, showed himself favorable to the plan, and this attitude brought him some additional votes which assured his election. Immediately after the election of M. Deschanel, Pope Benedict XV sent to the new president a congratulatory telegram.

A few weeks later, on the 11th of March, 1920, the government of M. Millerand introduced into the Committee of the Chamber an appropriation bill for the re-establishment of the embassy to the Vatican.

The discussion of the proposed law was however delayed for several months, and at one time it seemed as though it would have great difficulty in going through.

But at its session in November, 1920, the Chamber of Deputies formally decided to discuss the business at once, and on November 30 the government's bill for the establishment of

an embassy at the Vatican passed by a vote of 397 to 209. The discussion which preceded the vote on the bill was extremely interesting. It was easy to see that some deputies were in favor of it solely for reasons of foreign policy, while others on the contrary saw in the bill a new orientation of the internal policy of France. The Abbé Lemire, in particular, showed that one of the first consequences of the resumption of official relations with the Vatican would be the necessity of giving a legal status to the Catholic Church in France, and of modifying or complementing the Law of Separation of Church and State.

The Law of Separation of December 10, 1905, was a unilateral act; the Vatican never officially received a denunciation of the Concordat on the part of the French government. After the passage of the law, the French government ceased to pay a stipend to Catholic bishops and priests, and theoretically took no interest in their appointment. The Catholic churches were left at the disposal of the faithful by mere toleration. But in a legal point of view these edifices are in a very uncertain situation, and the destruction wrought by the war, which makes necessary the rebuilding of hundreds of Catholic churches in the devastated regions, has emphasized the precarious character of this situation. Whose property will those churches be, when they are rebuilt by the gifts of the faithful?

It is easy to perceive the danger of considerations of this kind. If France should modify the Law of Separation of 1905, discussions and controversies without number will arise and the public peace runs the risk of being seriously compromised. The operation of the law of 1905, notwithstanding all its defects, has given France religious peace. What would a modification of that law bring? All sorts of extravagant demands are possible. Certain Catholic deputies have already spoken of the necessity of giving to the Church an indemnity for the money loss which it sustained in 1905. They revive a claim long asserted in the Catholic Church, namely that the payment to Catholic priests and bishops by the French State is a debt which it owes them in compensation for the surrender of ecclesiastical properties in 1789. In short, there have reap-

peared in these discussions some of the most extreme claims of the Catholic Church, and the discussion leaves the impression that this bill might be followed by others no less important.

The President of the Council, M. Georges Leygues, has declared that the laws of the Republic are not to be meddled with, and that so long as he was the head of the government nothing should be done to impair them; but he was not willing to commit himself definitely in regard to the consequences of sending an ambassador to the Vatican.

In the course of the discussion one of the arguments most frequently advanced by opponents of the plan was the outrageously neutral attitude — at times even an attitude favorable to the Germans — of Pope Benedict XV. Neither the entreaties of Cardinal Mercier of Belgium nor the presence of an English minister, Sir Henry Howard, who was secretly intrusted with the interests of France, were able to bring the Pope to pronounce an explicit condemnation of the way the Germans carried on the war and their deeds of violence in Belgium.

Why should victorious France re-establish relations with the Pope who had refused to do her justice in the hour of peril?

Curiously enough a Catholic deputy, M. Louis Guibal, took it into his head to justify the reserved and timid attitude of the Pope during the war by comparing it with that of the American nation. He recalled the fact that France had to wait a long time for American intervention; that it had for many months by repeated and numerous missions to strive to interest the American people in the justice of the Allied cause. He recalled that President Wilson is reported to have said in church in New York that it was not in the power of any wise man to pronounce a judgment, and that the part of neutrals was to bring the enemies together, rather than to aggravate their quarrels by taking the side of any one of those who are engaged in the struggle.

Words, says M. Guibal, whose wisdom was not at that time disputed by anyone, falling from the lips of the man whose moral leadership seemed for a moment about to replace even that of the occupant of the Vatican, and become universal — words uttered in perfect good-faith, words which even now I do not assume the right to criticise, still less to condemn. I conceive

that at the moment when that great citizen uttered these words they corresponded, it may be to the ignorance in which he still was about certain facts, or to the profound conviction that a power of a moral order, when it is, and is bound to remain, neutral, was bound to preserve an equal respect for those whom it was not competent to condemn, if it had not in its hands the evidence which would permit it to do so.

This attempt to justify the too cautious attitude of the Vatican will probably surprise Americans as much as it surprised Frenchmen. If it be true that President Wilson long hesitated to take sides during the war, it is also true that when the facts made the right clear to him, he did take sides with the utmost determination, and that when the decision was once made, the American nation followed its President with an incomparable energy and will to win the war. On the contrary, no word, no deed, no crime could shake Pope Benedict's resolve to maintain silence. Our American readers will understand after this quotation how strongly resolved the French Catholic deputies are today to restore the moral prestige of the Pope in the face of public opinion which was alienated from him during the war. They will understand also how greatly public opinion in France has changed since the day when President Wilson was acclaimed in Paris. At that moment the moral supremacy of America in France was uncontested, and it seemed as if the Protestant powers, the United States and England, were going to give to European nations their own moral ideal.

The disillusionment caused by the refusal of the American Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and become an active member of the League of Nations has led some minds to turn back to the Catholic Church, which on other grounds attracted all those who were alarmed by the spread of democratic ideas. The comparison drawn by M. Guibal has this much truth in it, that the moral leadership of Europe has already partially reverted from the American nation to the Roman Papacy.

There may be observed, in fact, a general campaign in Europe and in France, the object of which is to elevate the material position of the Papacy, and above all to give it political guarantees which at present it lacks. The dream of some would be to make use of the League of Nations to settle the territorial and political status of the Papacy. Thus, by an un-

expected turn, the League of Nations would serve to strengthen the position of the Vatican.

The following noteworthy declaration was issued in October, 1920, by the Catholic Press Bureau, which represents the most exalted aspirations of the French Catholic world:

The day may come when Italy would consent to have the status of the Papacy made the subject of discussions between the two parties, instead of being evolved by a Parliament, and when it was revised to have it receive the collective assent of all the Powers. The independence of the Pope would thus be guaranteed by the unanimous signature of all Christendom; it would assume the aspect, no longer of an Italian question, but of an international question. It would be one of those political realities in support of which the League of Nations would interpose with all the weight of its influence at any time when there was reason to apprehend that the territorial power installed in Rome might fail to keep its agreements. Political thinkers who have faith in the League of Nations are inclined to admit that under certain circumstances it might, in the name of certain principles of higher equity, limit the absoluteness of national sovereignty, and oppose the arbitrary exercise of such sovereign powers. A novel conception, certainly, and singularly contrary to the jealous claims of the old *Raison d'Etat*! But Italy would give a good example to the world by accepting this friendly coöperation of the League of Nations for the moral security of Christian opinion. A great step would then be made toward the establishment of the *Pax Romana*.

This *Pax Romana* encounters, it is true, vigorous resistance in France itself. The law providing for the sending of an ambassador to the Vatican filed in March, 1920, was not passed by the Chamber of Deputies until November 30. It still awaits ratification by the Senate, and it does not seem that the ministry of M. Briand is in any great haste to see it carried through. Most probably it will be enacted by a small majority; but the opposition of those who are against the resumption of official relations with the Vatican will deprive this result of much of the significance the proposal at first seemed to have. It will remain an act prompted by foreign policy, and will not mark a radical modification of the religious policy of France. It is extremely unlikely that France will ever adopt a Catholic policy, seeking to create in Europe a Catholic *bloc* by an alliance with the populations on the Rhine, Bavaria, and Austria, concluded under the auspices of the Vatican, as some have unwisely dreamed. France will continue as heretofore to make of its entente with England and the United States the basis of a

democratic and progressive policy. The republican form of government is above all attacks, and cannot hereafter be overthrown. The war has indeed taught the French Republic the importance of religious and moral factors in the world. The heads of the French government are today more regardful of the influence of the churches — the Protestant churches as well as the Roman Catholic Church — and are more polite in dealing with the powers of the churches. They will send an ambassador to the pope. But no one could dream today of extinguishing the proud spirit of intellectual independence and the liberal convictions of French citizens. France will remain the great democratic hearth-stone of Europe, the nation that best preserves its poise between autocracy on the right and demagogic anarchy on the left.

III

While social and political circumstances are thus in certain ways favorable to progress in the churches of France, it must not be forgotten that a grave difficulty threatens to paralyze their efforts, namely, the acute difficulty in the filling up the ranks of the clergy. Catholic churches and Protestant churches alike are today confronted by the same difficulty — heavy losses in men through the war, lamentably insufficient support for the ministry. In the country the recruiting of the clergy has almost completely stopped. While a peasant earns very large wages, the Catholic priest sometimes receives only six francs a day, and a Protestant pastor with a family to support, ten or twelve francs. Here also the war, by bringing the whole male population of France in contact with city life and disclosing to them all the gains of industrial callings, broke up the traditions of country life. The children of the soil no longer set their ambition on entering the ranks of the clergy. In certain rural dioceses the recruiting of the Catholic clergy has sunk almost to zero. Aged priests are serving two or three parishes; what will happen after their death? Cardinal Amette said, "Give us priests, churches, schools, but above all priests!"

The war, it is true, developed a mind for religious things in a great many men who lived for long months with the thought

of death daily present to them. This has led many grown men to the religious calling. The great Catholic Seminary of Paris has in 1921 about 360 students, a number which it had never before reached. And what is still more remarkable, among these 360 students there are 85 who had already made their start in another profession. We find among them a colonel of the general staff, fifty officers of the army, four naval officers, six engineers, manufacturers, tradesmen, etc. The resort of students has been so great that it has been found necessary to decline to admit forty foreign applicants of English speech and numerous Orientals. Thus the large cities are furnishing numerous candidates of every age to the priesthood, and if the recruiting of the Catholic clergy taken as a whole remains insufficient, it may be hoped that the lack of numbers may be compensated in a measure by the quality of the recruits.

The Protestant churches have had a similar experience. They also have difficulty in finding pastors for the country churches. But upon the benches of their seminaries also sit officers, men wearing the ribbon of the Legion of Honor, grown men laying aside a profession upon which they had already entered to serve the church. The number of theological seminaries has been raised since the armistice from two to three; Strassbourg having been added to Paris and Montpellier. And in addition to the seminaries, various theological schools have been opened especially for the training of evangelists, missionaries, young women, and the like. The number of students of Protestant theology in 1921 is materially larger than 1914, it reaches almost 150 — a high figure, when it is remembered that the number of active pastors is only 1100. But these recruits do not yet suffice to make good the losses of the war, nor the exodus of those who leave the ministry for lay professions that yield a less inadequate support. The rural population has not yet come to the point of making sufficient sacrifices to keep their churches alive and secure to their ministers a situation worthy of their calling.

By degrees priests and pastors slip toward the cities, while the country parishes are deserted; in part by reason of the

indifference and avarice of their inhabitants. In this there is a great danger for the future. If the country population of France should cease to be Christian, if the principles of justice and brotherly love should cease to be held in honor there, the moral equilibrium of France would be greatly imperilled; it would be ready for all sorts of revolutionary adventures.

This peril is perceived by very many, and the French Christian youth of today is far from being apathetic and indifferent. Students in the universities and the higher schools frequently feel themselves called to a sort of temporary apostolate. They take to posting bills, distributing tracts, holding lectures, writing for the press, in behalf of the good cause. In Protestant circles in Paris the movement, *La Cause*, gathers a steadily increasing number of enthusiastic students, men and women, who devote all their leisure to spreading evangelical principles. Parisian Catholic circles have devoted themselves to the *Œuvres de Midi*, or professional *Guildes*, which bring together in each quarter young women who leave their places of work between noon and two o'clock for their mid-day meal. These guilds include a lunch-room, besides rest-rooms and halls for lectures. They have a strictly confessional and Catholic character, and priests preach short sermons in them. There are at present the *Guilde St. Mathieu*, open to the employees of banks; the *Guilde Ste Marie de l'Aiguille* for dressmakers; the *Guilde Ste Madeleine* for the girls in perfumery shops; the *Guilde St. Honoré* for those who are employed in food shops. In all these groups there are zealous, faithful souls, ready to make all sacrifices for their associations.

Thus contemporary France has in the religious field the same difficulty as in all other fields of national activity — a lack of men for middling and obscure places. In the cities there is a blossoming out of enterprises, and an enthusiastic and zealous body of youth; but the great rural masses are as yet untouched by these movements. A considerable number of young people from the cities go, it is true, to find in the country remunerative positions, and they contribute to raise the intellectual level of the inhabitants of villages. The future will belong to

those who know how to elevate and direct the spirit of the French peasants. These peasants, more enlightened, better off, and with greater desire for knowledge, need intellectual and moral leaders of the first quality, filled with truly apostolic faith and zeal. When they shall have them, France will resume an eminent place, if not the foremost, in the intellectual and moral world.

The friends of France may be reassured. The country has almost recovered its mental equilibrium. The sound traditions of labor among its peasants have preserved it better than any other country in Europe from the social Utopias that frequently follow a great war. The Russian revolutionary propaganda has completely failed, and the moderate and conservative elements are much more powerful than before the war. There was even for a moment reason to apprehend that France might abandon its high liberal traditions to submit to the yoke of Rome. But that will not be. A prouder and a truer conception of the spiritual independence of the state and of the churches is already gaining ground. France will find a way to give to the Catholic Church, as to the Protestant churches, a legitimate place; not an unfavorable place as in recent years, and not a privileged place such as some have imagined. The spiritual forces, like material forces, of the nation are weakened, and in particular it will require years to train all the spiritual leaders of whom our youth has need. At no moment of the war was the moral quality of France seriously impaired. That collapse of all ideals which our enemies expected as the prelude of French defeat never came. Gratitude for this is due to all those who were the spiritual educators of the nation, and who kept its soul up to the level of the exigencies.

In the years which are to come, France, always eager for new inspirations, will be looking for guides in the world of thought and faith. May the influence of America, so enthusiastically exalted among us in 1918, and still so beloved, so potent in France, be among those which shall assist our country to form for itself high ideals of spiritual greatness! It is not to no purpose that France has recently sent one of its most famous

generals to render homage to the memory of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. Wherever in the world moral greatness, liberty, and heroism are to be found, France desires to be present and to receive the lessons of history. The uniting of the spiritual patrimony of the two great republics may save the world of tomorrow just as the uniting of their material forces saved it yesterday.

NOTES

A PAPYRUS MANUSCRIPT OF THE MINOR PROPHETS

Among the parchment and papyrus manuscripts and fragments brought to this country by the University of Michigan Expedition under Professor Francis W. Kelsey, only one is of paramount interest to the Biblical scholar. There are indeed lectionaries and parts of lectionaries dating from the eleventh century and later, and even a single papyrus fragment of a Psalm, but the former are uninteresting textually, and the latter is too small to give much evidence.

The papyrus manuscript of the Minor Prophets formed a part of a previous purchase made in Egypt in 1916 for Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Charles L. Freer. Transportation was too hazardous to permit of bringing the manuscripts to America at that time. They were packed in a tin case which was sealed by the American consul and placed in the vault of a bank in Cairo.

After the armistice no one interested in the manuscripts was able to visit Egypt until last year, when the work of the University of Michigan Expedition brought Professor Kelsey to Cairo. The case containing the manuscripts was received and opened by him. On account of their fragile nature all the manuscripts were taken by Professor Kelsey to Rome, where the material obtained for Mr. Morgan, chiefly Coptic, was delivered to Professor Hyvernat. The Greek papyrus was forwarded through the American Embassy to the Library of the University of Michigan, where it will remain until the editorial work has been finished. It will then be placed in the Freer Gallery in Washington, to which the Greek parchment manuscripts in the Freer Collection have already been transferred.

There remains of this manuscript 28 leaves, written on both sides, and rather numerous fragments. The size of the leaves is at present about 5 inches wide by 9 inches long. A little margin is preserved in places on each side and at the bottom, but at the top the margin and 9 or 10 lines are missing. As 38 or 39 lines are preserved on most pages, the original manuscript probably had 48 lines to the page. The length of the line is four and one-fourth inches, and it contains on the average about 30 letters. If we allow for an inch of margin all the way around, the original size of the leaf was about 6 by 12 inches.

The manuscript appeared at first sight to be in book form, but no traces of binding were found, nor had there been any in the period immediately preceding the burial or loss of the manuscript.

When I opened the manuscript the pages were photographed as the leaves were separated, being numbered 1, 1^v, etc. When the leaves thus numbered were compared with the Greek text, I found that two leaves, 14 and 15, had been turned over together without affecting the neighboring ones, and leaves 20 and 21 had been turned over separately so as to bring the backside of each first. At the time this happened it seems likely that there was no binding. In fact it may well be that there never was a binding, but that these long, narrow leaves were kept in a pile and perhaps numbered to keep them in order. The length of the sheets, the broad column of writing, the crowding of the writing, all point to a special effort to keep the manuscript, or rather the pile of sheets, as thin as possible. A manuscript of such a form may well have been kept and carried about in a box or wallet, as the Irish missionaries carried their Bibles.

I have made no attempt as yet to read and place the fragments. The entire leaves give the text from Amos 7, 9 to Malachi 2, 9, with the lacunae caused by the missing tops of the leaves. The manuscript has a small number of accents, all seemingly from a later hand. They are in general accurate, and are similar to those now in use. Punctuation is more frequent, both single and double dots occurring, and these likewise seem to be from a later hand. Iota adscript appears infrequently, as does the rough breathing in the half H and square forms, both from the hand of the original scribe as well as from a corrector. Dots over initial iota and upsilon and an apostrophe after proper nouns ending in a consonant are rare and from first hand. There are many corrections, some from a hand probably contemporary, others from one later. Both used good sources. Abbreviations are rather infrequent, only *κύριος*, *θεός*, *άνθρωπος*, *πνεύμα*, and *ισραηλ* being regularly abbreviated.

The writing is a sloping uncial of the oval type, but more cursive than any literary manuscript of like size that I know except parts of Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. Papyrus publications of the past thirty years have furnished a wealth of examples of this sloping hand which was once called rare and late. It is fairly common from the first century to the seventh, and the so-called Slavonic uncial on parchment is its direct descendant. The types of this hand in use in the Roman period, *i.e.*, up to about 350 A.D., and in the Byzantine, are easily distinguishable. The exaggerated size of some letters, and

the cruder, heavier stroke, mark the later period. Our manuscript belongs in the Roman period, and not at its very end; though more cursive in character, it compares well in breadth of letter and in character of stroke with many third century examples. In the sloping hand of the second century the letters are somewhat broader.

The odd mixture of cursive and literary characters in a hand which is plainly trying to avoid cursive makes the hand hard to date exactly. A good document to compare is No. 72 of Vol. II of the Amherst Papyri, Plate xviii, from the year 246. Our manuscript does not use the cursive forms of most letters consistently, and it sometimes varies, offering other cursive forms not found in No. 72. Yet the general resemblance combined with characteristic forms of certain letters point to a third century date. Thus *omicron* is consistently small, sometimes appearing as a mere dot, and never equal in size to the other letters. The *sigma* regularly has a flat top which does not bend forward or droop. A form of *kappa* shaped like a small cursive U is of frequent occurrence. Also other cursive forms of less frequent use point to a third century date. A facsimile of one page of the manuscript has been given in the Michigan *Alumnus* for February, 1921. I am sure that the manuscript can not be placed later than 325 A.D., and I am at present inclined to date it in the second half of the third century.

One expects much from the oldest existing manuscript of any considerable portion of the Bible, and I believe we shall not be disappointed. Its value can be suggested by a few noteworthy readings drawn from different places in the text.

In Micah 1, 15, the reading is $\eta \delta \omicron \xi \alpha \tau \eta \varsigma \theta \upsilon \gamma \alpha \tau \rho \omicron \varsigma \text{ } \text{I}\sigma \rho \alpha \eta \lambda$, but $\text{I}\sigma \rho \alpha \eta \lambda$ was carefully crossed out by the third hand, which has done much good correcting in the manuscript. The corrections by this hand do not seem to represent conjectures but manuscript authority. In this passage we might assume that $\text{I}\sigma \rho \alpha \eta \lambda$ has been deleted because of a misplaced obelus belonging to $\theta \upsilon \gamma \alpha \tau \rho \omicron \varsigma$, but there is, I think, a better explanation pointing to an older text. In the Aldine edition and some later manuscripts $\Sigma \iota \omega \nu$ stands for $\text{I}\sigma \rho \alpha \eta \lambda$. It is a commonplace of textual criticism that such variations often point to an earlier omission, which we now find in this old papyrus manuscript. It is not necessary to assume that the omission was original in the Septuagint, though it may have been. The expression, "until the glory of the daughter shall come to Odollam," suggested the completion "daughter of Zion," if not "daughter of Israel." Any family of manuscripts omitting the word would naturally have it supplied by

conjecture, if there was no manuscript handy in which it could be found. Its deletion in our manuscript indicates a desire to keep to the simpler and so perhaps older form of text.

In Micah 4, 3, the Papyrus reads *τας ζιβυνας* for *τα δορατα*. The manuscripts A, Q*, 26, 40, 49, etc. support this reading, as does also the Syro-Hexaplar. Likewise Justin Martyr cites this passage with *ζιβυνας* in his text. The word *ζιβυνη* with its parallel forms *σιβυνη*, *σιγυνη*, *συβανη*, etc. was common in Macedonian Greek. It means a hunting-spear or any light spear. It was a dialectical word, but one sure to be known throughout the empire of Alexander. It occurs in the Septuagint in three other passages, Isaiah 2, 4, and Jeremiah 6, 22, without variant, and in Judith 1, 15, where some manuscripts spell with a sigma. The common word *δορυ* is found over fifty times in the Septuagint, and so is apt to have been substituted for the rare *ζιβυνη* by later scholars.

In Micah 7, 12, this manuscript has *Συρίας, ημερα υδατος και θορυβου* for *και απο θαλασσης εως θαλασσης και απο ορους εως του ορους*. The Alexandrinus adds *Συρίας* at this point and the rest of the substitute as an addition after *ορους*², being supported in the latter addition by many cursives; while Q* agrees with our manuscript in giving this reading as a substitute for the regular text, which has however been added in the margin by Q². The common reading agrees well with the Hebrew, from which this variant represents a decided departure. The fact that it omits the second and third parallels, "from sea to sea and from mountain to mountain," tends to show its primitive character. The first parallel in the Septuagint, "from Tyre to the river," does not match well with the others, for it seems to be individual while they are general. A double interpretation of the Hebrew was noted as possible by Hieronymus. If the second and third parallels are omitted, such an addition as *Συρίας* seems necessary to make the sense complete. As regards the addition, "a day of rain and confusion," we can only say that it is Hebrew in style and fits in well with verses 11 and 12. The form in our manuscript and in Q* shows less inconsistency than that in the other manuscripts of the Septuagint, which may argue for its primitive character. In any case we see here a parallel to the standard Hebrew text and not a derivative from it. All manuscripts showing both expressions, as the Alexandrinus, are of a secondary character.

In Obadiah vs. 16, is found the addition *πιονται παντα τα εθνη οινον* before *πιονται*, as in N^a, A, and some later manuscripts, while Q and

others are reported for a different order. This addition conforms to the Massoretic text, makes the Greek more intelligible by adding the necessary subject for *πιονται*, and what is more important, forms a stronger verse. When we consider that we can explain the regular Septuagint text as an ordinary omission by homoeoteleuton, the jump from *πιονται*¹ to *πιονται*² causing the loss of 23 letters, or about a line of an ancient manuscript, it seems best to consider the longer form original in the Septuagint.

In Zephaniah 1, 3, after *θαλασσης* is the addition *και σκανδαλ[α συν ασεβεισιν]*, but the same hand or one of about the same time has deleted the phrase with a small dot over each letter. Hieronymus and cod. 86 mg. testify that this addition is from Symmachus. It is found also in the minuscules 36, 238, and 240. The fact that it was deleted in our manuscript, probably by the diorthotes, shows that it was recognized as an addition, perhaps marked as coming from Symmachus, and so was deleted.

In Zechariah 14, 17, the papyrus adds at the end, *και ουκ εσται επ' αυτοις νετος*. It is supported here only by the Aldine edition, codd. 36, 51, and a few others. We know from Hieronymus that this is approximately the true translation of the Hebrew as given by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Aquila seems to have had *ομβρος* for *νετος*. Again we may have the rendering of Symmachus or an independent adaptation to the Hebrew appearing in our manuscript, but this time it is conflate and not deleted.

In Zephaniah 3, 10, our manuscript reads *δεομενοι μου εν [τοις δ]ιεσκορπισμενοις* for *προσδεξομαι εν διεσπαρμενοις μου*, but the addition was deleted by dots over most of the letters. The manuscripts A, Q, 26, 49, etc. omit from *προσδεξομαι* to *μου*, which is marked by an asterisk in the Syro-Hexaplar. It is from Theodotion. Symmachus as quoted by Theodoret is quite different. Aquila is not preserved for this verse. The form in our manuscript is so good, and agrees so well with the Massoretic text, that it seems best again to assume that a gloss drawn from another translation of the Hebrew has crept into the text. The fact that this also is deleted tends to confirm the surmise that the glosses were so marked that the diorthotes detected them. Perhaps a phrase from the translation by Aquila has been preserved here.

In Habakkuk 3, 1, we find *υπερ των αγνοιων* added after *ωδης*. This is a translation of the Hebrew, as we see from Hieronymus, who quotes Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Yet *αγνοιων* is not

found there, the nearest approach being *αγνοημάτων* found in two of the translations. Either some unknown translation or the original Hebrew has influenced our manuscript at this point.

In Zechariah 1, 3, this manuscript omits the first *λεγει* *Κυριος των δυναμεων* and *των δυναμεων* of the second. The first of these expressions is omitted elsewhere only in the Holmes and Parsons cursives 36, 40, 49, etc., and the second in 130, 239, 311. *Σ** has the first *λεγει* *Κυριος* with *παντοκρατωρ* for *των δυναμεων*, but all were deleted by the second hand and *παντοκρατωρ* deleted a second time by the third hand. Also for the second *των δυναμεων* we find *παντοκρατωρ* in A, Q, 26, 40, etc. Yet the Syro-Hexaplar marks both with an asterisk as derived from Theodotion. Our manuscript alone preserves the original Septuagint in both cases, though it is supported by the second hand of *Σ* for the first omission.

In Zechariah 11, 13, this manuscript adds *κη* (for *και*) *καθηκα* before *και ενεβαλον*. It is supported only by codd. 61, 62, 86, and some others. This is considered a case of repetition or double interpretation, but in fact the meanings are hardly similar enough to warrant this conclusion. Neither do Aquila nor Symmachus have this verb, though both are preserved. I have so far found no case where this manuscript reproduces a reading from Theodotion. As given here the whole sentence may be interpreted: "And I took the thirty pieces of silver and sent them down (or, went down) and cast them into the house of the Lord into the smelting furnace." If we assume that this represents, not a double interpretation, but an older form of the Hebrew text, it is not hard to understand why the Massoretic and the later translations should have succeeded in eliminating the phrase from the Septuagint manuscripts, especially when assisted by such a corrupt form as appears in this old papyrus.

In Zechariah 13, 1, this manuscript, supported by Q and four cursives, omits the whole phrase, *και τοις κατοικουσιν το χωρισμον*. B^a, *Σ*¹, 86, 22, 23, 238, mark it with asterisks or similar signs. As the Syro-Hexaplar also marks it as an insertion from Theodotion, there can be no question that our manuscript preserves the correct text, though with little support.

In conclusion I may add what has been hinted by the above discussed readings. The new manuscript almost never goes with B¹ when it is opposed by the other old uncials. Its nearest relative is Q, though it lacks much of Q's later material. At times it goes with the later cursives only. The first scribe made a good many mistakes which were later corrected; both forms will be instructive. Thus far the

manuscript seems free from the influence of Theodotion, Origen, and the later editions. On the other hand it is going to give us a clearer insight into the amount and kind of corruption which preceded Origen.

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CEPHAS AND PETER IN THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

In his note 'Simon, Cephas, Peter' in this *Review* (January, 1921, pp. 95-97), Professor Kirsopp Lake, calling attention to the existence of early evidence that in some quarters Cephas was thought to be a different person from Peter, wonders why "Christian tradition has so completely lost sight of these doubts, which were clearly present in various forms to Clement of Alexandria and to the still earlier writer of the *Epistola Apostolorum*."

As a matter of fact Christian tradition never lost sight completely of these doubts. This was due primarily to controversial reasons which led the expositors of the New Testament to attempt edifying explanations of the quarrel of Cephas and Paul at Antioch related in the Epistle to the Galatians. It seems that very early dissenters from the great church made the most of that episode to belittle the value of the unity and consistency of the Apostolic tradition boasted by the *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*. Of the Marcionites, for instance, Tertulian says: "Proponunt ergo ad suggillandum ignorantiam aliquam apostolorum, quod Petrus et qui cum eo reprehensi sunt a Paulo . . ." etc. (*De praescr. haeret.* 23), and again: "Ipsum Petrum caeterosque columnas apostolatus a Paulo reprehensos opponunt, quod non recto pede incederent ad Evangelii veritatem" (*Adv. Marcionem*, i, 20; iv, 3; v, 3). It seems that Porphyry also made caustic comments on the apostolic quarrel: "Porphyrio . . . blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem Apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere et arguere in faciem . . ." (Jerome, Ep. cxii, 6, ad Augustinum); and finally the emperor Julian accused Peter of hypocrisy: *κατασκώπτει δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ἕκκριτον Πέτρον ὁ γεννάδας καὶ ὑποκριτὴν εἶναι φησι, καὶ ἐληλέγχθαι διὰ τοῦ Παύλου, ὥς ποτε μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἔθεσι διαζῆν σπουδάζοντα, ποτὲ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων, ἡννοηκῶς εἰσάπαν τὴν ἐν γὰρ τοῦτοις εὐτεχνεστάτην οἰκονομίαν* (Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum*, lib. ix. P. G. lxxvi, 1000-01).

The passage of Clement's *Hypotyposeon* quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 12, 2) states that the Cephas who was rebuked by Paul in Antioch was not Peter, but one of the Seventy Disciples. It seems therefore that Clement was following a different tradition from that represented by the *Epistola Apostolorum* and by the so-called Kirchen-Ordnung, both of which make Cephas one of the Twelve, but other than Peter.¹ We must not forget, however, that Eusebius's quotation from the *Hypotyposeon* is not beyond doubt, in view of the fact that according to Rufinus (*Apol. pro Origene*) and Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 109, p. 9, P.G. ciii, 383) this book had been interpolated by heretics of all kinds. This doubt is strengthened by the fact that Origen, who belongs to the same circle with Clement, ignores the tradition that counted Cephas as an independent member of the Twelve, and identifies him with Peter (*Comm. in Joann.* xxxii, 5. P. G. xiv, 753). According to Jerome, Origen was the first to propound the theory that the dispute of Peter and Paul in Antioch was κατὰ πρόσωπον—it was an "*honesta dispensatio*," that is to say a preconcerted plot between the two Apostles in order to give a forceful lesson to the Judaizers of Antioch: "Hanc explanationem primus Origenes in decimo Stromatum libro ubi Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur et caeteri deinceps interpretes sunt secuti" (*Ep.* cxii, 5). Among those who followed Origen, Jerome expressly mentions "Didymum videntem meum,"² et Laodicenum de ecclesia nuper expressum (Apollinaris) et Alexandrum veterem haereticum, Eusebium quoque Emisenum, et Theodorum Heracleotem" (*Ep.* cxii, 4). But the most famous of all those who adopted Origen's view was John Chrysostom, who in a sermon on the passage κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν (Gal. 2, 11) mentions that there were some who taught that the man rebuked by Paul was not Peter, the first of the Apostles, but somebody else: Οὐκ ἦν οὗτος Πέτρος, φησὶν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρῶτος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τὰ πρόβατα πιστευθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἕτερός τις εὐτελής

¹ The list of the Apostles given in the *Epistola Apostolorum* and in the Kirchen-Ordnung is certainly curious. It is fair to say, however, that almost all the traditional lists found in various periods and various places present very strange combinations. The main tendency was to preserve the number Twelve, but at the same time to include in the Twelve Paul and the Evangelists. In the iconographic tradition of the sixth century (Theodoricus' Mausoleum) the list is as follows: Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Mark, Luke, Thomas, Simeon, and the same list although in different order appears in the *Ερμηνεία τῶν Ζωγράφων* which was for centuries the source book of painters and artists. See G. de Jerphanion, *Quels sont les douze Apôtres dans l'Iconographie chrétienne?* in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Sept.-Dec., 1920, pp. 358-367.

² A play on "Didymus the Blind."

καὶ ἀπερρίμμενος, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς (P. G. li, 380). As for himself Chrysostom rejects this opinion and affirms the identity of Cephas and Peter.

It is worthy of remark in this passage from Chrysostom that, according to the theologians whose opinion he criticizes, Cephas was a despicable person; the disparaging words εὐτελής καὶ ἀπερρίμμενος, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς could hardly be applied to one of the Seventy. Had Chrysostom a different source from Eusebius? Neither Chrysostom nor Jerome mentions the names of those who, following Clement's view, denied the identity of Cephas and Peter; but from Jerome's words it is clear that at least one of those who had written extensive replies to Porphyry adopted this opinion: "Ad extremum si propter Porphyrii blasphemiam alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errasse, infinita de scripturis erunt radenda divinis, quae ille qui non intelligit criminatur" (*Comm. in Gal.*, P. L. xxvi, 341). Was he aiming at Methodius of Olympus or at Eusebius of Caesarea, both of whom are known to have written treatises against Porphyry? This question cannot be settled, because both those works are completely lost.

In the pre-Nicene Christian literature of the West there is no hint of the slightest doubt about the identity of Peter with the man who quarreled with Paul in Antioch. The fact that in the current Latin versions of the New Testament the name Cephas was always translated by Peter prevented any question on this point. As a matter of fact, Tertullian (in the passage quoted above) and Cyprian never name Cephas, and explain Peter's conduct as a remarkable example of concord and patience given to the hierarchy: "Petrus . . . documentum nobis concordiae et patientiae tribuens. . ." (*Ep.* lxxi, ed. Hartel III, ii, 773). Origen's bold exegesis of the κατὰ πρόσωπον was unknown in the West. Hilary of Poitiers (*in Ep. ad Gal.*, Pitra, *Spicilegium* i, 58-59) and Ambrose (*in Ep. ad Corinthios* i, 5, 4 and *in Ep. ad Gal.*, ii, 11, P. L. xvii, 229, 350) follow Cyprian's line of thought. Jerome was the first who tried to introduce the interpretation of the "*honesta dispensatio*" in the West, but Augustine emphatically opposed an exegesis which made of the dispute of the apostles a little pious comedy for the instruction of the Judaizers of Antioch. This question led to an exchange of somewhat sharp letters between Jerome and Augustine, written not without *rancore stomachi*, as the former himself says. Augustine's view eventually prevailed, and Jerome later on recanted (*Adv. Rufinum*, 3, 1. See Möhler, *Gesammelte Schriften* i, 1 ff.).

Augustine does not mention Cephas, but he confesses that his sources of information about the dispute of the Apostles were limited, "haud plures de hoc argumento legi et audiui Patres quam Ambrosium et Cyprianum." Jerome as we have already noticed was acquainted with the opinion that Cephas was not Peter: "Sunt qui Cepham cui hic in faciem Paulus restitisse se scribit, non putant apostolum Petrum, sed alium de septuaginta discipulis isto vocabulo nuncupari. . . . Quibus respondendum, alterius nescio cuius Cephae nescire nos nomen, nisi eius qui et in Evangelio et in aliis Pauli epistulis et in hac quoque ipsa, modo Cephas modo Petrus scribitur" (*Comm. ad Gal.*, P. L. xxvi, 341).

Two centuries later, Gregory the Great in his Commentary on Ezekiel repeats the same statement: "Sunt vero nonnulli qui non Petrum Apostolorum principem, sed quondam alium eo nomine qui a Paulo sit reprehensus accipiunt, qui si Pauli studiosius verba legisent, ista non dicerent" (*In Ezech. Lib. ii, Hom. vi, 10, P. L. lxxvi, 1003*). We have no evidence that in Gregory's times there were Western expositors who held such an opinion; it is probable therefore that Gregory was simply repeating what he read in Jerome. In the East, on the contrary, it seems that about that time the Clementine-Eusebian view was very much in favor; it is explicitly stated in the so-called *Chronica Alexandrina*, or *Chronicon Paschale*, a compilation made under the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) by putting together old lists and documents of various origin. According to the *Chronica*, the Cephas rebuked by Paul was one of the Seventy Disciples: Κηφᾶς ὁ μὲν Πέτρου ᾧ καὶ ἐμαχῆσατο Παῦλος κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ (P. G. xcii, 521). The same statement is made in the famous *Σύγγραμμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν*, a forgery of the eighth century published under the name of a Dorotheus, supposed bishop of Tyre and martyr of an early persecution, a mythical personage who never existed. The purpose of the forgery, which purported to be an account of the careers of the Apostles and of the disciples of Jesus, was to give an historical color to the legend of the apostolic foundation of the See of Constantinople, with the apostle Andrew as first bishop. This choice seems to have been suggested by the fact that Andrew was called by Jesus to the apostleship earlier than his brother Peter. In the distribution of churches made by the *Σύγγραμμα*, Cephas also got a bishopric: Κηφᾶς ὃν ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἤλεγξεν ὃς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Κορίας ἐγένετο (P. G. xcii, 1065).

In the tenth century we find again a commentator on the Epistle to the Galatians, Oecumenius bishop of Trikka (Thessaly), who agrees

with this tradition and quotes Eusebius in support of his opinion (P. G. cxviii, 1112).³ The same tradition has the adhesion of Salomon Chalatensis, Bishop of Bassara (Syria), in a treatise, "De praedicatione Apostolorum et de loco uniuscuiusque eorum, deque eorum morte," written about 1222 (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii, 319). Finally it found its way into the Greek Menologia, and acquired right of citizenship in the eastern ecclesiastical tradition.⁴

In the West, as it is easy to imagine, Augustine's teaching prevailed, and was constantly followed down to the fifteenth century. It is only occasionally that the opinion that Cephias and Peter were different persons is mentioned, and then only to be rejected. Such is the case with a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians written by Hervé, abbot of Bourgdieu (Herverus Burdigalensis, 1100-1150), who repeats *ad verbum*, although without quoting the author's name, Gregory in *Ezechielem*: "Sunt vero nonnulli qui non Petrum," etc. (P. L. clxxxi, 1145).

Hugo of St. Victor (*Exegetica*. i. In S. Scrip. Quaestiones in Ep. Pauli in Ep. ad Gal. Quaestio vi.) and after him Aquinas (*Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas*. Opera, ed. Parma, xiii, 396-397) and all the great Scholastics had no doubt of the identity of Cephias and Peter, although they were acquainted through Jerome with the opposite opinion. They discussed at a great length "an (reprehensio haec) fuerit vera, an dispensatoria, et an peccaverit Petrus et vere reprehensibilis fuerit," adding to it a series of considerations "de tempore quo licuit legalia observare et de observatione legalium quantum ad Apostolos," and a detailed exposition of the controversy between Jerome and Augustine, with a conclusion in favor of the latter: "Salva reverentia secretorum, Beati Augustini sententiam preferimus" (Hugo of St. Victor, P. L. clxxv, 556).

During the controversies provoked by the Reformation the dispute at Antioch acquired a new importance in relation to the question of the primacy of Peter.⁵ Some Catholic theologians, like those

³ The writings which go under the name of Oecumenius have rather the character of an anthology compiled in a casual form.

⁴ In the Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum the commemoration of Cephias is assigned to December 8 together with other disciples (Propylaeum ad Acta SS. Novembris Synax. Eccl. Cplitanae, opera et studio H. Delehaye. Bruxellis, 1902, col. 290). In the *Menaee* edited in Venice in 1592, the commemoration is found March 30 (*Ib.* col. 574).

⁵ On the importance given by the early Protestants to the incident of Antioch, see K. Holl, 'Der Streit zwischen Petrus und Paulus zu Antiochien in seiner Bedeutung für Luthers innere Entwicklung,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xxxviii (1919), pp. 23-40.

of the fourth century of whom Jerome speaks, thought that the best way to dispose of the question for good and all was to exhume the old opinion of Clement and Eusebius: Cephias was not Peter, but one of the Seventy. (A. Pighe, *Hierarchiae Ecclesiasticae Assertio*. Coloniae 1538. Lib. iii, Cap. 11, f. 100. "Quae ex Paulo objiciuntur, dissolvere." Hardouin, *Commentarius in Novo Testamento*, Amsterdam, 1741, Appendix: Petrus et Joannes vindicati. i. Cephiam a Paulo reprehensum Petrum non esse, pp. 785-799).⁶ Suarez (Lib. ix, *De lege Divina*, c. 20. Opera, vi, 530-542) and Bellarmine however, remain faithful to the Augustinian view (*De Rom. Pont.* i, cap. xvi. Op. i, 347).

Most theologians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries followed Pighe and Hardouin, and tried to strengthen their assumption not only by making appeal to the old tradition, but also by a long series of historical and theological arguments. (Vallarsi, Notes in his edition of the Opera S. Hieronymi, Venice 1766-72, vii, 408 seq. reprinted in P. L. xxviii, 340; Zaccaria, *Dissertazione su Cefa ripreso da S. Paolo*: Diss. varie. I, 195; Roma 1780; M. Molkenbuhr, *Quod Cephias Gal. II, 11, non sit Petrus*. Apud Monast., 1803; A. F. James, *Dissertations ou il est irréfragablement prouvé que St. Pierre seul décida la question de foi soumise au Concile de Jérusalem et que Cephias repris par St. Paul à Antioche n'est pas le même que le prince des Apôtres*, Paris 1846; A. Vincenzi, *Lucubrationes biblicae*, Pars ii, 87, et seq.; I. Neubauer S. J., 'De Legibus,' in *Theologia Wirceburgensis*, Tom. v, 258-265.)

The most important of these arguments was furnished by chronol-

⁶ Jean Hardouin, Jesuit, was the editor of the "Conciliorum Collectio Regia Maxima" (Paris, 1715-25). His "Commentarius in Novum Testamentum" was published after his death. The appendix "Petrus Vindicatus" is divided into 20 chapters, dealing with the exegetical and the historical sides of the question. The fifth chapter assumes that if we grant that Cephias was Peter, we must conclude that Peter was guilty of heresy: "Immunem ab hereseos labe Petrum non fuisse, si reprehensus ipse a Paulo est." The sixth goes even so far as to affirm that all faith in Scripture would be upset if we admit the identity of Cephias and Peter: "Periclitari ac mutare ipsam sacrorum literarum fidem videri si Petrum a Paulo fuisse reprehensus damus." This excess of zeal led to the condemnation of the *Commentarius*, which was put on the Index. Hardouin was incensed by the fact that not only Protestant historians (like the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*) but also Jansenist writers (like P. Quesnel, *La Discipline de l'Eglise* i, 224-229) put great stress on the incident of Antioch as giving evidence that Peter's (and therefore the Pope's) decisions were far from being unimpeachable. He shows no less irritation against the Greek editions of the New Testament, which like that published in Holland in 1638, for the reading Κηφᾶν in Gal. 2, 11-14, substituted Πέτρον, which reading, he says, "habetur a Graecis (schismaticis) pro authentica."

ogy and had been already sketched by Hardouin. Starting from the theory of the twenty-five years of Roman episcopate of Peter, these theologians concluded that Peter must have been in Rome not later than the year 42 A.D.; on the other hand it was only in the year 44 that Paul went to Jerusalem and there met for the first time Cephas, with whom *junxit dexteram*. This Cephas could not be Peter, who at that time was in Rome. But there is no doubt that the Cephas who five years later in Antioch was rebuked by Paul was the same man that Paul had met in Jerusalem, therefore he cannot be identified with Peter, although about that time Peter returned to Jerusalem, to preside over the council of the year 50.

The Vatican Council of 1870 and the discussions about the infallibility of the Pope gave a new interest to the question. But modern Catholic theologians, realizing how weak is the chronological argument based on legendary data, have abandoned Cephas to his fate, and have gone back to Augustine and the old tradition of the western Fathers. (Palmieri, D., *De Romano Pontifice*, Prati, 1902, pp. 372-73. Mazzella, C., *De Religione et Ecclesia*, Prati, 1905, pp. 692-693. Straub, *De Ecclesia Christi*, i, 135. Innsbruck, 1912.) They accepted the identity of Cephas and Peter, but found in the episode of Antioch a new argument in favor of the infallibility of the Pope: "Huiusmodi facto evidenter se prodit Petri primatus. Quamvis enim Paulus verbis doceret non esse opus iudaizare, Petrus autem solo conversationis exemplo videretur docere esse iudaizandum, hic tamen ceteros ipsumque Barnabam *cogebat*, non tantum alliciebat iudaizare. Unde tanta efficacia exempli taciti Petri, ut praevaleret doctrinae praedicantis Pauli, nisi ex eo quod ab omnibus Petrus potior Paulo habebatur eiusque auctoritas suprema esse in Ecclesia credebatur?" (Palmieri, *op. cit.* p. 374.)

G. LA PIANA

A SYRIAC PARALLEL TO THE GOLDEN RULE

Numerous parallels to the Golden Rule of Matt. 7, 12 and Luke 6, 31 have been found in various writers.¹ Most of these are Jewish or Christian, but some of them are far remote in time and place from

¹ Cf. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum*, i, pp. 341 f.; A. Resch, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, x (1897), 3, pp. 80 f.; G. Resch, *ibid.*, xxviii (1905), 3, pp. 132 ff.; Heinrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, iii (1905), pp. 85 ff.; and Proost, *De Bergrede* (1914), pp. 153 f. To the passages cited in these works may be added the following: *Mahabharata*, xii, 259, 20: Quod quispiam non vult sibi ab aliis

Judaism and Christianity. Sometimes the precept is put in the positive form and sometimes in the negative, more frequently in the latter. A Syriac parallel, particularly interesting because it combines the two forms, seems to have been hitherto overlooked. It occurs in the philosophical dialogue entitled *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, and is as follows: "For there are two commandments set before us, which are meet and right for free-will: one, that we should depart from everything that is evil and we hate to have done to ourselves; and the other, that we should do whatever is good and we love, and are pleased to have it done so also to ourselves." ²

The Book of the Laws of the Countries is traditionally ascribed to Bardesanes, but is really the work of one of his disciples, who probably wrote in the early part of the third century after Christ. The author may have read, in Syriac or in Greek, a text of Acts 15, 20 or 29 having the Golden Rule in the negative form after the prohibitions, and combined this with the positive form found in Matt. 7, 12 and Luke 6, 31. Ephrem's commentary on Acts 15, 29 is based on a text similar to that attested by D 25 29 etc., *sah, syr. hl.*, Iren. int., Cyp. Bardesanes may have thought of the positive and negative forms of the Golden Rule as constituting "the perfect law of freedom" mentioned in James 1, 25.

Christian scholars are wont to dwell upon the superiority of the positive form, whilst Jewish writers either prefer the latter ³ or regard the two as substantially equivalent. Thus Montefiore has "a feeling that Hillel and Jesus meant pretty much the same thing." ⁴ Elbogen thinks that Jesus derived the saying from Hillel through tradition, and he finds no special merit in the positive form of statement. ⁵ The truth is that both forms of the precept are based on love to our fellow-men (Lev. 19, 18), which according to Akiba as well as to Jesus is the fundamental principle of conduct. On the negative side love "worketh

fieri ne ipse aliis faciat, quia scit quid odiosum sit. Thales (Diog. Laert. i, 36): Ἐρωτηθεὶς . . . πῶς ἂν ἀριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα βιώσασμεν [ἔφη] ἐὰν ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ ὀρώμεν. *Ep. Arist.* § 168 (ed. Wendland): Ὁ δὲ νόμος ἡμῶν κελεύει, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ μηδὲνα κακοποιεῖν. Aphraates, *Demonstratio*, xxiii, 62 (*Patrologia Syriaca*, I, ii, 129, ll. 14 f.): "What you dislike when done to you do not do to your fellow." This is word for word the way in which Hillel is said to have summarized the Law (Sabb. 31a); cf. the Palestinian Targum on Lev. 19, 18; and Akiba in Aboth de R. Nathan, c. 26 (ed. Schechter, Recension B, p. 27).

² Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 5; *Patrologia Syriaca*, I, ii, 551, ll. 11 ff.

³ Cf. e.g. Hirsch in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vi, p. 22.

⁴ Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, ii (1909), p. 550.

⁵ Elbogen, *Die Religionsanschauungen der Pharisäer* (1904), p. 76.

not evil to the neighbour," and hence it is the "fulfilment of the Law."⁶ On the positive side, as in Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan, love manifests itself in generosity and helpfulness to others. The negative form of the commandment teaches men to be just, whereas the positive bids them to be generous.⁷ The difference between justice and generosity is well expressed by Wettstein: "Iustus est, qui reddit quod debet, quodque etiam ab invito per iudicem extorqueri poterat: bonus sive beneficus, qui liberaliter dat, quod non debet."⁸

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"STRAIN OUT A GNAT AND ADORN A CAMEL"

In the late Professor Camden Cobern's useful book entitled *The New Archaeological Discoveries and their Bearing upon the New Testament* a section is devoted to Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels, and on pages 205-207 a list of its remarkable readings is given, according to the Arabic text published by Ciasca. The list is misleading, for many of the supposed examples of variation from the standard text are not such in reality. Hamlyn Hill's English translation, on which Cobern relied, is not always correct, and the Arabic translator himself was sometimes unfortunate in his rendering of an ambiguous Syriac word or phrase.

The singular reading quoted above, however, which is one of those given in the list, is not to be laid to the charge of Professor Cobern or of either translator, but is due to an extraordinary combination of two transcriptional or typographical errors, which so far as I am aware has not been observed by any one. Ciasca's Latin rendering of Matt. 23, 24 (p. 71) has indeed "*camelum ornantes*." His Arabic text of the passage (p. 153) has the word *yazdarūna*, which means neither 'they adorn' nor anything else which could possibly be used here. It is at once plain that the true reading was *yazradūna*, 'they swallow.' (I see that Rendel Harris, cited in Hill's translation, had noted this, and doubtless other scholars have made the observation.) Ciasca, however, must have read the word correctly, for his '*ornantes*'

⁶ Rom. 13, 10.

⁷ So also Bruce in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, 7th ed., i, p. 132.

⁸ Wettstein, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 46.

can only be a miswriting, or misprint, of the word *vorantes*, 'swallowing.' This coincidence of two typographical slips, the one in the text and the other in the rendering of the same word, could not easily be paralleled.

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FROM ABRAHAM TO DAVID, FOURTEEN GENERATIONS

In a note on Matt. 1, 17 in the January number of this Review, I remarked that to squeeze the fourteen generations from Abraham to David into a period of four hundred and ninety years it was necessary to ignore the biblical chronology, which demands nearly twice as long. Professor Louis Ginzberg has suggested another possible explanation. In Yebamot 64b, Rabbah (b. Abuha), a Babylonian teacher of the third century, observes that it was in the days of David that the years of a man's life were first reduced to seventy (Psalm 90, 10). This inference from the Psalm might have been drawn at any time; and if it was current in the circle from which the genealogy of Jesus in Matthew comes, the author may not have applied his thirty-five year scheme to the generations before David.

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CHRISTIAN WRITERS ON JUDAISM

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I. TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY *

CHRISTIAN interest in Jewish literature has always been apologetic or polemic rather than historical. The writers of the New Testament set themselves to demonstrate from the Scriptures that Jesus was the expected Messiah by showing that his nativity, his teaching and miracles, the rejection of him by his people, his death, resurrection, and ascension, were minutely foretold in prophecy, the exact fulfilment of which in so many particulars was conclusive proof of the truth of his claims, and left no room to doubt that his own prediction would be fulfilled in the speedy coming of the Son of Man to judgment, as Daniel had seen him in his vision. In the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews and in the Gospel according to John the aim is not so much to prove that Jesus was the Messiah of Jewish expectation as that the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom Christians believed that they had salvation from their sins and the assurance of a blessed immortality, was a divine being, the Son of God, the Word of God incarnate; and this higher faith also sought its evidence in the Scriptures. The apologetic of the following centuries, especially that which addresses itself to Jewish objections, has the same chief topics: Jesus was the Christ (Messiah), and Christ is a divine being. Others, which also have their antecedents in the New Testament, are accessory to these,

* The following pages are not meant to be a history of the literature or even an introduction to it. The author's aim has been to show the influences which have determined its character in successive periods and to illustrate these stages by certain outstanding works, laying thus the foundation for a critical examination of modern representations of Judaism to which the second part of this study is devoted.

particularly the emancipation of Christians from the Mosaic law, or the annulment of the dispensation of law altogether, or the substitution of the new law of Christ; the repudiation of the Jewish people by God for their rejection of Christ, and the succession of the church, the true Israel, the people of God, to all the prerogatives and promises once given to the Jews.

The volume of anti-Judaic apology still extant or known to us through titles and quotations is considerable.¹ The earliest, a discussion between Jason, a Jewish Christian, and an Alexandrian Jew called Papiscus, written probably not long after the Jewish revolt under Hadrian and attributed to Ariston of Pella, is lost. Not much later comes the best known of the Greek apologies of this type, Justin Martyr's Dialogue with the Jew Trypho. The literary form of dialogue was chosen because it enabled the writers to combat Jewish objections as well as to develop their own argument in the way best adapted to their purpose. No doubt there was abundance of real controversy between Jews and Christians, through which the apologists were acquainted with the points of their opponents' argument, but in the apologies the Jewish disputant is a man of straw, who raises his difficulties and makes objections only to give the Christian opportunity to show how easily they are resolved or refuted, while in the end the Jew is made to admit himself vanquished. This of itself shows that the authors did not write to convert Jews but to edify Christians, possibly also to convince Gentiles wavering between the rival propaganda of the synagogue and the church. The argument for the divinity of Christ turns largely upon the theophanies of the Old Testament and the appearances of the Angel of the Lord, in which Philo had already recognized the manifestation of a divine being, the Logos, distinct from the transcendent Supreme God. Of Latin apologies the most noteworthy is Tertullian *Adversus Judaeos*. The occasion of the work, the author tells us, was a protracted discussion between a Christian and a convert to

¹ The most recent conspectus of this branch of Christian apologetic down to the fifth century, with the modern literature, will be found in Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* (1914), i, 53-76. For a general survey of the whole field reference may be made to L. Blau, 'Polemics and Polemical Literature,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 102-109.

Judaism; but the argument is not conducted in the form of disputation.²

All the early apologies have much in common both in the topics and in the scriptures adduced. Later authors undoubtedly made free use of their predecessors, and collections of *loci probantia* from the Old Testament were made expressly for the use of controversialists. The argument is purely biblical; the interpretation, in large part symbolical or allegorical, is fixed in a tradition and repeated by one after another. There is more reality in the homilies of Aphraates directed against the Jews and in Chrysostom's sermons *Adversus Judaeos*. In the former we see that an aggressive Jewish polemic in the Persian Empire made necessary a vigorous defense, and in the latter that many Christians in Antioch were so strongly attracted by Jewish festivals and other ceremonies, especially by the great fast of the Day of Atonement, as to arouse apprehension that their Judaizing predispositions might carry them farther than the spectacular. The last important representative of the older species of apologetic is Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Judaeos*. The first book sets forth the catholic doctrine of the Person of Christ, the Son of God begotten of the Father *ante saecula ineffabiliter*; Christ *deus et dominus*; the Trinity; the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension. In the second book the author deals with the rejection of the Jews and the passing of the gospel to the Gentiles, the abrogation of the Old Testament with all its institutions, and the establishment of the New with its sacraments. Isidore thus sums up and systematizes the Latin apologetic which he transmits to the early Middle Age, fundamentally doctrinal and still strictly biblical.

Of early Jewish apologetic and polemic we have hardly any knowledge except what is narrated in the Talmud of Palestinian Rabbis, chiefly of the third and early fourth centuries, who engaged in discussion with Catholic Christians about points of

² Joseph Scaliger's estimate of these apologies is not unfair: *Judaei hodie cum disputant, sunt subtiles. Justinus Martyr quam misere contra Tryphonem scripsit, et Tertullianus! Debet esse valde peritus Judaismi, qui Judaeos volet reprehendere et refutare.* (Quoted by Wagenseil, p. 89.)

interpretation, or controverted the doctrines of the church, particularly about the person of Christ.³ The objections which are hereditary in the Christian apologies bear no mark of derivation from Jewish writings. That there were such in the second century is intrinsically probable, and it is possible that Celsus drew upon them in his *True Account*. More than this cannot safely be said; of a Jewish literature in Greek or Latin there is from that time on no trace. After Christianity became the established religion of the Empire and the conversion of Christians to Judaism was made a high crime, writings directed against the church and its doctrines or intended to make propaganda for Judaism are not likely to have been numerous. The situation was different in the Persian Empire, as we have seen in the case of Aphraates, and after the Arab conquest in the countries under Moslem rule, where Jews and Christians were upon an equal footing and some of the Caliphs were entertained at court by discussions of the merits of the three religions; but there Christian apologetic had a more urgent task in defense against attacks from the Moslem side.

In the Oriental revival of learning, in which the Jews had an active part, scholars arose among them who were well acquainted with the New Testament and the intricacies of Christian doctrine. The controversies of the tenth century between Rabbanite and Karaite Jews presently led both to include Christianity and Islam in their apologetic. Saadia (d. 942), the protagonist of the orthodox and the first to undertake a systematic exposition and defense of Jewish theology, disputes not only the Christian arguments to prove that Jesus was the Messiah, particularly that drawn from Daniel 9, 24-27, but the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, on the last of which topics he specifies four distinct theories, including the most recent. His contemporary, the Karaite Kirkisani, sets the belief and teaching of the immediate disciples of Jesus in contrast to the doctrines of the church; according to him it was Paul who was the author of the doctrine

³ Some illustrations are given by Blau in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, x, 103; see also Bacher, *Die Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer*, i, 555 f. (Simlai); ii, 115-118 (Abahu); and the indexes under 'Christen, Christenthum.'

of the Trinity and the divine Sonship. In general it may be said that the Jewish apologists of the following centuries not only endeavor to refute the Christian arguments drawn from the Old Testament, but carry the controversy over into their opponents' territory by criticism of both the New Testament and the dogmas of the church.

In the following period the intellectual hegemony of the Moslem world passed to the West, where learning and science were eagerly cultivated, and philosophy engaged some of the best minds. The Jews participated in this movement, and in all spheres some of them stood in the front rank. There was much discussion among the adherents of the three religions which divided among them the mixed populations of the Iberian peninsula concerning the foundations of their respective faiths and the truth of their doctrines. When Christians entered into such controversy with Jews they were in a very different position from their apologetic predecessors. They had to deal, not with fictitious opponents, but with real antagonists who stoutly defended themselves and struck back hard. Moreover, the defenders of Judaism now compelled their adversaries to meet them in the biblical argument on the ground of the Hebrew Scriptures, not of a disputable Greek or Latin version. They had not only a traditional knowledge of the language but, following in the footsteps of the Arab philologists, had made serviceable Hebrew grammars and dictionaries; they possessed commentaries on the Old Testament in which the text was interpreted on a sound philological method and frequently with historical and critical insight, and they distinguished clearly between the literal sense and homiletic improvements. They were learned also in the traditions of Judaism preserved in Talmud and Midrash, and in its normative teaching and practice. They defined and systematized its beliefs and doctrinal tenets, harmonized them with Scripture and philosophy, and undertook to prove them both by authority and reason.

Christian controversialists, if they were not henceforth to beat the air, were thus put under the necessity of knowing Jewish literature, ancient as well as modern. It did them no good to *assert* their interpretation of their Old Testament

proof-texts; they had to *demonstrate* it. One of the most effective ways to do this was to show that their interpretation, though denied by contemporary opponents, had the support of ancient tradition — Targum, Talmud, Midrash — whose authority the Jews could not dispute, or that it was conceded by more recent Jewish exegetes of high repute. Thus to array the ancients against the moderns, is, as we shall see, a favorite piece of tactics in this new style of apologetic. Whatever its value otherwise, it had at least one good result — it led to a much more zealous and assiduous study of Judaism than any purely scientific interest would have inspired. Converted Jews naturally made themselves serviceable in this new apologetic; they brought the knowledge with them, and in defending their new faith or assailing the old they were excusing their own apostasy and giving proof of a sincerity which was often suspected by both sides.

The earliest of this type which has been preserved is the Dialogue of Petrus Alfonsi (died 1110), physician to King Alfonso VI of Castile, who stood sponsor at his baptism (1106) — hence the name, “Alfonso’s Peter.” In his new character of Peter the Christian, the author confutes and eventually converts himself in his former quality of Moses the Jew. The argument is chiefly philosophical and biblical; Jewish lore is brought in principally by way of exposing to ridicule the absurdities of the Haggada, particularly its anthropomorphisms. Only rarely (e.g. on Gen. 49, 10) is Jewish interpretation alleged in confirmation of Christian.

Converts became more numerous in the thirteenth century.⁴ As the Christian kingdoms grew stronger and more secure, the policy of the government became more consistently unfavorable to the Jews, and the Church promoted these measures. At the same time the missionary efforts of the Dominican friars, whom Gregory IX (1227–1241) had particularly charged with this work, were prosecuted with persistent and well-directed zeal. Raymund de Pennaforte (died January, 1275), the general of the order, sought to win Moslems and Jews to the catholic faith by conviction rather than to force them into

⁴ See below, note 21.

the church by persecution, and to this end established a college in which promising members of the order selected for the task studied the Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic languages, the Moslem and Jewish Scriptures, and their philosophical and theological literature. Among these students was Raimundus Martini, whose *Pugio Fidei* is the great monument of this endeavor. Of his life, a large part of which was passed in a convent of his order in Barcelona, little is chronicled. In 1264, in the sequel of the disputation at Barcelona in the preceding year before King James I of Aragon between the convert Pablo Christiani and Rabbi Moses ben Nahman,⁵ Martini was one of a commission appointed by the King to examine Jewish books, with instructions to expunge passages injurious to Christ or the Virgin Mary. He had thus the best imaginable opportunity to become acquainted with Jewish literature of all periods down to his own day, and to acquire copies. For the rest, we know that in 1278 he was in the midst of the second of the three parts into which his work is divided (II. x. 2, p. 316),⁶ and that he was still living in 1284.

The first of the three parts of the *Pugio* is a refutation of the errors of the philosophers, that is chiefly the Arab Aristotelians, whose three fundamental errors are that the world is eternal, that God's knowledge does not embrace particulars, and that there will never be a resurrection of the body. In these chapters he shows himself familiar with the Moslem authors and Arabic translations of the Greeks. Averroes, as might be supposed, is the most obnoxious of the philosophers; Algazel a welcome ally.

The second and third parts have to do with the Jews. In the former the proofs that the Messiah is already come are marshalled, and the contrary arguments of the Jews are combatted. The third part has three subdivisions (*distinctiones*). The first

⁵ An account of this discussion, written by R. Moses ben Nahman, may be found in Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satanae*. The three subjects appointed to be debated were: Whether the Messiah has already appeared; Whether the Messiah of the prophets was divine or human; Whether Judaism or Christianity is the true religion. In the report we have, the controversy ends with the Trinity.

⁶ The year 1278 is often given inexactly as the year of the completion of the whole work.

deals with the unity of God and the distinction of persons in the Godhead; the second with man, the fall and its consequences; the third may be denominated Christology, closing with chapters on the rejection of the Jews and the ultimate conversion of the remnant. In the argument addressed to the Jews, Martini meets them on the ground of the Hebrew Bible, and quotes extensively from Jewish authorities. His quotations are given at large in the original, with exact references according to the method in use in his time, accompanied by a Latin translation and interpretation. The range of his learning is very wide; he quotes the Targums, both Talmuds, the Seder Olam, the various Midrashim which are commonly called Rabbith, the Midrash on Psalms, the Mekilta on Exodus, and others. Of commentators he uses Rashi (d. 1105), Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), David Kimchi (d. 1235), and his own contemporary R. Moses ben Nahman, and frequently cites the Moreh Nebukim of Maimonides (d. 1204). Some of the works from which he drew have perished and are known only through his excerpts; one such from which he frequently quotes was the Bereshith Rabbah attributed to R. Moses ha-Darshan, who flourished in Narbonne in the middle of the eleventh century.⁷ Mention may be made further of extracts from Josippon, and the Toledoth Yeshua. It is important to observe, on the other hand, that the Pugio contains no quotations from the Zohar or other cabalistic works. The Cabala had, in fact, made little headway in Spain against the current of Aristotelianism when Martini wrote, though Azriel, who is regarded as the founder of the speculative Cabala, belonged to the generation before him and Moses ben Nahman, who is said to have been inducted into the Cabala by Azriel, was his contemporary.

The Pugio is a controversial work, and the manners of serious theological controversy, one observes, are seldom perfectly

⁷ The texts as Martini quotes them sometimes differ materially from the manuscripts and printed editions in our hands, and his good faith has consequently been called in question. Where the text has really been tampered with in Christian interest, it is more likely that the copies he used had been interpolated by Jewish converts than that he falsified them himself. The judgment of recent Jewish critics is in general favorable to his honesty.

urbane; but it was composed for the purpose of converting Jews, not of vilifying them, and compared with much more recent anti-Judaic polemic it might almost be called gentlemanly, notwithstanding the suggestion of the assassin in the title. But its proper praise is that it is a genuine work of learning. In an order like the Dominicans, which counted among its members numerous Jewish converts, some of them men of rabbinical education, there were great possibilities of coöperative scholarship, and it is probable that Martini availed himself of them; but whatever assistance he may have had in gathering his material, it is evident that he had made it completely his own. The *Pugio* is not merely remarkable as a first enterprise; it still remains within its scope an admirable monument of erudition. A large part of what today constitutes the common stock of references in this field derives ultimately from Martini, though the source has long been forgotten, and not infrequently the references have got wrong in the long chain of borrowers borrowing from borrowers. Some characteristic examples of this will be given further on. In recent books the *Pugio* has a traditional place in the bibliography, but of first hand knowledge of it there is seldom any evidence.

Martini's work, in three great volumes, was in another sense *too* monumental. Copies of it are not, and probably never were, numerous. References to it in the following centuries are infrequent. Very early, however, a good deal of its contents was transferred to the pages of a handier book, the *Victoria* of Porchetus de Salvaticis, completed in 1303. The author, a Carthusian, native of Genoa, explains in the introduction that he names his work *Victoria*, *eo quod per eum Judaei facile convincuntur, ac eorum conscientiae non modicum penetrantur*. He acknowledges his obligation to Raymund Martini, *a quo sumpsit hujus libelli materiam in plerisque compilandi*. The long extracts from the rabbinical sources in the original Hebrew are omitted, and much besides which Porchetus evidently did not regard as essential to his purpose. On the other hand, Porchetus not infrequently introduces *de suo* matter not found in the *Pugio*, for example, a discussion of the pronunciation of the

Tetragrammaton (*Johouah*).⁸ Porchetus's *Victoria* was printed in Paris in 1520 under the editorial direction of A. Giustiniani, the first professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the university of Paris.⁹ It evidently had considerable circulation in its day; it is quoted, for example, by Luther, who in fact translated from it passages of some length in his pamphlet, *Vom Schem Hamephoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*, appended in the collective editions to his *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (both of the year 1543).

Two years before Giustiniani printed the *Victoria*, Petrus Galatinus, a Franciscan, with the encouragement of Pope Leo X and the Emperor Maximilian, published a folio volume under the title, *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*,¹⁰ the immediate motive of which was to support Reuchlin in his strife with the Dominicans about the books of the Jews¹¹ by showing that the distinctive doctrines of Christianity can be proved from these same books. The argument is conducted in the form of a discussion in which Reuchlin (Capnio), Hoogstraaten (Prior of the Dominicans in Cologne), and Galatinus himself take part; Galatinus being the chief speaker, Reuchlin the interrogator, who humbly sits at the feet of Galatinus, Hoogstraaten an occasional objector.

The resemblances between Galatinus and Porchetus were early remarked in a sense uncomplimentary to the former,¹² but it was left for Joseph Scaliger to discover that the *De Arcanis* was an enormous plagiarism from the *Pugio*, a manuscript of

⁸ On the pronunciation *Johouah* in Porchetus, see my Notes in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xxviii (October 1912), pp. 55-57, and on Luther's use of Porchetus, *ibid.*, pp. 60 f.

⁹ See Appendix, p. 254.

¹⁰ See Appendix, p. 254.

¹¹ The Dominicans, instigated by a baptized Jew named Pfefferkorn, had got from the emperor in 1508 an edict that the Jews should deliver all their books to be examined, and that such as contained things injurious to the Christian religion should be burned. The emperor was induced to reconsider this action, and called upon Reuchlin for an expert opinion as a Hebraist and a jurist. In his report Reuchlin distinguished seven classes of Jewish books, of which at the outside only one, such scandalous writings as the *Toledoth Jeshua*, and direct attacks on Christianity like the *Niṣṣaḥon*, merited destruction. Thereupon he himself became the object of a venomous attack.

¹² E.g. by Jean Morin, *Exercitationes Biblicae*, lib. i, exerc. 1, c. 1 (p. 9 f.), 1660.

which he had seen twenty years before in a library in Toulouse.¹³ In fact, though the plan and disposition are different, most of the learning in the *Arcana* was conveyed direct from Martini. The critical comparison made by the Dominican editors of the *Pugio* a half century later gave an exhaustive demonstration of the Franciscan's fraud; the long annals of literary theft record no more egregious case. The numerous material additions in Galatinus are chiefly cabalistic, derived from the *Zohar* and other supposititious writings of Simeon ben Yohai. He also quotes frequently from a work called *Gale Razaia* (Revealer of Mysteries) which professed to have for its author no less a person than R. Judah ha-Kadosh. Though more than one book bearing the same title (from Dan. 2, 29) is recorded by bibliographers, Galatinus's is none of them, and it has even been suspected that the alleged quotations from it were a pure fabrication of Galatinus himself, who was presumably as capable of inventing fictitious sources as of concealing real ones.¹⁴ The suspicion does him no injustice, though it perhaps overrates his creative imagination, but in this case it is erroneous. The real author was Pablo de Heredia (d. 1486), a Spanish Jew, who signalized his conversion to Christianity by a series of impudent forgeries.¹⁵

Large as was Galatinus's surreptitious conveyance of learning from the *Pugio*, the purpose and plan of the *Arcana* are very different. The primary object of Galatinus, as has been already remarked, was to uphold the cause of Reuchlin against the Dominicans; Hoogstraaten is throughout the opponent whose attack on the whole Jewish literature is to be repelled. Galatinus does not, however, confine himself to that task. When he takes upon him to prove in long discussion (Book vii) the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary against Hoogstraaten and Hoogstraaten's authority, Aquinas, he is prosecuting the long-standing controversy of his order with the Do-

¹³ In letters to Casaubon, August, 1603, May, 1604; see Carpzov's edition of the *Pugio*, pp. 106 f. Scaliger erroneously supposed that the author was Raymundus Sebon.

¹⁴ Morin broadly hints as much; and a half century earlier the elder Buxtorf wrote: *Galatino saepissime hic liber laudatus et citatus, de cujus fide multi dubitant.*

¹⁵ A note on Heredia's fabrications will appear in another number of the Review.

minicans, and his occasional quotations from (spurious) Jewish writings hardly suffice for a pretext. In the two centuries and more between Martini and Galatinus both Christian theology and Jewish polemic had brought new points into prominence, as may be seen in the chapters on the Mother of the Messiah. The *Arcana* is adapted to a new situation.

Galatinus's *Arcana* was several times reprinted (Basel 1591, Frankfurt 1603, 1612, 1672), and many who came after him derived much of their learning directly or indirectly from it.

The *Pugio* itself was first printed in 1651.¹⁶ It had waited long, but had the good fortune at last to fall into hands worthy of the task. The names of those who in different ways encouraged or furthered the enterprise are recorded on the title-page, and their respective parts in it defined in the ample prefatory matter. The principal editor, Joseph Voisin,¹⁷ not only collated four manuscripts for the text, but appended to the several chapters of the second and third parts *Observationes* containing additional quotations from the sources employed by Martini and from later authors, including some from the *Zohar* and cabalistic commentators such as Behai, notes on differences between the text of the Talmud and other books as adduced in the *Pugio* and the current printed editions — differences in part accounted for by the subsequent activities of the censorship — and the like. To Martini's *Proemium* Voisin attached, at a length of nearly a hundred and fifty folios, prolegomena, treating first of the *Lex non scripta* and the whole subject of Jewish tradition, including a complete analysis of the Mishna; the thirteen norms of halakic deduction; on the Talmuds, Midrashim, and commentators, with a short chapter on the Cabala, etc.; then of the *Lex scripta* and its contents; the commandments, positive and negative; the divisions of the Pentateuch; the rules for copying the Scriptures and the defects which render a copy unfit for use; the disputed question of the age of the vowel points; the canon, and the authorship of the several books according to Jewish tradition; on Hebrew poetry; the lections from the Prophets and the

¹⁶⁻¹⁷ See Appendix, p. 254.

divisions (*sedarim*) of the prophetic books; the translations of the Old Testament, etc. Particular note may be made of an extensive collection of quotations from the Old Testament (arranged in the order of their occurrence in the New) which were interpreted by the Jews in a way similar to the interpretation and application given them in the New Testament, and rabbinical parallels to New Testament ideas and expressions — a precursor, in a limited field, of the *Horae Hebraicae* of succeeding scholars.

Voisin's account of Jewish teaching and opinion is compiled, with large quotations in Hebrew and translation, from the best reputed authors, including Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah* and *Moreh*), Joseph Albo (*Ikkarim*), Azariah de Rossi (*Meor Enayim*). The whole is a work of admirable learning, and a most useful introduction to Martini. The greater part of it might still be studied with profit by many who profess to write on the subject in the light of "the attainment of modern research"; incidentally they might learn how a genuine scholar does his work. Voisin's edition of the *Pugio* was reprinted in Germany in 1687 under the direction of Johann Benedict Carpzov (the second of the name; died 1699), Professor in Leipzig, who prefixed to it a long *Introductio in Theologiam Judaicam et lectionem Raimundi, aliorumque id genus autorum*. The author's attitude toward his subject is illustrated by the title of one of his subdivisions: *Theologiae Judaicae modernae Autor principalis, Satanas; Ministerialis, Rabbini*. Nevertheless — probably by some oversight of Satan — even in it, he admits, there are vestiges of the true doctrine of the Old Testament which may be turned against the Jews; such were collected in the *Pugio*, whose author, *refutandam sibi caeteroqui proposuit theologiam Judaicam modernorum, apostatarum, reprobatorum, excoecatorum*, etc. It is this edition that is commonly in the hands of scholars; Voisin's is seldom found.

New and welcome sources were opened to Christian apologists in the Cabala, which purported to be an esoteric tradition of immemorial antiquity.¹⁸ The eccentric genius Raymond Lull (died 1315) was the first Christian scholar whose

¹⁸ See L. Ginzberg, 'Cabala,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ii, 456-479.

writings give evidence of acquaintance with the Cabala, but he employed his knowledge chiefly in his great scheme for a new science. It was two centuries later before the vogue of the Cabala in Christian circles began. Pico della Mirandola (died 1494) took it up with enthusiasm. He found in it a philosophy which he easily identified with his own Neoplatonic ideas, coming with the authority of revelation; it contained all the distinctive doctrines of Christianity: "The mystery of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Word, the divinity of the Messiah, original sin and its expiation through Christ, the heavenly Jerusalem, the fall of demons, the orders of angels, purgatory, and the punishment of hell." And all this in an esoteric tradition which, preserved among the Jews for many centuries orally, was reduced to writing by Ezra! It thus not only offered confirmation of the Christian faith, but enabled its defenders to confound the cavils of the Jews by the authority of their own books: "There is hardly a point in controversy between us and the Jews on which they cannot be so refuted out of the books of the cabalists that there will not be a corner left for them to hide in."¹⁹ Reuchlin (died 1522), whose interest in cabalistic studies had been awakened by Pico during a temporary residence in Florence in 1490, entertained a similar estimate of the Cabala, both the speculative and the practical branches of which, in his view, centered in the doctrine of the Messiah. Of Galatinus, what is necessary has been said above.

From this time on the Cabala has a prominent place in Christian apologetic and anti-Judaic polemic, taking its place beside, or before, the testimonies from the Targum, Talmud and Midrash, and Jewish commentators and philosophers, such as Raymund Martini had adduced. The first introduction of Christian scholars to cabalistic literature was through recent authors like Recanati (flor. ca. 1300), whose commentary on the Pentateuch Pico della Mirandola translated into Latin, and Bahya ben Asher (Behai; died 1340); but students soon found their way to the Zohar, which passed for the highest authority in this sphere. The Zohar, in form a Midrash on the Pentateuch, professed to be the secret instruction imparted by R. Simeon

¹⁹ De hominis dignitate (ed. Basel 1592), pp. 329 f.

ben Yohai to a select circle of disciples, Simeon himself having received the doctrine by revelation. Whatever reservations Christian scholars may have made on the point of Simeon's inspiration, they did not doubt the age or the authenticity of the Zohar; nor that in substance it perpetuated a tradition much more ancient than the time of its reputed author, the middle of the second century of our era. Indeed, the great antiquity of the cabalistic tradition has been maintained by some orthodox Protestant theologians as late as the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁰ What could be accomplished in the way of proving Christian dogmas from the Zohar is well exemplified by G. C. Sommer, *Specimen Theologiae Sohariae cum Christiana amice convenientis, exhibens articulorum fidei fundamentalium probationes, e Sohare, . . . petitas*, etc. (1734), in which a complete system of orthodox Protestant doctrine, formulated in twenty 'theses,' is established, article by article, by *loca probantia* from the Zohar instead of the Bible, the extracts being duly exhibited in the original and translation, with explanatory and illustrative commentary.

The exchange of polemics between Jews and Christians increased in volume and violence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not alone in Spain, where converted Jews demonstrated their zeal for their new faith by the vehemence with which they impugned the old, and provoked equally vehement replies, but in France and Germany.²¹ The replies did not restrict themselves to the defense of Judaism against its assailants, or to a refutation by exegetical and historical arguments of the Christian interpretation and application of the Old Testament, or to disputing the doctrines of the church on rational or philosophical grounds, but directed their criticism against the Gospels and other books of the New Testament, with which the authors show themselves well acquainted. An indication of the temper in which some of them were written is given by the title *Niṣṣaḥon*, 'Triumph,' which more than

²⁰ Notably Tholuck and Hengstenberg.

²¹ The most prominent of the Spanish converts were Abner of Burgos (Alfonso of Valladolid, or of Burgos), died ca. 1350; Solomon ha-Levi of Burgos (Paul de Santa Maria, or Paul of Burgos), died 1345; Joshua ben Joseph ha-Lorki (Geronimo de Santa Fe), body physician of Pope Benedict XIII.

one of them bears, precisely as Porchetus had named his book 'Victoria.'

One of these Triumphs, the work of an unknown author who appears to have lived in the Rhineland, perhaps at Speier, in the thirteenth century,²² gives considerable space to an examination in detail of passages from the Gospels, beginning with the genealogy of Jesus in Matt. 1, and its conflict with the genealogy in Luke. The writer is familiar with the Vulgate, whose words he frequently quotes in Latin (done into Hebrew letters) and sometimes criticizes its renderings of the Old Testament. Another work under the same title was written by R. Lipmann-Mühlhausen, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Its author, who also was well acquainted with the Latin Bible, offers a detailed refutation of Christianity, divided into paragraphs, three hundred and forty-eight in number, each of which begins with a passage from the Old Testament. A compendious answer in poetical form to the Christian contentions and a summary of Jewish polemic is prefixed. In the *Hizzuk Emunah* of the Karaite Isaac Troki (died 1594),²³ the argument ranges over the whole of the New Testament, from Matthew to Revelation, and is always on the offensive. The polemic is of a completely modern type, and the change of the times is evident also in the fact that the book was not only widely circulated in the original Hebrew but was translated into modern languages. The growing aggressiveness of the Jewish controversialists was met in a like spirit by those who hastened to defend Christianity and repel the calumnies of the Jews. To expose these 'calumnies' they printed the Jewish polemic treatises with Latin translations, comments, and refutations, thus ensuring their preservation and wider publicity, in the act of exciting prejudice against the Jews.

Wagenseil, who published a thick volume of such texts (including the *Toledoth Jeshua*) and replies, gave it the significant title *Tela ignea Satanae*, The Fiery Darts of the Evil One (1681). Wagenseil's principal 'Confutatio' is annexed to the

²² Commonly cited as *Nizzachon Vetus*, to distinguish it from the work of Lipmann-Mühlhausen. Printed in Wagenseil.

²³ Troki's work is also in Wagenseil.

little *Carmen Memoriale* prefixed to Lipmann's *Nissahon*. The poem itself, if printed solid, would hardly fill more than a page or two; the reply occupies 413 pages in quarto. The author takes up Lipmann's twelve issues of controversy — chiefly Messianic — article by article and almost word by word, going into detailed discussion especially of Messianic prophecies, such as Gen. 49, 10 (63 pages), Isaiah 7, 14 (47 pages), etc., and incorporates long extracts from other authors, e.g. Amyraldus on the proof of the Trinity from the Old Testament, Chrysostom on the vain attempts of the Jews to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, a catalogue of false Messiahs from the *Shalsheth ha-Kabbala*, several specimens of Jewish synagogue sermons (in German), an epistolary altercation in Hebrew between Rittangel (d. 1652) and a Jew, Jewish computations of the time of the future advent of the Messiah, and the like (also from the *Shalsheth ha-Kabbala*). The Toledoth Jeshua is also honored with a lengthy refutation; and the volume closes with a Mantissa on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, directed against the recent interpretation of the English scholar, John Marsham. Nor should the hundred pages of formidably learned preliminaries be ignored.

Still more violent against the Jews and everything Jewish is Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (1700, 2 vols.).²⁴ It is a malignant book, if ever there was one, but it is doubtful whether any man ever gave himself so much pains to gratify his malignancy. The book describes itself, in a title-page as long as a modern preface, as a "thorough and truthful account of the way in which the hardened Jews horribly blaspheme and dishonor the most holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, defame the holy Mother of Christ, jeer and scoff at the New Testament, the Evangelists and Apostles, the Christian religion, and utterly despise and curse all Christian people," etc. The author promises to expose, besides, the gross errors of Jewish

²⁴ On the complaint of the Jews, this first edition of Eisenmenger's book was suppressed by the emperor as prejudicial to public order (see Wolf, ii, 1024). It was reprinted under the auspices of Frederick I, King of Prussia, and published in 1711, at Königsberg (or Berlin; see Wolf as above), in two volumes quarto, together nearly 2200 pages. A facsimile of the title page and other information about the work will be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, v, 80 f.

religion and theology, together with its ridiculous fables and other absurdities — all this by extracts in their own words from their own books, of which he had read through a great many, “mit grosser Mühe und unverdrossenem Fleiss.” To give him his due, he had read prodigiously. The annotated bibliography of Hebrew books from which his quotations are taken, prefixed to the first volume, fills more than fifteen quarto pages, besides a page about writings in Jewish-German; it enumerates substantially all the works of any consequence that might have been registered in a catalogue of *Rabbinica et Judaica* at the end of the seventeenth century, and the extracts in the two volumes prove that the bibliography is not a parade. His quotations are given in Hebrew with a German translation and exact references. Some of the chapters, especially in the second volume, in which he undertakes to set forth the beliefs of the Jews on such subjects as paradise, hell, angels, devils, the Messiah, the duration of his reign and what comes after it, the resurrection and judgment, though never losing sight of the polemic intent, are more constructive presentations of Jewish teaching, and contain a vast mass of quotations from literature of all ages. For reference on particular topics the volumes are furnished with ample and excellent analytical indexes.

The author shared with the scholars of his age, Jewish and Christian, the belief in the antiquity and authority of the Cabala, and quotes it extensively, especially in the writings of its later representatives, including not only Luria and Cordovero but the *Yalkut Rubeni* of his own contemporary Reuben Hoshke (d. 1673). Eisenmenger is the notorious source of almost every thing that has been written since his time in defamation of the Talmud or in derision of Jewish superstitions, and abounds in accusation of all kinds of misdeeds perpetrated against Christians, including the murder of children to use their blood in unholy rites.²⁵ What modern writers retail about the irreverence or childishness of the Jewish imagination of God — for example, God as a Rabbi, studying and teaching the law — comes ultimately from Eisenmenger, who fills sixty pages with the like edifying matter. It is not so frequently

²⁵ Vol. ii, pp. 220 ff.

recognized how deeply his successors have been indebted to the less strident parts of his work; and, with all his prejudice, what he adduces from the rabbinical sources is much more trustworthy than the books on which recent scholars have chiefly depended.

—The Reformation gave a motive of its own to rabbinical studies. Hitherto scholars had maintained the doctrines of the Catholic Church against the Jews, or tried to convert Jews to them, and in so doing strove to confirm the Christian interpretation and application of the Old Testament by arraying on their side the most highly reputed Jewish authorities against the modern Jews. Protestants, on the other hand, in rejecting the authority of the Church and its traditions, took upon themselves to build up the entire edifice of Christian doctrine upon a purely scriptural basis. They were thus under the necessity of treating constructively various topics which had long been issues in controversy with the Jews, and of correlating them to other parts of the system. A great deal of the old material that had come down through centuries of polemics was ready to their hand, but for the new use it had to be put together in a new way; and when it came to be thus put together gaps were disclosed which had to be filled up. There was, moreover, at many points a distinctively Protestant position to be maintained against the Catholic interpretation and dogma.

To meet this need a multitude of monographs were written which may be regarded as materials for Protestant dogmatics. Like the Catholic works of the same period they illustrate the progress that has been made since the close of the fifteenth century in biblical philology, and the authors of many of them, whether Lutheran or Reformed, were largely learned at first hand in Jewish literature, both rabbinical and cabalistic. Their use of this material is, from our point of view, uncritical, but the collections are in some cases almost exhaustive so far as the sources were at hand, and no one who today undertakes a study of the subjects they treated can afford to ignore them, or can employ them without mingling admiration with gratitude.

Nor should we do justice to the literature of that age if we failed to recognize in much of it, along with the dogmatic and

polemic motive, the scholar's love of learning for its own sake, above all its uses. This is still more conspicuous in the works that deal not strictly with doctrine, but with religious and civil institutions in Bible times and later; with the temple, priesthood, cultus; the synagogue and its worship; with proselytes to Judaism; or with civil government, the laws, courts, and administration of justice; with marriage and divorce, education, and many subjects beside, in most of which Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* with its commentaries served them admirably for an introduction. The same spirit is manifest in works on the topography of Palestine, on the zoölogy and botany of the Bible, on its chronology, and the like, in all of which fields the permanent monographs come from this period. A perennial monument of the learning of that age is Surenhusius' edition of the *Mishna* (1698-1703), in six folio volumes, with Latin translation of the text and the most approved Jewish commentaries, together with additional comments and notes by Christian scholars, and extensive indexes, enabling the student to acquaint himself directly with this primary legal authority. Translations were also made of numerous treatises of the *Talmud*, and of the ancient juristic *Midrash*. Many of these were published, together with reprints of most of the seventeenth century works on Jewish antiquities, in the enormous collection of Blaisio Ugolino, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum*, 34 volumes in folio, 1744-1769.

Rabbinical learning was put to a different use when it was employed to elucidate or illustrate the New Testament. This was often done sporadically in continuous commentaries, e.g. by Grotius, and by Drusius in his *Praeterita*. Subsequently works were composed which might be described as rabbinical glosses on the New Testament, in which, generally without any other commentary, single passages were annotated with pertinent quotations from rabbinical sources. One of the earliest of these was the *Mellificium Hebraicum* (1649) of Christopher Cartwright,²⁶ which glosses in this way not only the New Testa-

²⁶ Christopher Cartwright (1602-1658) is the author also of *Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica, sive Annotationes in Exodum ex triplici Thargum seu Chaldaica paraphrasi*, 1658. The *Mellificium Hebraicum, seu Observationes Diversimodae ex Hebraeorum*,

ment but the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, besides two books (iv and v) of more miscellaneous adversaria. The second and third books, on the New Testament, quote with especial frequency parallels from the exegetical and homiletic Midrashim, particularly the Rabboth.

To the compilers of such glosses, as indeed to all who worked in this field then or since, the elder Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, published by his son in 1640, was of inestimable value. Based on the *Aruk* of R. Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (died 1106), but with much additional matter, especially for the language of the Targums, in which he had a predecessor in Elias Levita (*Meturgeman*, 1541), and the Hebrew of mediaeval authors and commentators; the Zohar also is frequently cited. Some of the articles are virtual concordances; he quotes, for example, all the occurrences of the word 'Messiah' in the Targums. In view of the ingratitude of most of the learned to the dictionaries which supply them with so much of their learning, it enhances our respect for Cartwright that he so often gives credit to Buxtorf, even when he supplements the dictionary references or corrects them. The *Mellificium*, which seems to be quite unknown to modern writers, is a useful complement to Lightfoot and Schoettgen, because its parallels are so largely drawn from the Palestinian Midrashim in which the author had evidently read extensively. When it is added that it covers not only the Gospels, but the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, sufficient reason has perhaps been given for reviving the memory of the learned Christopher Cartwright.

The best known work of this class is the *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae* of John Lightfoot. Only the parts on the Gospels and First Corinthians were published by the author;²⁷ Acts is posthumous, and Romans a fragment from Lightfoot's notes. To each of the Gospels is prefixed a discussion of regions and

praesertim antiquiorum, monumentis desumptae, unde plurima cum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti loca vel explicantur, vel illustrantur etc., was printed in the *Critici Sacri*, (London, 1660), ix, cols. 2943-3128.

²⁷ The parts of Lightfoot's *Horae* were published separately, Matthew 1658, Mark 1663, 1 Corinthians 1664, John 1671, Luke 1674, Acts and Romans, posthumously, 1678, by Richard Kidder.

places named in the Gospel, particularly in the light of descriptions or references in the Talmud, and these chorographic studies fill a considerable part of the volume — a partial precursor of the great work of Adrian Reland, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714). Unlike Cartwright, Lightfoot's chief sources are the two Talmuds, with which he frequently quotes Rashi and the Tosaphoth. Maimonides also is often cited, and the commentators on the Old Testament; his lexical authority is the Aruk. On points of especial interest the glossarial method gives place to an excursus, sometimes of considerable length, for example, on Jewish baptism, the sects, synagogues, Sanhedrin, the Passover ritual, and the like. Numerous obscurities in the Greek are cleared up by comparison with Hebrew or Aramaic idiom; a good example is the wholly unintelligible ὁψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθε Μαρία ἡ Μαгдаληνὴ, κ.τ.λ. (Matt. 28.1). Some modern commentators and critics might have made sense out of the verse and understood its relation to the parallels (Mark 16, 1; Luke 24, 1) if the horizon of their learning had been wide enough to take in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁸

The *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in universum Novum Testamentum* of Christian Schoettgen (1733), is described on the title page and in the preface as a supplement to Lightfoot on the Gospels, and for the rest of the New Testament a continuation of that scholar's unfinished work. Appended to the volume are seven short dissertations on various topics, such as the Kingdom of Heaven,²⁹ the celestial Jerusalem in Jewish

²⁸ See Schmiedel, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv, col. 4041 f., cf. 4072; and on the passage, Moore in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxvi (1906), 323-329.

²⁹ A slip of Schoettgen's in the first paragraph of the *Dissertatio de Regno Coelorum* (i, 1147) is probably the origin of a misstatement which runs through a whole procession of New Testament lexicons and commentaries, namely that ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in Matthew corresponds to מַלְכוּת הַשָּׁמַיִם in rabbinical Hebrew. Schoettgen expressly says so; but if the scholars who took his word for it had looked at the examples he quotes in the following pages and elsewhere (on Matt. 11, 19, p. 115 f.), or at those collected by Lightfoot on Matt. 3, 2, they would have discovered that the rabbinical phrase is always שְׁמַיִם, which Lightfoot correctly explained as by metonymy for God. The solitary instance of הַשָּׁמַיִם in Schoettgen (p. 116), 'Mekilta in Yalkut Rubeni fol. 176, 4,' is an error either in Yalkut Rubeni (1660) or more probably in Schoettgen himself; the Mekilta (Jethro, Par. 5, init. on Exod. 20, 2) has correctly שְׁמַיִם.

representation, and on Christ the greatest of Rabbis. One of them entitled 'De Exergasia Sacra,' observations on parallelism in Hebrew style, is an interesting anticipation of Lowth's theory of Hebrew poetry, published twenty years later. Schoettgen's reading, according to his preface and a *Conspectus Autorum* appended to it, was more extensive than Lightfoot's. He includes the Zohar (through Knorr von Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*), and several cabalistic works, from Behai (Bahya ben Asher) down to the Yalkut Rubeni. In 1742 Schoettgen published a second volume, also under the title *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, but with the more specific description, 'in Theologiam Judaeorum dogmaticam antiquam et orthodoxam de Messia.' This portly monograph of more than 700 pages in quarto, with a pair of dissertations added, and an appendix on rabbinical literature and other things, bringing the whole up to a round thousand pages, is not, as the uninitiated reader would gather from the title page, and as the author doubtless in good faith believed, an exposition of the *locus de Messia* in the 'ancient and orthodox dogmatic theology of the Jews' — something that never existed — but an attempt to prove that the whole orthodox dogmatic Christology of the church was held by the Jews at the beginning of our era and taught in their ancient and authoritative books, exoteric as well as esoteric.

As in all similar demonstrations, the Cabala has to furnish the evidence; and Schoettgen is so fully convinced of the Christianity of the Zohar that he sets himself seriously to prove that its supposed author, R. Simeon ben Yohai, was himself a Christian (pp. 901-917). This thesis was controverted by Justus Glaesener (himself the author of a *Theologia Soharica*) in a Diatribe reprinted in Schoettgen (pp. 918-935), to which Schoettgen replies in defense his theory (*ibid.* pp. 935-949). What did more lasting mischief than all this cabalistic Christianity in Schoettgen and others was the fact that upon its presumptions the genuine rabbinical sources were interpreted by the Cabala, with which they were assumed to be in complete accord — only, as was natural in esoteric writings, intimating its sublime doctrines more obscurely, and in language the full meaning of which was comprehended only by those who

had the cabalistic key. Since the middle of the last century the Cabala has ceased to be quoted as an exponent of Jewish teaching at the beginning of our era, but in more modern expositions of this teaching — on the nature and office of the so-called intermediaries in Jewish theology, for example — the rabbinical texts in Targums, Talmud, and Midrash are still interpreted in unconscious dependence on a cabalistic tradition.

One more volume, nearly contemporaneous with Schoettgen's *Horae*, demands a brief mention, namely, Joh. Gerhard Meuschen, *Novum Testamentum ex Talmude et antiquitatibus Hebraeorum illustratum* (1736). This is a collection of writings, partly *inedita*, by several authors, Meuschen's own contributions being only the preface and a diatribe on the Nasi, or Director of the great Sanhedrin. The first place in the volume (pp. 1-232) is taken by Balthasar Scheid, *Praeterita Praeteritorum*, illustrations of select passages in the New Testament, chiefly from the Babylonian Talmud, somewhat resembling Lightfoot, but with fewer mere glosses, and in general with fuller comment on the texts under consideration. At the beginning, Scheid collects and remarks briefly on the Talmudic passages in which there is mention of Jesus and his disciples, an anticipation of which recent writers on the subject seem not to be aware. Nearly 800 pages are occupied by dissertations, programmes, etc., by Johann Andreas Danz (died 1727). Danz was one of the foremost Hebraists of his age, and these writings, when occasion requires, show him widely read also in classical and patristic literature. Whatever subjects he takes up are discussed with exhaustive thoroughness, whether it be proselyte baptism in relation to the baptism of John, or the law of *talio*, or Jewish excommunication (to illustrate Matt. 18, 18), or the idea of redemption (1 Pet. 1, 18 f.). Particular attention may be called to the series of programmes on the Shekinah (on John 14, 23). Among the other contents of the volume may be noted the controversy between Rhenferd and Witsius on the phrase 'the World to Come' in the Jewish literature and the New Testament, the particular point at issue being whether *עולם הבא* is equivalent to the 'Days of the Messiah,' which Rhenferd disproves.

Wettstein, in his edition of the New Testament (1751, 1752, 2 vols. fol.), subjoined to the text and critical apparatus a *commentarius plenior*, illustrating *ex scriptoribus veteribus Hebraeis, Graecis et Latinis historiam et vim verborum*. For the illustrations from Greek and Latin authors, besides his own reading, Wettstein availed himself of the ample accumulations of such matter in commentators like Drusius, Grotius, and others; those from the Talmud and other rabbinical sources are derived chiefly from the works which have been described above, especially from those in glossarial form such as Lightfoot and Schoettgen. It was chiefly in Wettstein's convenient delectus, that these parallels and illustrations were used by subsequent commentators and theologians, and passed into a secondary tradition which in the course of repetition has forgotten its origins.

II. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME

The seventeenth century was the great age of Hebrew learning among Christian scholars; it lasted on till toward the middle of the eighteenth and then abruptly ended. The works of that period embody the results of earlier researches in Jewish literature from Raymund Martini down, with large additions accumulated by the labors of later generations, both in rabbinic and cabalistic sources. To the apparatus then collected little has been added since. When, after a long interruption, a few scholars in the nineteenth century took up again the study of Judaism it was with a different end and with a correspondingly different method. These later authors would have described their aim as historical — to exhibit the beliefs and teachings of Judaism in New Testament times or in the early centuries of the Christian era. For this purpose they employed chiefly the material that came down from their predecessors, without giving sufficient consideration to the fact that it had been gathered for every conceivable motive except to serve as material for the historian.

The apologetic selections were confined to certain topics of Christian doctrine; a delectus of quotations made for a polemic purpose is the last kind of a source to which a historian would

go to get a just notion of what a religion really was to its adherents. Moreover, apologetic and polemic are addressed to contemporaries, and draw their proofs indifferently from past and present; if they appeal to the past against the present, it is the authority of antiquity they seek, not the history of doctrine. It may be possible to order their selections from the sources chronologically, and then to assign them to their proper age, but not to supply from such collections those sides of the religion which they ignore. The more constructive works, particularly of the seventeenth century, are contributions to Christian — specifically Protestant — theology, to which the exposition of Jewish teaching is incidental. The rabbinical glosses to the New Testament, finally, were never intended to represent the Judaism of New Testament times, but to illustrate passages in the Gospels and other books by parallels from Jewish literature, in the same way in which Grotius and others illustrate the same books and often the same passages by a redundancy of quotations from Greek and Latin authors. Least of all did Cartwright or Lightfoot and the rest dream that their illustrations would be used by moderns to explain the *origin* of New Testament ideas. A striking example of such misuse of their collections is given by a whole succession of commentaries on 1 Cor. 15, 45, where it is said that the identification of the 'second Adam' with the Messiah was commonly made by the Rabbis in Paul's time, from whom he had doubtless learned it. This probably got into the exegetical tradition through Schoettgen, who gives (after Edzard) the reference '*Neve Schalom* fol. 160 a.' The author of the book cited died in 1492, and no older reference has been adduced. It may be presumed that Schoettgen was aware of the age of the work; those who quote him seem to imagine that a book with a Hebrew title must be as old as Paul.³⁰

The modern period in Christian studies of Judaism begins with August Friedrich Gfroerer,³¹ *Geschichte des Urchristen-*

³⁰ See my note in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xvi (1897), 158-161; Fr. Schiele, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* xlii (1899), 20 ff.

³¹ August Friedrich Gfroerer (1803-1861) studied theology in Tübingen, 1821-1825, and was Repetent there in 1828. In 1830 he became librarian in Stuttgart, and from 1846 was professor of history in the university of Freiburg in Baden.

thums, the first part of which, under the title, *Philo und die alexandrinische Theosophie, oder vom Einflusse der jüdisch-ägyptischen Schule auf die Lehre des Neuen Testaments* (2 vols.), appeared in 1831. This was followed by *Das Jahrhundert des Heils* (2 vols. 1838); *Die heilige Sage* (on the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, 2 vols); and *Das Heiligthum und die Wahrheit* (on the Gospel of John; all in 1838). The sub-title of his Philo propounds the thesis of the whole work. The first volume is an exposition of the philosophy and theology, or as Gfroerer prefers to call it, 'theosophy,' of Philo, which is of independent and permanent worth; in the second he undertakes to demonstrate, chiefly from the Apocrypha, that the principal features of Philo's theology are much older than his time and had long been current among the Alexandrian Jews, and to show how this theosophy was transplanted to Palestine through the Therapeutae, Essenes, and other sects. The two volumes of the *Jahrhundert des Heils* (together nearly 900 pages) might more descriptively be entitled *The Theology of the Palestinian Jews at the Beginning of the Christian Era*. As we have already seen, the author holds that this theology — or at least what, in distinction from popular notions, may be called the *higher* theology — was nothing else than the Alexandrian 'theosophy,' which, early introduced in Palestine, had taken firm root there and flourished greatly. The Cabala is a product of the mystical philosophy of the Palestinian schools; but Gfroerer was convinced that the same philosophy is represented in the Targums, and many passages in the Talmud and Midrash.

In the preface Gfroerer acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier scholars from Raymund Martini down, naming among others Surenhusius, Rhenferd, Voisin, and Eisenmenger, and for the Cabala, Knorr von Rosenroth. Where translations of Talmudic texts were accessible, he availed himself of them and often quotes them in Latin. In his own reading in the Talmud and Zohar he had the help of Jewish scholars, who served him also in the collection of passages. Thus, without any pretence of great rabbinical learning, Gfroerer was respectably equipped for the task he set himself.

In the first chapter he gives a sufficient account of the rabbinical sources, discussing the age of the Talmud, and for the dates of the rest following the then recent critical work of Zunz.³² It should be remarked that, notwithstanding his prepossessions about the antiquity of the cabalistic theosophy, Gfroerer assigns the Zohar itself to the end of the thirteenth century. He believed, however, that the theosophy of the Zohar was far older than the book, which was only the literary precipitate of a secular tradition; and when he found the same ideas in Jewish writings from the first four centuries of our era, he felt warranted in quoting the Zohar as a representative of the ancient mystical doctrine of the Jews. It is a notable step in advance that Gfroerer includes among the sources for Palestinian Judaism in this period the writings collected by Fabricius in the *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (1713), among which are the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Psalms of Solomon, and gives especial attention to the Apocalypses, the Ethiopic Enoch and the Ascension of Isaiah, which had recently been brought to light,³³ and Fourth Esdras, the origin and age of all of which he submits to a critical discussion. In the heresies of Simon Magus and Elxai, and in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, which he calls a Greek Zohar, he finds further sources for the history of Jewish theology, and cites many passages from the Fathers in attestation.

One of the results of this widening of the scope of the inquiry is the discrimination of different types of Jewish doctrine concerning the Messiah and the last things. One of these, drawn from the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, he calls the common prophetic type; the second is the Danielic type — we should say the apocalyptic — the Messiah the Son of Man who comes from heaven; the third is named the Mosaic type, because the Messiah is conceived as the prophet like unto Moses

³² Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt*. 1832.

³³ The Ethiopic text of the Ascension was edited, with Latin and English translations, by Richard Laurence in 1819; the Latin translation was reprinted by Gfroerer in *Prophetæ veteres pseudepigraphi*, 1840; Enoch in English translation by Laurence in 1821; the Ethiopic text in 1838.

of Deut. 18, 15; and finally, 'the mystical Mosaic type.'³⁴ The sharp distinction between the prophetic and apocalyptic forms of Messianic expectation, with the corresponding differences in the whole Jewish eschatology, put all these problems in a new light, and this chapter of Gfroerer's work had considerable influence on the further study of the subject.

Gfroerer had been a student at Tübingen under Ferdinand Christian Baur, to whom his *Philo* was dedicated. What he proposed was a history of primitive Christianity, and he addressed himself to the task with the spirit and method of a historian. The investigation of Alexandrian Judaism in the *Philo* and of Palestinian Judaism in the *Jahrhundert des Heils* was necessary, because only through a knowledge of contemporary Judaism can the beginnings of Christianity be historically understood. The author knew, however, that to have its full value for this ulterior purpose the investigation must be pursued without reference to it, and consequently *Das Jahrhundert des Heils* taken by itself is a history of Palestinian Judaism in New Testament times. It was the first time that the attempt had been made to portray Judaism as it was, from its own literature, without apologetic, polemic, or dogmatic prepossessions or intentions; and however greatly the Alexandrian influence in Palestinian theology is exaggerated, and whatever its shortcomings in other respects, this fact alone is enough to make the work memorable.

Gfroerer does not try to run Jewish teaching into the mould of any system of Christian theology, but adopts a disposition natural to the matter. After the chapter on the sources of which mention has already been made, and one on education and the learned class, he discusses the Jewish doctrine of revelation; the idea of God; the divine powers; the intermediaries between God and the world (*Shekinah*, *Memra*); angels and demons; creation, the world and its parts; man, the soul, immortality, freedom and destiny, sin, the fall; the means and ways by which man gains the favor of God or averts his wrath; God's purpose with the Jewish people, providence; this world and that to come; the time of the Messiah's advent; and

³⁴ *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, ii, 289-444.

finally the chapter on the Messiah and the Last Things of which we have spoken above. The author's Alexandrinism — to label his theory thus — is particularly evident when he is dealing with the idea of God and the intermediaries, a subject to which we shall return presently. Elsewhere he gives in general a satisfactory account of Palestinian teaching, so far as his sources and his somewhat indiscriminate use of them permit.

Eminently good is the exposition of the ways by which the favor of God is gained, a chapter which comprehends in brief the whole of practical religion. The author is dealing here with matters on which Jewish teaching is abundant, clear, consistent, and always the same; but no one before him had undertaken to bring it together and set it forth for Christian readers; indeed the subject had been almost completely ignored by his predecessors — a striking example of the insufficiency for historical purposes not only of the polemic and dogmatic methods, but of the vast accumulation of material made in a polemic or dogmatic interest. For the question, What must men do to be well-pleasing to God? goes to the heart of the matter. The answer to it tells us more than anything else what a religion really is. Gfroerer not only recognized the significance of this question, but lets the Jews themselves answer it in their own way and mainly in their own words. The chapter has not merely the merit of a first exploration in a neglected field; it is to this day the most adequate presentation of the subject from the hand of a Christian scholar, and its excellence is the more conspicuous by comparison with the treatment of the matter by more recent writers, particularly Ferdinand Weber and those who get their notions of Judaism from him.

Gfroerer distinguishes among the Palestinian Jews two widely different ideas of God. The great majority, as in all religions and in all times, conceived of God after the analogy of human personality, only immeasurably greater and better, creator, sustainer, and moral governor of the world, as he is represented in the Scriptures. A smaller number embraced the Alexandrian speculations which allowed the name God in its proper sense only to the pure Being of its ontology (*ὁ ὢν, τὸ ὄν*), an Absolute, of which, as it is in itself, nothing can be known, no

name given to it, no predicates applied, no attributes ascribed. Between this transcendent God and the world they posited an intermediary corresponding in nature and function to the Logos in Philo. The chief evidence that Gfroerer adduces to prove that a transcendent idea of God was entertained by influential Palestinian teachers is, in fact, the existence in the Targums³⁵ and Midrash of such figures as the Shekinah, Memra, Metatron, which he conceives to be explicable only as the intermediaries made necessary by a metaphysical idea of God that excludes him by definition from immediate transactions in nature or revelation. In this interpretation he was in accord with the long-standing traditions of Christian apologetics and dogmatics, proceeding from the same metaphysical idea of God.

Gfroerer is thus a precursor of the modern school which attributes to Palestinian Judaism as a fundamental dogma an idea of God which isolates him from the world in his infinite being and unapproachable holiness — the term transcendent is often used to define it. But he does not, like them, regard this as the general and dominant rabbinical conception; he confines it to the theosophic mystical circles who derived their theology from Alexandria and in which the Cabala was cultivated. And, so far from regarding it as something distinctively bad in Judaism by contrast with Christianity, he finds the same ideas in the Gospel of John, which he exalts above the others in a volume bearing the significant title, *Das Heiligthum und die Wahrheit*.³⁶ His theory of the origin and nature of the Shekinah and Memra is erroneous, and the inference from it invalid; but his discrimination saves him from the gross misrepresentation of the prevailing Jewish conception of God into which his successors fall. Gfroerer is now seldom quoted, in part perhaps because he did not provide his volumes with indexes to make it easy to quote without reading. Nor is the

³⁵ The Targums on the Pentateuch and the Historical Books, which (with the exception of the so-called Pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch) he makes older than the destruction of Jerusalem, are among his chief witnesses to the early prevalence of Alexandrian mystical theology in Palestine.

³⁶ Recall also the subtitle of his Philo (above, p. 223), 'vom Einflusse der jüdisch-ägyptischen Schule auf die Lehre des Neuen Testaments.'

book, with its wilderness of quotations in Latin and German easy reading, but one who is willing to undergo the labor may still learn much from it.

The book that has for forty years been the chief resource of Christian writers who have dealt *ex professo* or incidentally with Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era is Ferdinand Weber's *System der altsynagogaien palästinischen Theologie* (1880).³⁷ For a just estimate of this work it is necessary to premise somewhat about its origin. The author grew up in a pietistic atmosphere; he studied at Erlangen, then one of the strongholds of the new-fashioned Lutheranism, under Johann Christian Hofmann and Franz Delitzsch, and is redolent of the 'heilsgeschichtliche Theologie.' There he imbibed the anti-critical and unhistorical spirit of the school. His first publication was outlines of Introduction of the Old and New Testament, for teachers in higher schools and educated readers of the Bible (1863), of one of the later editions of which Heinrich Holtzmann said that the only thing it showed was how a man could write on these subjects without taking any note of what was going on about him. No less significant of his whole attitude was a series of articles in the Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung, entitled, *System des jüdischen Pharisäismus und des römischen Katholicismus* (1890).

Probably under Delitzsch's influence Weber conceived the idea of becoming a missionary to the Jews, and with this end in view began rabbinical studies under J. H. Biesenthal, a very competent scholar, himself a convert from Judaism and a missionary to the Jews, who like so many before him brought as a baptismal offering proofs of the Trinity and other Christian doctrines from the Cabala. Weber never succeeded in getting into the missionary calling, but the 'System' on which he spent the last years of his life was the outcome of studies undertaken to that end.

³⁷ Edited and published after the author's death by Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann; reissued with an extra title-page, 'Die Lehren des Talmuds' (1886), and in a second, 'improved' edition by Schnedermann under a third title, 'Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandte Schriften,' 1897. The improvements consist in an (incomplete) verification of the references by J. J. Kahan and occasional slight revision by the editor, not always for the better. (See, for example, the absurd Metatron-Crown Prince, 2d ed., p. 178.)

Now Jewish law, ritual, and observance, were ordered and codified in the Mishna and kindred works; but the Jews did nothing of the kind for the religious and moral teaching of the school and synagogue. No one even thought of extracting a theology from the utterances of the Rabbis in Midrash and Haggada, to say nothing of organizing the theology in a system; nor was the need of any connected presentation of Jewish doctrine felt until the controversies of the tenth century prompted Saadia to write the *Emunoth we-Deoth* after the example of Moslem Mutakallimin and upon the same philosophical principles. The fundamental criticism to be made of Weber's 'System' is precisely that it *is* a system of theology, and not an ancient Jewish system but a modern German system. This is far more than a mere matter of disposition, the ordering of the materials under certain heads taken from Christian dogmatics; the system brings its logic with it and imposes it upon the materials.

After the pattern of the 'material principle' and 'formal principle' of Lutheran dogmatics, Weber begins with *Das Materialprincip des Nomismus* and *Das Formalprincip des Nomismus*, each in several chapters. The 'material principle' is concisely formulated in the title of chapter 3: *Gesetzlichkeit das Wesen der Religion* — legalism is the sum and substance of religion, and is, in Jewish apprehension, the only form of religion for all ages. This 'nomism' is reflected in the idea of God (chap. 11): Where legalism is the essence of religion, religion is the right behavior of man before God, whereas 'we say,'³⁸ Religion is communion with God. God will admit man to his communion because he is not only holiness but love. In Judaism, on the contrary, where his holiness is exclusively emphasized, God remains absolutely exalted above the world and man, separated from them, abiding unchangeable in himself.

After a few sentences on the names of God, the remoteness of God in his supramundane exaltation becomes metaphysical:

³⁸ In the second edition Schnedermann transforms this opposition in the points of view ('wir sagen') into an antithesis in the proposition itself. The Jewish idea is that, 'Religion das rechte Verhalten des Menschen vor Gott ist, *nicht aber* Gemeinschaft des Menschen mit Gott.'

"From this fundamental conception of God as the Absolute, Jewish theology deduces two further (in reality antithetic) elements, which must be regarded as characteristic of the Jewish idea of God; namely, abstract monotheism and abstract transcendentalism. The former was developed and fixed in opposition to the trinitarian unfolding (*Erschliessung*) of the one Godhead in three persons, the latter in opposition to the personal indwelling of God in the human race."³⁹ Subsequent writers who use Weber as evidence of the Jewish idea of God in New Testament times in order to contrast with it Jesus' conception have overlooked this most significant passage. It is necessary, therefore to emphasize his express assertion that the antithetic conceptions of 'abstract monotheism' (or 'monism'!) and the 'abstract transcendentalism' in Jewish theology were 'developed and fixed' in opposition to the Trinitarianism and Christology of the church, and are therefore posterior to the development of those Christian doctrines.

It is equally important to remark that the 'fundamental conception' of an inaccessible God, whom, without perceiving the difference, he converts in the next breath into an Absolute God,⁴⁰ is derived from the principle that legalism is the essence of religion, from which, according to Weber, it follows by logical necessity. About this he deceives himself; the necessity is purely apologetic. The motive and method of the volume are in fact apologetic throughout; the author, like so many of his predecessors, sets himself to prove the superiority of Christianity to Judaism. In view of what is known of his life, it may perhaps without injustice be described more specifically as missionary apologetic: he would convince Jews how much better Christianity is than Judaism. This aim would explain the comparative absence of the polemic element which mingles so strongly with the ordinary apology.

A peculiar character is given to Weber's work also by his own religious and theological prepossessions. It is not catholic doctrine which is the explicit or implicit antithesis of Judaism,

³⁹ *System*, u. s. w., p. 145.

⁴⁰ As with equal obtuseness to the meaning of words he makes 'monism' equivalent to 'abstract monotheism.'

but Lutheranism of a peculiar modernized type of which Hofmann was the chief representative. The arbitrary contradiction created between the two conceptions of the essence of religion, conformity to the will of God and communion with God, with its consequences for the idea of God, and the singular theory of the Trinity to which we have already adverted are of this origin. A conspicuous example is to be found also in the treatment of 'Die Gerechtigkeit vor Gott und das Verdienst' (chap. 19), in which antipathy to the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works and merit transfers itself to Judaism.

In an introduction of thirty-four pages the rabbinical sources are described after Zunz and other Jewish authors, and in general with Zunz's dates, and the editions from which the author ordinarily quotes are specified — an unusual thoughtfulness for which those who verify their quotations would be more grateful if he had applied it to his references to the Rabboth. The Cabala and the Pseudepigrapha are excluded; Hellenistic Judaism is outside the author's plan. The omission of the liturgy of the synagogue and forms of private prayer in the survey of the sources is, however, an error of grave consequence. Incidentally it shows with how little independence Weber planned and performed his task — his predecessors had not concerned themselves with this material. The principles on which the sources are to be employed are briefly stated; they are sounder than his application of them in practice. Finally, there is a survey of the older literature down to Wagenseil and Bodenschatz, on which somewhat sweeping unfavorable judgment is passed. No mention is any where made of Gfroerer, and the omission is hardly accidental; a pupil of Baur and a convert to Catholicism was anathema in Weber's circle on both counts.

No intimation is given of the nature and extent of Weber's indebtedness to the predecessors who in the course of centuries had collected for one purpose or another a vast mass of quotations and references. Perhaps if he had lived to publish the volume himself, he might have acknowledged his obligations in a preface, though the Introduction would have been the

natural place for them. As it is one might get the impression that Weber meant to give the appearance of having gone at the Targum, Talmuds, and Midrashim as though nobody had been there before him, and collected all his materials for himself; and in fact Christian scholars unfamiliar with the older literature have generally taken him at this estimate and attributed to him a measure of learning much beyond the reality.⁴¹ There is no question that he had read industriously and had the assistance of converted Jews; but that he built on other men's foundations and largely with their materials is easily demonstrable. Most of his quotations come out of the common stock which had been accumulated by the labors of many generations, not all of them even verified. Confiding successors have appropriated these errors, and not always given Weber the credit of them.

The passages which Weber adduces from the sources (in German translation) are copious and in general relevant to his proposition. It must be emphasized, however, that in detaching them from their original associations and using them as *dicta probantia* for the *loci* of a systematic theology whose 'system' is the antithesis of Judaism to Christianity, they are methodically misused. To much of this material — to the exegetical ingenuities and homiletical conceits of the Midrash and the playful imaginations of the Haggada, for example — the Jews attached no theological character or authority. Weber on 'Die Judaisirung des Gottesbegriffes' (pp. 153-157) is a salient instance of such misuse of the sources. Incidentally also of his use of his predecessors. If any one will take the trouble to compare this section with Eisenmenger's chapter, 'Was vor ungeziemende und theils lästerliche Dinge die verstockten Juden von Gott dem Vater lehren und schreiben'

⁴¹ It does not inspire confidence in the author's rabbinical erudition to read (p. xx) that according to Sanhedrin 86a the anonymous utterances in Sifra are to be taken as sayings of R. Judah the Holy, 'from which it follows that the Talmud regards R. Judah the Holy as the author of Sifra.' The Talmud says R. Judah, by which name not 'Judah the Holy,' but Judah ben Ilai (in the preceding generation) is regularly designated. In the second edition 'the Holy' disappears; but with the consequence that in the sequel Rab is said to have been a disciple in the school of Judah, which would seem to give Rab an extraordinarily long life.

(i, 1 ff., esp. pp. 1-54), will find Weber's references sometimes for a page together in the same order. It is curious that he should have made such use of a work of which, with others of the kind, he says that they are "weit mehr Sammlungen aller möglichen Absurditäten und Frivolitäten, als religionsgeschichtliche Darstellungen," and of a chapter in which Eisenmenger outdoes himself in that vein. Eisenmenger, however, got together this material (and much more) only to hold up the Jews to derision and contempt; Weber seriously derives from it a 'Judaized' idea of God, and has a serious theory to explain how an idea so incongruous with their 'transcendentism' ever came to be entertained—it was the growing dominance of 'the principle of nomocracy' which transformed God into 'a God of the Torah.'

Weber's original contribution to the misunderstanding of Judaism was what he calls 'transcendentism,' the inaccessibility of God, wherein he finds the characteristic difference of the Jewish idea of God, and its immense inferiority to the Christian idea. That this was the Jewish idea, is proved for him, as has been already noted, by the intermediaries which, according to him, Judaism interposed between God and the world: if God himself were not transcendent, there would be no use for them. The older apologetic, better instructed in Christian theology, had consistently labored to prove that these intermediaries corresponded exactly to their own Logos, the Son, Christ, discovering in them no difference between the Jewish idea of God and the Christian — the identity is, indeed, always assumed. The Christology of the church and its Trinitarian dogma are in fact based upon a metaphysical doctrine of the Absolute; and from their first acquaintance with it Christian scholars recognized their own philosophy of religion in the transcendental Neoplatonism of the speculative Cabala, which they regarded as the ancient esoteric doctrine of Judaism. Weber's antithesis between the transcendent God of Jewish theology and the contrary in Christian theology⁴² shows how little he knew about either the history or the content of Christian dogma. What

⁴² The contrary of a transcendent God, is not, as historically and logically it should be, an *immanent* God, but what may be called a sociable God.

has led recent scholars of other schools and of greatly superior theological learning to adopt Weber's interpretation and judgment of Judaism and to put the Jewish idea of God in a new antithesis to Christianity is a question to which we shall revert later.

Besides the causes of misunderstanding that have been remarked above, particular misinterpretations are not infrequent, and are sometimes of far-reaching consequence. A striking instance of this kind may be found on page 174 f., where Weber discovers in the *dibbūr* of *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah* fol. 3 a (Sulzbach; ed. Wilna, 1884, fol. 4 b) 'the basis for the understanding of the Memra of Jehovah in the Targums,' "des aus dem Munde Gottes hervorgegangenen Wortes, welches als göttliche Potenz innerhalb der Heilsgeschichte wirkend sich in der Anschauung des Judentums zur Person verdichtet hat und als mittlere Hypostase zwischen Gott und seinem Volke steht." As Weber paraphrases: "At the proclamation of the Ten Commandments, the *dibbūr* proceeded out of the mouth of God, and then went to each Israelite in the camp and asked him whether he would accept it, setting before him at the same time all the obligations as well as the reward involved in the acceptance. As soon as an Israelite had answered in the affirmative and accepted the Word, the Dibbur kissed him on the mouth."

The passage on which such large dogmatic conclusions are based is a peculiarly far-fetched homiletic conceit on Cant. 1, 2, 'Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth.' R. Johanan said that at the lawgiving at Sinai, "An angel brought out the word (*dibbūr*) from the presence of God, each word separately,⁴³ and took it around to every individual Israelite, saying to him, Do you take upon you this word?" He explained all that was implied in the commandment as well as what was explicitly required, the penalties of transgression, and the reward of obedience. "If the Israelite said, Yes, the angel further asked, Do you take upon you the Godhead of the

⁴³ *Dibbūr* is 'speech, utterance'; specifically one of the Ten Utterances (*debarim*, rabbinical, *debaroth*), which the Greek version (Exod. 34, 28) and Philo call *δέκα λόγοι*, and we after them the Decalogue.

Holy One? If he answered, Yes, Yes, the angel kissed him on the mouth — this is what is said (in Deut. 4, 35): ‘Thou wast made to see, to know’ (by the hand of a messenger).”⁴⁴ The majority, however, gave a slightly different turn to the conceit — and here we come to Weber’s quotation: The several commandments were not carried about one by one by an angel, but each *dibbūr* (‘commandment’) itself went about on the same errand, made the same explanations, and, being accepted, kissed the man on his mouth, etc.

The difference between R. Johanan and the majority is not over the impersonality or personality of the word: a more plausible suggestion is offered by a commentator steeped in the mind of the Midrash, that it has its origin in a different interpretation of ‘the great host’ in Psalm 68, 12, one taking it of the angels, the others of the Israelites. But whatever remoter conceits may have been in the homilists imaginations, Weber’s partial quotation needs only to be completed from its context to prove his interpretation and application false. And, even if not misinterpreted and misapplied, what kind of a basis for the ‘hypostatic Word of God’ are such curiosities of ingenuity as are displayed in asking and answering the question who is the kisser and who the kissed in Cant. 1, 2, and when, and where, and what for? I have dwelt on this case at some length, as a warning against that implicit confidence in Weber which prevails among those who are not able to bring him to book. Before I leave the subject I am going to give one illustration of how Weber at second-hand is worse than himself. Oesterley and Box, with the remark that it ‘illustrates the underlying conception of the *Memra*,’ reproduce as follows the passage from Weber quoted above: “The passage is dealing with the account of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, and it is explained that the ‘Word’ (*Memra*) came forth from the mouth of God when the Ten Commandments were pronounced, and went forth to each Israelite, asking each if he would accept these commandments,” etc. “As soon as an Israelite signified

⁴⁴ The quotation of these catch-words must be understood to call to mind the sequel, ‘that the Lord, he is God; there is none beside him. Out of heaven he made thee to hear his voice that he might instruct thee,’ etc.

his willingness to become obedient to the Law, the 'Word' kissed him on his lips."⁴⁵

Numerous equally striking examples of Weber at second hand may be found by those who are in search of such entertainment in the article 'Shekinah' in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, by J. T. Marshall. I can make room here for only one of them. In a paragraph on the activity of the Shekinah not only on earth but in Sheol (p. 489 A) we read: "But in Bereshith Rabba to Gn. 44, 8 the Shekinah is the deliverer. It affirms that the wicked Jews now 'bound in Gehinnom' will ascend out of hell, *with the Shekinah at their head.*" For this, reference is made with a certain superfluity to both editions of Weber. In abridging Weber, Marshall has eliminated the association with Micah 2, 13 ('and their King shall pass over before them and the Lord at their head') which alone makes the Midrash intelligible. This by the way. The point of the story is in the reference to 'Bereshith Rabba to Gn. 44, 8.' A reader whose skepticism was properly aroused by this altogether unusual method of citing the Midrash, and who undertook to find the place, would find nothing but a justification of his skepticism. The quotation, in fact, is not from the Midrash Bereshith Rabbah at all. It is derived from the Pugio Fidei (p. 685), where it is attributed to the Bereshith Rabba of Rabbi Moses ha-Darshan, that is to say to a lost work by a French Rabbi at the close of the eleventh century. But the end is not yet. In Carpzov's edition of the Pugio which Weber used the reference 'Gen. 44. v. 8' is a misprint, as the first words of the quotation ויגש אליו יהורה — the *incipit* of the Parasha ויגש, Gen. 44, 18 — would betray at a glance to any reader who paid attention to what he was about. The case incidentally demonstrates that neither Weber nor Marshall had ever tried to verify the reference. In the second edition of Weber, Kahan has put a (?) after the reference, showing that he had looked for it but not been able to find it in Bereshith Rabbah, which might at least have served as a danger signal to Marshall.

⁴⁵ Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, p. 182 f.

Finally, it is to be observed that in treating of the intermediaries (Shekinah, Memra, Metatron), although Weber abjures the testimony of the Cabala, he takes over the conceptions and associations which his predecessors had derived from the Cabala, and interprets in accordance with them the testimony of the Targums and Midrash — a fallacy of method in which he has many fellows. A bad example of such contamination occurs in the section on the Metatron (p. 174), where, having by way of the mediaeval Gematria, מטטון = 314 = שר', discovered that Metatron is a 'representative of the Almighty,' he continues: "In this sense he bears in Hullin 69 a and Yebamoth 16 b the name שר העולם, Prince of the World; he represents God's sovereignty (*Herrscherstellung*) in the world." The Talmud neither in the places cited nor anywhere else calls Metatron *sar ha-'ōlam*. To judge from a comparison of the contexts, Weber had his references from Levy (*Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, II, 31), where, however, the identification is not attributed to the Talmud, but (incorrectly) to the Tosaphoth, or supplementary glosses (supplementary, that is, to Rashi), chiefly from the French schools of the thirteenth century. In the Tosaphoth themselves the identity is discussed, a propos of the apparently conflicting use of the title in certain mediaeval hymns, but is *not* affirmed. Eisenmenger (II, 397), and so far as I know every one who touched the subject before Weber, stated the matter correctly.

Six years before Weber, appeared another work which was destined more than any other in its time to influence Christian notions of Judaism, namely, Emil Schürer, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* (1874). The name, which came into vogue in the sixth and seventh decades of the last century, did not mean a history of New Testament times, but designated a part of what in earlier days would have been comprehended under Introduction to the New Testament. Its practical purpose was to put the student in the way of acquiring a variety of knowledges which are necessary to the understanding of the New Testament and the beginnings of Christianity. Schneckenburger (1862) had included the Gentile world of the time, but Schürer limits the scope of his *Lehrbuch*

to the Jewish side. After an introduction on the sources he devotes half the volume to the political history of Palestine from 175 B.C. to 70 A.D. The second part has the subtitle, 'Das innere Leben des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Christi,' and deals with the country and its populations, Jewish institutions, the sects, the scribes and their learning, schools and synagogues, life under the Law; then (on a much larger scale), the apocalyptic literature, and the Messianic expectation. The volume concludes with chapters on Judaism in the dispersion, and on Philo.

Subsequent editions, greatly enlarged, appeared under the title, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, but without any considerable change in the character or plan of the work. Schürer's volumes are an indispensable repertory for all sorts of things about the Jews — history, archaeology, geography, chronology, institutions, cultus, sects and parties, literature, etc. — treated as distinct subjects of investigation and presentation. The work has an external unity in serviceability for a practical purpose, but lacks the historical bond which alone could give it an inner unity. This observation is not an adverse criticism on the work; Schürer did what he set out to do, and made an immeasurably useful handbook. But the reader must take it and use it for what it is, not for what its author, notwithstanding the title, never intended it to be — history. Least of all did he propose to write a history of the Jewish religion in the period he covers, or a description of it as it was at the beginning of our era. He treats at large the Messianic expectation — under which he included the whole eschatology — twice, first in its development and then again systematically. The only other subject in the sphere of religion which is given a place of its own is 'Life under the Law.' The selection of these two subjects and no others is explained by their signal importance for the understanding of the beginnings of Christianity — the different forms of Messianic expectation among the Jews in relation to correspondingly varied forms of belief among Christians about Jesus the Messiah, and Life under the Law as explaining and justifying Jesus' criticism of the Scribes and Pharisees.

The consequence of the isolation of these subjects from their place in Jewish religion as a whole is to give the erroneous impression that the Law and the Messianic expectation are not only, as Schürer puts it, the two poles of Judaism, but that they are the sum and substance of it. This impression is greatly strengthened by the contents of the section on Life under the Law. To Schürer, notwithstanding his very different theological standpoint, as much as to Weber, Judaism was synonymous with 'legalism,' and 'legalism' was his most cherished religious antipathy. The motive of the legalized religiousness of the Jews was retribution, reward and punishment here and hereafter, in the exact measure of the merit or demerit of particular acts of transgression or omission — retribution for the individual and the people. As this motive is essentially external, the result was an incredible externalizing of the religious and moral life, the whole of which is drawn down into the 'juristic' sphere. The evil consequences that necessarily follow are developed at large; the upshot of it is that life becomes a service of the letter for the letter's sake. The outward correctness of the action is the thing, not the inward end and motive. "And all this trivial and perverted zeal professes to be the true and right religion. The more pains men took, the more they believed that they gained the favor of God."⁴⁶

Schürer goes on to illustrate the errors into which this 'zeal for God not according to knowledge' (Rom. 10, 2) led, and the heavy burdens it laid on the Israelite, by describing in detail, chiefly after the Mishna, the regulations for Sabbath observance, the rules of clean and unclean, the prescriptions about the wearing of fringes, phylacteries, prayer-shawls; the formalizing of prayer, fasting, and the like. Even the occasional fine sayings of individual Rabbis are for him only streaks of light which make blacker the shadows they can not illumine. In conclusion, Schürer pronounces judgment on the Jewish religion in terms of solemn condemnation. It is significant that, while almost everything else in the work was revised and rewritten in the successive editions, this chapter remains nearly

⁴⁶ Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, § 27; especially pp. 483 f., 510 f.; Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes, u. s. w., § 28; 3d edit. ii, 464 ff., 469, 495, etc.

verbatim to the last; even the original vehemence of expression is unsoftened by years.

It is to be taken into account in estimating his depreciatory judgment that Schürer was never widely read in the literature of the school and the synagogue, and that he paid the least attention to precisely those parts of it from which most may be learned about religious feeling and the inwardness of Jewish piety. It may be added that Schürer himself was temperamentally lacking in the sympathetic imagination which re-creates other times, other men, other manners, alien ways of thinking and feeling, philosophies and religions remote from our own, in the endeavor to realize what they meant in their own time and place. But after all allowance is made the final word must be that 'Life under the Law' was conceived, not as a chapter of the history of Judaism but as a topic of Christian apologetic; it was written to prove by the highest Jewish authority that the strictures on Judaism in the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles are fully justified. It is greatly to be regretted that Schürer's eminent merits in everything external should have led New Testament scholars generally to attach equal authority to his representation and judgment of the Jewish religion.

In another respect Schürer's work marks a change in the point of view. His predecessors, generally speaking, compare and contrast Judaism and Christianity as wholes, and from the point of view of their own time; Weber compares the Palestinian Judaism of the first five centuries of our era with his own variety of nineteenth century Protestantism, unhistorically imagined to be Christianity itself. Schürer's purpose to furnish the necessary knowledge for the understanding of the beginnings of Christianity confines the comparison to narrower limits. The Messianic expectations of the contemporary Jews are reflected in Christian conceptions; the opposition to legalism is a primitive factor in the gospel. The problem of the origin of Christianity historically conceived demands, however, an investigation of every other phase of Judaism at the beginning of our era, and the endeavor to define what Christianity took over from Judaism as well as what was new in it. For such

a purpose a critical history of Judaism in that age, say from the beginning of the second century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D., both Palestinian and Hellenistic, became indispensable.

This is what the title of Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (1903; 2d ed. 1906) promises. The author is conscious that in undertaking a comprehensive presentation of what he strangely calls 'die Religion des Spätjudentums' he is assuming a task which no one since Gfroerer had set his hand to, and, while pointing out the limitations of Gfroerer's work, he has a juster appreciation of its merits than those of his predecessors who have anything to say about it: "Der ganze Wurf ist gross und kühn gedacht. Man wird von him immer aufs neue lernen müssen."

Bousset was, like Schürer, a New Testament scholar, and his interest in Judaism also was not for its own sake, but for the light it might throw on the beginnings of Christianity. One of his first published writings was, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (1892). In it the author seeks to prove that the character and teaching of Jesus can be explained, not as having their roots in Judaism, but only as the antithesis to Judaism in every essential point. The book is closely associated with Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit* (1888), and Johann Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (1890),⁴⁷ and like them endeavors to solve its problems by bringing the teaching of Jesus into connection with the religion in which he had been brought up. The idea was not as new as some of the advertisements of the 'religionsgeschichtliche Methode' might lead one to think — no philologist would ever have admitted that there was any other method — but it was at least potentially more fruitful than a prosecution *in infinitum* of the internal criticism and exegesis of the

⁴⁷ It is not without significance that all these authors — Schürer, Baldensperger, Weiss, Bousset — were New Testament scholars, the oldest of them scarcely past thirty years old. Schürer was the only one who thought it necessary to know anything about the rabbinical sources, and he found in Surenhusius' Mishna just the right material for the demonstration of 'legalism.' Beyond this he never went; the others did not go so far.

Gospels. Whether it should bear good fruit or evil depended, however, on the knowledge of Judaism the investigators brought to bear on their subject. In Bousset's case, as with Baldensperger and Weiss, this knowledge was a negligible quantity. It could not have been otherwise: a Privatdozent of twenty-seven, only getting fairly started with his courses on the New Testament, would be a prodigy if he had, of his own, anything properly to be called knowledge in so diverse and difficult a field. What Bousset lacked in knowledge, he made up, however, in the positiveness and confidence of his opinions, and for the failure to present evidence, by an effective use of what psychologists call suggestion — unsupported assertion coming by force of sheer reiteration to appear to the reader self-evident or something he had always known.

The fundamental contrast between Jesus and Judaism, as Bousset asserts it, is in the idea of God and the feeling toward him. The God of Judaism in that age was withdrawn from the world, supramundane, extramundane, transcendent. "The prophetic preaching of the exaltation and uniqueness of Jehovah became the dogma of an abstract, transcendent monotheism." So it is reiterated page after page. "God is no more in the world, the world no more in God." For the evidence, the reader is habitually referred to Baldensperger, and by Baldensperger chiefly to the apocalyptic literature. In contrast to this, "What is most completely original and truly creative in the preaching of Jesus comes out most strongly and purely when he proclaims God the heavenly Father." "The later Judaism (i.e. that of Jesus' time) had neither in name nor in fact the faith of the Father-God; it could not possibly rise to it." And as the whole 'Gesetzesfrömmigkeit' of Judaism is based upon its increasingly transcendent conception of God, so the new conception introduced by Jesus is the ground of a wholly new type of piety.

The symptomatic thing in this book is the implication that the specific difference between Christianity and Judaism is to be sought in the teaching of Jesus. Christian theology had always found it in the doctrine of the person and work of Christ, and, so far as the teaching of Jesus was concerned, in what he

said about his personal relation to God and his mission in the world, not in what he thought and taught about God nor in the form of his personal piety and its supposed perpetuation in Christianity. The historian can only characterize the notion that the fatherhood of God is the cardinal doctrine of Christianity and its cardinal difference from Judaism as a misrepresentation of historical Christianity no less than of Judaism. I have given more space to this little volume than its intrinsic importance would warrant because it exhibits the presumptions which underlie Bousset's later and larger work in which he sets himself to portray the Judaism of that age as a whole.

The censure which Jewish scholars have unanimously passed on *Die Religion des Judentums* is that the author uses as his primary sources almost exclusively the writings commonly called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, with an especial penchant for the apocalypses; and only secondarily, and almost casually, the writings which represent the acknowledged and authoritative teachings of the school and the more popular instruction of the synagogue. This is much as if one should describe early Christianity using indiscriminately for his principal sources the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, the Apocalypses of John and Peter, and the Clementine literature.⁴⁸ Bousset defends his procedure on two grounds; *First*, he thus methodically confines himself to the evidence of writings which were approximately contemporaneous with the New Testament, whereas the oldest of the books in which the rabbinical teaching is preserved date from the close of the second century of our era, being separated from the time of Christ not only by several generations but by two great crises in Judaism, the destruction of Jerusalem and the war under Hadrian, while the bulk of the literature consists of compilations made some centuries later. The only criterion by which it can be determined what of all their voluminous contents was really taught

⁴⁸ This parallel must often have occurred to critics. Perles (Boussets Religion des Judentums, p. 23) quotes Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi* (1892), p. 71: So wenig man das Wesen des Christenthums aus der Apokalypse Johannis oder aus apokryphischen Evangelien kennen lernen kann, ebensowenig kann man das Judenthum zur Zeit Christi aus dem Buche Enoch, dem Buche der Jubiläen und ähnlichen Schriften erforschen.

in the time of Christ is the New Testament itself and the Jewish apocryphal writings to which he gives the preference. *Second*, his aim is not to present what the scribes taught in the schools (*Schriftgelehrtentum*) but the religious conceptions and sentiments of the people (*Volksfrömmigkeit*), and this he assumes to be expressed in the popular literature, particularly in the apocalypses.

This is not the place to discuss the propriety of these limitations from the point of view of historical method, or the validity of the contrast drawn between the teaching of the Rabbis and the piety of the people; but it is clear that the author ought not to have called his book *Die Religion des Judentums*, for the sources from which his representation is drawn are those to which, so far as we know, Judaism never conceded any authority, while he discredits and largely ignores those which it has always regarded as normative. That the critical use of the latter is difficult is indisputable, though Bousset exaggerates the difficulty into an impossibility; but the critical problems which the former present, while of a different kind, are no less difficult, though Bousset blinks the most serious of them. How wide, for example, was the currency of these writings? Do they represent a certain common type of 'Volksfrömmigkeit,' or did they circulate in circles with peculiar notions and tendencies of their own? How far do they come from sects regarded by the mass of their countrymen as heretical? So far as concerns the influence of the ideas found in such sources on the Messianic conceptions and beliefs of the disciples of Jesus or of Jesus himself, these questions are of comparatively little consequence; the connection itself is the thing to be established. They become of the highest consequence, however, when it comes to using this literature as a principal source for the history of Judaism, and especially to giving it precedence over the teaching of the school and synagogue represented in the rabbinical sources.

The relative age of the writings is of much less importance than their relation to the main line of development which can be followed from the canonical Scriptures through many of the postcanonic writings, including the Synoptic Gospels and the

liturgy of the synagogue, to the Midrash and Halakah of the second century. No account of Judaism would be complete which ignored the apocalypses and the kindred literature, but such incompleteness would not fundamentally misrepresent its subject as does an account based chiefly on them. The criterion is exactly the same which the historian applies to the history of Christianity, say in the first two centuries. Anonymous writings like the recently discovered *Epistola Apostolorum*, which fall into the line of development that we reconstruct or postulate between the New Testament and Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, belong to the history of catholic Christianity, and may be important additions to our sources for it. Writings that lie, on the whole, to one side or the other of this line, may contain much that by this criterion is the common Christianity of the age, and so far these also may be used, with proper caution, as adjunct sources. On the other hand, what in them, individually or as classes, is not thus verified by the common tradition, whatever currency it may have had at the time in certain circles or sects, is a source only for variations of Christianity which it eventually repudiated. To ignore, or deliberately reject, this self-evident principle of historical criticism in dealing with Judaism is to disqualify oneself at the outset.

In truth, Bousset never conceived his task as a historian; it was not Judaism as a religion, but Judaism as the background, environment, source, and foil of nascent Christianity that he had in mind, with a strong secondary interest in the 'das religionsgeschichtliche Problem,' the relation of Judaism to the Babylonian religion, and especially to Zoroastrianism. Since for both purposes he found the most convenient material in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, particularly the apocalyptic literature, he made them his chief authorities. There was another reason for his neglect of the rabbinical sources: he had only second-hand acquaintance with them, and that of the most superficial character. It is only necessary to read the half-dozen pages he devotes to 'Die spätere Litteratur' in his chapter, 'Die Quellen,' to recognize that even what he knew *about* them was negligently and unintelligently compiled from

bibliographical descriptions. The single foot-note (2) on page 43 (repeated in the second edition, p. 47 f., with the correction of a minor error which had been signalized by Perles), is a testimonial of incompetence in this field, the more significant because he had Schürer in his hands. It is not surprising that Jewish scholars criticized the work harshly. They found it easy to convict the author of portentous blunders in his incidental adventures into Hebrew; as when (following Schlatter — the blind leading the blind into the ditch — see Perles, 'Boussets Religion des Judentums,' p. 15) he renders נאמן ('trustworthy,' in matters of tithes and the like, M. Demai, ii, 2) by 'gläubig,' ('believing'), and introduces it into a discussion of Faith; nor is it strange that Perles and others made themselves disagreeable over Bousset's rabbinical erudition.⁴⁹ The temper of Bousset's *oratio pro domo sua* is not more urbane, and, as often happens with apologies, he only made a bad case worse by arguing it.

Bousset, nevertheless, frequently cites the utterances of the Rabbis, especially when they coincide with his primary sources, supplementing the inevitable Weber from Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten* and from Wünsche's translations, and, within a limited range, from Dalman's *Worte Jesu*. In not a few instances the interpretation he gives to them and the use he makes of them show how perilous the quotation of quotations is, and emphasize the observation that the ways of the Midrash are not to be understood by any one who has not habituated himself to them by voluminous reading of the original texts in their continuity and acquiring something of a midrashic mind. The whole point, meaning, and reason of its interpretations are often impossible to reproduce in translation, or to explain to the uninitiated in notes, which give the appearance of absurdity to what in the Midrashic exegesis is self-evident.

Of Bousset's general attitude toward Judaism and his judgment of it enough has already been said; it is only necessary

⁴⁹ He thinks, for example, that the language of the Talmuds is Aramaic. Even in Biblical Hebrew he was ill-grounded, as is convincingly shown by the remark: 'Die alttestamentliche Sprache hat noch kein Wort für Schöpfer, und muss den Mangel durch Partizipialkonstruktionen ersetzen' (p. 412).

to add that in the later and larger book, they remain essentially unchanged, still dominated by the antithesis to the teaching of Jesus. The second edition (1906) is in many ways an improvement on the first. The original plan, which put in the forefront 'Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Frömmigkeit zur Kirche,' evoked protest from Christians, to whom this seemed to make the development into a church a retrogression from the religion of the Old Testament; and though the author maintained the correctness of his point of view, he abandoned this highly artificial disposition because he found that he could not bring under this head all that he wanted to put in this part of the volume. There are other changes for the better in the arrangement of the book, and some important additions, notably a chapter on prayer, the absence of which in the first edition was eloquent. Corrections in detail are also numerous, though far from numerous enough. One instructive example may be noted. In his earlier work he asserted that the later Judaism had neither the name nor the faith of the Father-God; it could not rise to it. In the first edition of *Die Religion des Judentums*, he wrote: "Sehr charakteristisch ist es, wie selten . . . die Bezeichnung Gottes als des Vaters im Spätjudentum vorkommt." In the second edition this is replaced by, "Hervorzuheben ist . . . dass auch die Bezeichnung Gottes als des Vaters der Einzelnen Frommen im späteren Judentum entschieden häufiger ist."⁵⁰ But even then he makes all possible subtraction from the significance of the concession. The chapter on monotheism, with the following on angelology, demonology, and 'die Hypostasen-Spekulation,' repeat the familiar theses which need not again be recited.

One remark, however, may properly be made: Whoever derives the Jewish idea of God chiefly from apocalypses will get the picture of a God enthroned in the highest heaven, remote from the world, a mighty monarch surrounded by a celestial court, with ministers of various ranks, of whom only the highest have immediate access to the presence of the sovereign, unapproachable even by angels of less exalted station, to say

⁵⁰ Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum* (1892), p. 43; *Religion des Judentums* (1903), p. 355; 2d edition (1906), pp. 432 f.

nothing of mere mortals; and this not because theological reflection has elevated him to transcendence, but because the entire imaginative representation is conditioned by the visionary form. If the prophet has a vision of the throne-room of God's palace, as in Isaiah 6, or the seer is conducted by an angel through one heaven after another to the very threshold of the adytum, what other kind of representation is possible? To extract a dogma from such visions is to misunderstand the origin and nature of the whole apocalyptic literature. It is the same thing with the so-called 'pre-existent Messiah' in these writings: when once vision takes the place of prediction, the Messiah has to be there in order to be seen; it is not a doctrine, but a simple condition of visionary representation. The creation of the *name* of the Messiah before the world in rabbinic sources is something totally different.

If Bousset's book be taken for what it is, it is a serviceable hand-book. The accumulation of references to terms and phrases in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha upon the several topics is often almost exhaustive, but they have not always been made from the original texts. Aristéas § 37 appears (ed. 2, p. 257) among the places where ὑψιστος occurs, because the translator in Kautzsch's Pseudepigrapha happened to render τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ by 'dem Höchsten.' German idiom has played the author other tricks. On the preceding page, speaking of ׀ל as a surrogate or circumlocution for God, he writes: 'Die Prädikate der höchste Gott, der Höchste, versetzen uns ja eigentlich auf den Boden polytheistischen Empfindens. Vom höchsten Gott kann streng genommen nur da die Rede sein, wo es mehrere Götter für den Glauben gibt.' It is quite true that the German superlative 'der Höchste,' may imply that there are others not so high; but it is also true that the superlative and its implications are not in the Hebrew.

A word may be said in conclusion about a recent popular book in English, Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue. An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period* (1907). The part with which alone we are here concerned, 'Dogmatic Judaism,' is based entirely on modern authors — among whom Jewish scholars are more

frequently allowed the word than in most similar books — not at all on immediate knowledge of the sources. The latter are, indeed, abundantly cited in a way that makes it look as if they had been consulted, but it is evident in many cases that the authors did not even verify their references. The chapter on ‘Intermediate Agencies between God and Man’ is one long proof of this. One or two striking examples have been incidentally mentioned above.⁵¹ Here I will name but one or two at random: “In *Bemidbar rabbah*, c. 12, the term ‘Mediator’ is directly applied to *Metatron*, and, what is still more significant, he is represented as the reconciler between God and the Chosen People” (p. 175). To begin with, this part of *Bemidbar Rabbah* is mediaeval (perhaps 12th century), dependent on late Midrashim and cabalistic sources; its testimony would be worthless if it gave any. In the second place, there is no word in the text or context that remotely suggests ‘Mediator,’ to say nothing of being directly applied to *Metatron*; in the third place, what is said about *Metatron* is that he offers (on the heavenly altar) ‘the souls of the righteous to atone for Israel in the days of their exile,’ an office elsewhere performed by Michael. Again: “In a number of passages in the *Old Testament* the expression the ‘Word,’ in reference to Jehovah, is used in a way which, one can easily understand, appeared to Jewish thinkers of a later age to indicate that the ‘Word’ meant something more than a mere abstraction” (p. 179). Among other passages of this kind they quote Deut. 5, 5: “I stood between the Lord and you at that time to show you the word of the Lord.” That is the Authorized English version; the Hebrew has “to report to you (להגיד לכם) the word of the Lord, because ye were afraid of the fire,” etc. The authors apparently took the English ‘show’ in the sense of ‘exhibit.’ In this whole string of passages the English version is the beginning and end of knowledge. Thus, in Wisdom 9, 1: “O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, Who hast made all things with thy word,” they understand *with* as ‘in association with, with the assistance of.’ The Greek is ἐν (‘by’) not σύν. One of the most amusing is the quotation of 2 (4) Esdras 6, 38 for

⁵¹ See above, pp. 235 f.

which they give: "Thy word was (i.e., *made*) a perfect work." This is the Authorized Version from the corrupt text in the appendix to the standard Latin Bible: In the beginning of the creation God said, 'Fiat caelum et terra, et tuum verbum opus perfectum.' The true reading, as has been established for a half-century, is *opus perfecit*, 'Thy word brought the work to pass.' Mr. Box himself has since reprinted the Latin text of 4 Esdras from Fritzsche (1871), where the correct reading might have been found in 1907 as easily as in 1912, not to mention Hilgenfeld (1869) or Bensly-James (1895). If this reading, instead of being that of the manuscripts, were unsupported by a single codex, it would infallibly be restored by conjecture. To create doctrine for the Jews at the beginning of our era out of a misunderstanding of the authorized English version of 1611, or from the translation in the same version of a nonsensical reading in a Latin Apocryphon, is, to say the least, not in accordance with the best practice among scholars.

It may not be unprofitable, here in conclusion, to review briefly the course of this long history. Beginning with an early Christian apologetic, in which the controversial points were the interpretation and application of passages in the Old Testament, the fulfilment of prophecies of the Messiah in the nativity of Jesus, his life and death, resurrection, and ascension, the identification of Christ with the manifest God, or Angel of the Lord, in the Old Testament, the discussion in the Middle Ages took a wider range and assumed a more learned character in the endeavor to demonstrate that Christian doctrines were supported by the authentic Jewish tradition — Targum, Talmud, Midrash — or by the most highly reputed Jewish interpreters. In the progress of the controversy polemic prevailed over apologetic on both sides, the champions of each seeking out for attack the most vulnerable points in the cause of their opponents. The direct outcome of this conflict was the war waged upon the Talmud itself and the effort to procure the destruction of obnoxious Jewish literature as a whole.

The Christian scholars who resisted this obscurantist programme in the sixteenth century argued on the other hand that

these books should be preserved because from them, above all from the Cabala, all the doctrines of Christianity — the Trinity, the Deity of Christ and the rest — could be proved to be the ancient esoteric theology of the Jews themselves.

The Reformation put upon Protestants the task of building up upon the Scriptures alone a complete system of doctrine, and they endeavored not only to show that the ancient Jewish doctrine was in essential accord with the common Christian dogma, but that on the issues in debate between Protestants and Catholics the Jews were on the Protestant side. Thus a strong dogmatic interest took its place beside the older apologetic and polemic. A broader interest in learning for its own sake as well as its uses prevailed largely in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and led, as has been sufficiently remarked, to the creation of a great body of learned literature in every branch of Hebrew antiquities.

The early Protestant exegesis of the Old Testament was almost wholly dependent on Jewish commentaries and apparatus, and the illustration of many passages in the Old Testament from later Jewish law and custom also began early. The same thing was done for the New Testament, particularly the Gospels, not only in commentaries but in a succession of notably learned works specifically devoted to this end, the *Horae Hebraicae* and whatever else they may be called; and, directly or through Wettstein, these illustrations from Talmud and Midrash became part of the perpetual tradition of New Testament commentaries.

In all this time no attempt had been made by Christian scholars to present Judaism in the age which concerned them most — say from the time of Alexander to that of the Antonines — as a whole and as it was in and for itself. Nor did those who came after them address themselves to this neglected task. When in the nineteenth century the study of Judaism was in some measure revived, the actuating motive was to find in it the milieu of early Christianity. Gfroerer conceived this problem historically, and, as we have seen, actually included his description of the Judaism of that period in his *Critical History of Primitive Christianity*. Weber set himself to ex-

hibit the system of Palestinian Jewish theology in the first three or four centuries of our era as the antithesis of Christian theology and religion as they were taught in certain contemporary German schools. Since Weber the subject has been dealt with only by New Testament scholars, either with reference to certain special problems or to a more general understanding of nascent Christianity. Bousset's *Religion des Judentums*, which by its title and scope (including some four centuries), gives promise of a historical treatment, is in fact — and in the author's intention — a piece of apparatus for the student of the New Testament.

The characterization of Judaism in Weber and his followers is strikingly different from the older apologetic and polemic. None of the learned adversaries of Judaism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though they knew the literature immeasurably better than their modern successors, ever suspected that the Rabbis entertained an 'abstract monotheism' — whatever that may be — or a 'transcendent' idea of God as the Absolute, or, to use the language of men, that in the extravagance of their 'fear of the Lord' they had magnified and exalted him out of his world, which, like an absentee proprietor, he administered henceforth by agents. Eisenmenger, who collected with inordinate zeal what he called the foolish and blasphemous things that the Jews said about God, never laid this to their charge. Nowhere, so far as I know, is a suggestion made that in this respect the Jewish idea of God differed from the Christian. So it is also with the 'legalism' which for the last fifty years has become the very definition and the all-sufficient condemnation of Judaism. It is not a topic of the older polemic; indeed, I do not recall a place where it is even mentioned. Concretely, Jewish observances are censured or ridiculed, but 'legalism' as a system of religion, not to say as the essence of Judaism, no one seems to have discovered. This is the more remarkable because this line of attack might seem to have been indicated by Paul, and because the earlier Protestant, and particularly Lutheran controversialists, were peculiarly keen on the point by reason of their conflict with the Catholic Church over works and merit.

What then brought legalism to the front in the new apologetic? Not a fresh and more thorough study of Judaism at the beginning of our era, but a new apologetic motive, consequent on a different apprehension of Christianity on the part of the New Testament theologians who now took up the task. The 'essence' of Christianity, and therefore its specific difference from Judaism, was for the first time sought in the religion of Jesus — his teaching and his personal piety. The title of Bousset's first work, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, is the programme of the younger school. Jesus' conflict with the Scribes and Pharisees prescribed for this apologetic the issue of legalism; the 'Father in heaven,' the piety assumed to be distinctive of Jesus and of his teaching, demanded an antithesis in Judaism, an inaccessible God, which Weber from his different starting point was supposed to have demonstrated.

In conclusion there is one thing more to be said: Where the subject of investigation is the relation of primitive Christianity to its contemporary Judaism, whether the motive be a historical understanding of nascent Christianity or an apologetic exhibition of the superiority of the religion of Jesus to that of the Scribes and Pharisees, the critical ordering and evaluation of the Jewish sources is of much greater importance than when a general comparison of Judaism and Christianity is proposed, or even when, as in Weber, the comparison is restricted to the Palestinian Judaism of three or four centuries following the Christian era. Upon this critical task, Jewish scholars, with exhaustive knowledge of the material and through philological and historical training, have in the last thirty or forty years done fundamental work. The investigation of the composition and sources of the Tannaite Midrash, for example, which is here of primary importance, has a significance comparable to the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels; and, it may perhaps be added, its results are established on a more secure basis, external and internal evidence corroborating each other. For recent Christian writers, however, all this criticism is non-existent. Even the writings themselves are known only by name. Bousset writes: "Die ältesten wesentlich halachischen

Midrasche sind Mechilta (Exodus), Siphra (Levit.), Siphre (Numeri, Deuteron.) lat. Übersetzung bei Ugolini, Thesaurus XIV-XV). Auf diese folgen die vorwiegend haggadischen, daher für uns wertvolleren Rabboth." Although Perles had made sarcastic comment on it as it stood in the first edition, this note remains unchanged in the second, perhaps because Bousset did not see the point of the sarcasm.

After so much criticism it is a welcome change to close this article with commendation of a book which, proposing only to explain and illustrate the most important conceptions and phrases in the Gospels, gives more than it promises, and shows how much light may be thrown upon the subject from Rabbinical sources by a competent scholar, I mean Gustav Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu, mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der aramäischen Sprache* (1898).

APPENDIX

Inasmuch as some of these books are rare, the titles may be given here in full:

Porchetus:

The full title in Giustiniani's edition is: Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebraeos, in qua tum ex sacris libris tum ex dictis Talmud ac Caballistarum et aliorum omnium quos Hebraei recipiunt monstratur veritas catholicae fidei. Ex recensione R. P. Aug. Iustiniani ordinis Praedicatorii, episcopi Nebiensis. François Regnault. Paris 1520. It is a folio volume of f. xciii (188 pp.). The author begins (f. ii A): In nomine domini. Amen. Incipit liber Victoriae a Porcheto de Saluaticis Genuensi divina fauente gratia compilatus ad Judaicam perfidiam subvertendam et ut praestantius veritas fulgeat fidei christianae. The work is now very rare. I used a copy in Munich some years ago; one has recently been acquired by the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York.

Galatinus:

Opus toti christianae Reipublicae maxime utile, de arcanis catholicae veritatis, contra obstinatissimam Iudaeorum nostrae tempestatis perfidiam: ex Talmud, aliisque hebraicis libris nuper excerptum et quadripleci linguarum eleganter congestum. The title page bears no date, but at the end (f. cccx A), we read: Impressum vero Orthonae maris, summa cum diligentia per Hieronymum Suncinum: Anno christianae natiuitatis M.D.XVIII. quintodecimo kalendas martias. On an imaginary edition of Bari 1516 see the article cited in note 8.

Raimundus Martini:

Pugio Fidei Raimundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum adversus Mauros et Iudaeos; nunc primum in lucem editus. . . . Ope et Opera Illustrissimi ac Reverendissimi D. Episcopi Lovensis [Franciscus Bosquet], Illustrissimi Praesidis D. de Maussac Comitibus Consistoriani. Cum observationibus Domini Josepho de Voisin Presbyteri, ex-Senatoris Burdegalensis. Paris, 1651.

THE ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY OF METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS

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AMONG the many problems which confront the historian of Christian thought and life in the early centuries one of the most complex and difficult is that of the relations, practical as well as theoretical, between Christianity and asceticism. Since the age of the Reformation there has been incessant controversy over the question whether the anthropological assumptions which underlie ascetic morals — the dualistic conception of the constitution of human nature and the conviction that there is an irreconcilable opposition between body and spirit — are really identical with the principles of Christian anthropology so that there can be no experience of the gospel message apart from a radically pessimistic estimate of the possibilities of good inherent in human nature, and without the acceptance of a scale of ethical values based upon the progressive stages of an ascetic discipline.

After centuries of acrimonious theological controversy fomented by prejudices on both sides, we are now perhaps for the first time in a position to consider objectively the historical relations between the development of ascetic ideas and the propagation of the Christian piety, and consequently to solve satisfactorily the problem of the interaction between asceticism and Christianity.

At the outset we may remark that all recent investigations, from the epoch-making work of Weingarten to the more recent studies of Strathmann, Bickel, and Reitzenstein,¹ have proved conclusively that, whether as an individual or an associated

¹ Weingarten, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*. Gotha, 1877. — Strathmann, *Geschichte der frühchristlichen Askese bis zur Entstehung des Mönchtums*. I. Die Askese in der Umgebung des werdenden Christentums. Leipzig, 1914. — Bickel, 'Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustin,' *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, 1916. — Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca*. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker. Göttingen, 1916.

enterprise, asceticism, aiming to nullify the impulses of sense in the endeavor to achieve the absolute and uncontested supremacy of spirit over matter and a complete imperturbability, had a long history before Christianity and outside of Christianity; that it was common to various philosophical schools (Neopythagorean, Stoic, Neoplatonist) and to certain religious movements (the *κατοχοί* of the Serapeum in Memphis, the Essenes and Therapeutae) which have nothing in common with Christianity. It has also been shown that the ideas and language of asceticism made their way rather slowly into the thought and life of Christian society, which at the outset moved upon a moral plane entirely different from that upon which men strove by a progressive spiritual training to effect the annihilation of the energies which give its dramatic character and charm to life. It is possible also to prove that Christianity became saturated with ascetic prepossessions in the precise measure in which the mystical fervor and charismatic enthusiasm that inspired it in the heroic period of its origins gradually declined.

In thus affirming that between asceticism and primitive Christianity there was no decisive affinity, ideal or practical, that the two movements proceeded from contradictory theoretical presuppositions and tended to entirely different ends, it is not meant to deny that the message of Christian salvation implies a renunciation of lower modes of life and a reversal of ideas of value far more profound and effective than those actuated by ascetic ideals. Moreover, while the Christian renunciation springs from a sudden inner metamorphosis, a radical *μετάνοια*, through which the individual, transfigured by the experience of his calling and of his spiritual transformation, immersed in the spirit, becomes incapable of any more fulfilling or consenting to the desires and inclinations of the flesh, the painful ascetic training, not sustained by warm mystical fervor nor guided by an eager messianic-eschatological expectation, makes the impression rather of being the doubtful result of a strenuous rational effort and of an aristocratic refinement of temper which never succeeded in communicating itself to the masses or of becoming a factor in great social

changes. The Christian renunciation is larger and more complete than the ascetic renunciation; but while the former has its origin in an intense charismatic commotion and its consummation in the joy of a psychical transfiguration, the latter has its roots in a profoundly pessimistic estimation of life and its destiny, and by its endeavor after ἀπάθεια condemns itself to barrenness.

The historical process lasting several centuries through which, for the original values of πίστις, μετάνοια and χαρά, Christian apologetic eventually substituted those of γνῶσις, ἀσκησις and ἐγκράτεια was only the ethical reflection of a much larger process through which the Christian movement, originally a movement of a small minority dreaming of a cosmic palingenesis, was transformed into an official religion professed by the whole population, in which the heroic ideals came to be specially reserved for individuals who aspired to attain for themselves that τελείωσις which at the outset was the peremptory obligation of all the ἄγιοι.

Outside of the New Testament literature and that of the post-apostolic age, the author from whose writings we can gather most clearly at once the affinities and the differences between the ascetic attitude and the specifically Christian aspirations and experiences is Methodius of Olympus, the Anatolian martyr of the Maximinian persecution, who on the eve of Constantine's reform seems to reproduce in his mystical writings the most vivid and enthusiastic traits of the primitive eschatological expectation. Bonwetsch's recent excellent edition² of all the extant works of this exceptional author of the beginning of the fourth century enables us to study in its entirety, we may say, his ethical thought, and the profound and original way in which he integrated it with his hopes and with his historical and social ideas.

² Bonwetsch, Methodius. Leipzig, 1917. Bonwetsch devoted many years while teaching at the University of Dorpat to the works of Methodius. In 1891 he published a German translation of the Paleoslavie Corpus Methodianum, and subsequently published a study on Methodius's theology (Die Theologie des Methodius. Berlin, 1903) in which the problem examined in the present article received somewhat scant attention. See also Bonwetsch's article on Methodius in the Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Third edition, s. v.

At first sight the fate of Methodius in the literary history of the fourth century is surprising. Though an elegant and skilful writer, with a rich and deep religious experience, wearing the halo of martyrdom, he nevertheless did not receive from his contemporaries and immediate successors the recognition and appreciation which his literary productiveness and his heroic place in the history of the Church would have abundantly deserved. Adamantius reproduces large extracts from Methodius *περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου* and from his *περὶ ἀναστάσεως*, but takes good care not to name their author. Eusebius also quotes a considerable passage from the former of these two writings, but attributes it to Maximus (*De Praeparatione Evangelica* vii. 22); in Eusebius's historical works the name of Methodius never occurs. Only from Jerome do we learn that in the sixth book of his *Apology for Origen*, Eusebius leveled at Methodius the same reproach which Rufinus addressed to Jerome himself: "*Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere, qui haec et haec de Origenis locutus est dogmatibus*" (*Contra Rufinum* i. 11). And it is only in Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (83), in a paragraph which is evidently not taken like the rest from Eusebius, that we find the single notice — distorted and anachronistic, at that — which we possess about the bishop of Olympos: "*Methodius, Olympi Lyciae et postea Tyri episcopus, nitidi compositique sermonis adversus Porphyrium confecit libros et Symposium decem Virginum, de Resurrectione opus egregium contra Origenem, et adversus eundem de Pythonissa, et de αὐτεξουσία, in Genesim quoque et in Cantica Canticorum commentarios, et multa alia quae vulgo lectitantur. Et ad extremum novissimae persecutionis, sive ut alii affirmant sub Decio et Valeriano, in Chalchide Graeciae martyrio coronatus est.*"

When we recall, however, the sharply anti-Origenistic attitude of the martyr bishop, and on the other hand the deeply rooted Origenistic sympathies which characterized the productions of the most eminent representatives of ecclesiastical culture in Syria and Anatolia in the Constantinian epoch, and above all of Eusebius of Caesarea, we can easily understand how the posthumous fame of Methodius was eclipsed, and as

easily recognize the reasons why he enjoyed especial favor with Epiphanius, who praises him highly and quotes him copiously in his *Panarion*. This gives all the more reason to inquire how it came that the great ideals of renunciation which Origen had extolled and practised and Methodius had taken up to exalt with characteristic fervor appealed in the case of the two men to anthropological presuppositions and eschatological visions so diverse and contradictory.

Among the various forms and manifold elements of renunciation, virginal continence is intuitive, and naturally holds the first place. The principal dialogue of Methodius, the *Symposium*, or *περὶ ἀγγελίας*, conceived and written after Platonic patterns, is a formal panegyric of virginity. Methodius imagines how Gregorium, 'the vigilant,' repeats to him the eulogies which were pronounced by ten virgins in the garden of Arete, extolling the virtue of immaculate chastity. The palm in this pious competition is bestowed on Thecla, who at the close of the *Symposium* sings a hymn to Christ the bridegroom, in which the author evidently intended to summarize in a series of stanzas³ the way in which he himself regarded virginity in the cluster of Christian virtues and in the general scheme of Christian development in the life of this world. The hymn has a recurring refrain:

I consecrate myself to thee, O Bridegroom, and holding lamps⁴ that give light I go to meet thee.

There are stanzas in this hymn from which it is manifest that Methodius was fully aware that his teaching concerning Christian perfection represented something new and unfamiliar in the Christian practice of his time, and something which is authorized only by a revived fervor of messianic expectation.

From above, O Virgins, comes the sound of a cry, the sound that raises the dead, saying, 'Go forth, all of you, to meet the bridegrooms in white robes and with your lamps, to the rising of the sun. Arise before the King comes to enter within the gates.'

³ The rhythm of this poem has been analyzed by W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellatein. Rhythmik*. ii (1905).

⁴ The reference is, of course, to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins whose lamps did or did not give light. — Ed.

I flee from the happiness of mortals with all its sorrow, from the voluptuousness of life and from the sweets of love,⁵ and I long to be held in thy life-giving arms and forever to see thy beauty, O Blessed One.

For thee, O King, have I left the mortal couch of marriage and my golden home and have come in spotless garments that I too may come with thee to enter into thy blessed chambers.

I have escaped the myriad enchanting wiles of the serpent and I have endured the flame of fire and the manslaying onslaughts of wild beasts, and I wait for thee from heaven.

I have forgotten my country, O Logos, and I long for thy grace: I have forgotten also the company of the Virgins that are my fellows,⁶ the pride of my mother and my race, for thou, O Christ, art all things to me.

Giver of life art thou, O Christ, hail to thy light that knows no evening time. Do thou receive this cry: the company of Virgins entreats thee, O Flower of Perfection, Love, Joy, Prudence, Wisdom, Logos.

The hymn to Christ runs on for several stanzas more and then turns to the bride, the Church. Methodius is conscious that he is employing language strange to the community of the faithful and expressing forgotten conceptions and ideals. His song takes on a more fervid and elevated tone.

In hymns, O Blessed bride of God, we, thy attendants of the bride-chamber, honor thee now, O undefiled Virgin, Church with snow-white body, with dark hair, chaste, spotless, lovely.

Corruption has fled away and the tearful labors of disease. Death has been taken away and all folly has perished. Grief that wastes men's minds has perished and the joy of God has suddenly shone on mortals.

Paradise is no longer bereft of mortals, for again, as formerly, by divine decree there inhabits it he who fell by the manifold wiles of the serpent, incorruptible, without fear, blessed.

Singing the new song⁷ the company of Virgins brings thee to heaven, O Queen; thou art full of light, and they are crowned with the white flowers of lilies and bear in their hands the flames that give light.

O Blessed One, who inhabitest the undefiled seats of heaven, thou who art without beginning, who governest all things by eternal power, receive within the gates of life us, too, O Father, with thy Son, for we are come.⁸

On the surface the eulogy lavished by Methodius upon virginity, of which this hymn is only the loftiest expression, may seem not to differ greatly from the ascetic theories which about a century before had been so clearly formulated by the two great Alexandrian Christian writers, Clement and Origen.

⁵ Accepting Meyer's emendation. — Ed.

⁶ The imagery here changes to that of Psalm 45, 11 ff. — Ed.

⁷ The reference is to Rev. 5, 9 and Psalm 45. — Ed.

⁸ Symposium xi. ed Bonwetsch, pp. 131-133, 136.

But when the mystical doctrines set forth by Methodius in the *περὶ ἀγνείας* are brought into connection with the anthropological and eschatological views defended in the *περὶ ἀναστάσεως*,⁹ we immediately perceive the radical difference in the points of view from which spring on one side the asceticism of Origen and on the other the mystical enthusiasm of the Anatolian bishop.¹⁰ The *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* is a polemical treatise directed against the Origenists. Methodius imagines that at Patara, in the house of a physician, Aglaophones, the question is discussed whether the flesh really participates in the joys of the resurrection and of immortality. Two of the interlocutors, the host Aglaophones and Proclus, agree with Origen in denying to the human body, such as has lived here on earth, any capacity to share with the spirit the blessed life. Methodius on the contrary, contends that the same human body which has passed from the world to the triumph of incorruptibility will joyfully participate in that life. With an eschatological outlook which reminds us of that of the first Christian generations, Methodius maintains that the sensible universe is not so radically corrupted as not to be able to enter as an integral element into the palingenesis through which the glory of the

⁹ Of the *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* we have only the excerpts of the original Greek text in Epiphanius and Adamantius, but we possess the whole dialogue in a Paleoslavlic version, a German translation of which was published by Bonwetsch in his edition of Methodius's Works, pp. 217-424.

¹⁰ In the Symposium, Methodius' eschatological doctrine is less prominent because the argument itself, that is to say the over-valuation of virginity, did not permit emphasis on an optimistic view of the bodily nature of man. This may explain why, besides its literary excellence, the Symposium was the only work of Methodius which became very popular and exerted a wide influence on Christian literature. It has been remarked (G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni sacre nella letteratura Bizantina*. Rome, 1912, pp. 167 f.) that the whole Christian literary tradition (poetical, homiletical and theological) dealing with the theories and the practice of Christian virginity in general, and with the Virgin Mary as the typical example of this exalted state, has borrowed from Methodius not only a great deal of its content and of its biblical exegesis on this virtue, but even of its terminology. In a large number of sermons to which La Piana gave the title of Dramatic Homilies, under which they are now classified in the history of Christian literature, the influence of Methodius's Symposium is evident almost in every line; cf. the Hymn to Virginity reconstructed by La Piana from the *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον* attributed to Proclus of Constantinople, which is merely a poetical summary of the ten speeches of the virgins in Methodius's Symposium. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 236-241 and 166-169.)

triumphant Christ is revealed, and that in it man with his corporeal nature is not the expression of evil and perversion, but represents a work of the divine artist which only needs to be slightly retouched to be fit to enjoy without limit the blessing and the joy of the Father.

For when he saw man, his fairest work, corrupted by malignant plots of envy, he could not endure to leave him thus, such was his love of man, that man might not endure blame forever or his fault remain immortal, but he dissolved him into matter once more that all the faults which were in him might perish and disappear when he was formed afresh.¹¹

In the eyes of Methodius, therefore, death is not as it was in Origen's conception the destruction of this foul bodily prison in which the soul is confined in expiation of an original sinful will to be embodied; it is rather the open passageway towards a providential restitution of the organism, which is called to a loftier destiny. In opposition to the pessimistic abhorrence of matter in which the asceticism of the Alexandrians delighted, Methodius vindicates the fundamental goodness of corporeal nature. Replying directly to an argument of Origen, he reasons that if, as Origen maintains, everything that is generated is diseased because it has needs and appetites, while only that is sound which experiences neither, and consequently man, who is generated, cannot be free from affections and immortal, it follows that angels and souls, which also are originated, are in the same case and will therefore perish. But neither angels nor souls perish, for they are immortal and indestructible as their Creator meant them to be. Therefore man also is immortal.¹²

By this acute *argumentum ad hominem* Methodius aims to demonstrate how fallacious and wholly contradictory Origen's attitude is in his estimate of the part assigned to matter in the plan of salvation.

He does not stop, however, with the negative side of his demonstration but, starting from one of the most typical features of Pauline eschatology, he rises to a grandiose vision of the intimate participation of all sensible nature in the joy of the messianic restitution.

¹¹ De Resurrectione i, 43, 3; Bonwetsch, p. 291.

¹² Ibid., i, 47, 1-2.

Nor is the statement satisfactory that everything will be utterly destroyed, and that earth, air, and heaven will no longer exist. The whole world will, indeed, be deluged with descending fire and be burnt out for purification and renewal, but it will not come to complete destruction and ruin. For if it were better for the world not to be rather than to be, why did God make the inferior choice in creating the world? No! God made nothing vainly or badly. Therefore God ordered the creation to exist and to remain, as Wisdom also confirms saying, 'For God created all things to have their being and the generations of the world were healthful and there is no poison of destruction in them.' Paul also clearly testifies to this saying, 'For the earnest expectation of creation waiteth for the revelation of the sons of God. For the creation was subject to vanity not willingly but by reason of him who subjected it in hope, that the creation itself may be set free from the bondage of corruption to the freedom of the glory of the children of God.' For, he says, the creation was subjected to vanity but is waiting to be set free from such bondage, and thus indicates that by the creation he means this world. For it is not the things which are not seen that are in bondage to corruption but these visible things. So then the creation will remain¹³ at the resurrection, renewed to a better and more beautiful state, glad and rejoicing over the children for whom it now groans and travails and is itself waiting for our redemption from the corruption of the body, that when we have been raised up and have shaken off the mortality of the flesh according to that which is written, 'Shake off the dust and rise and sit, O Jerusalem,' and when we have been set free from sin, the creation itself shall be set free from corruption, no longer in bondage to vanity but to righteousness.¹⁴

The Christian chiliasts of the second century, of whom Papias and Irenaeus are the most explicit and authoritative representatives, had concentrated their mystical religious expectations in a scheme of cosmic palingenesis which should bring to the elect a blessedness embracing their whole being, gladdened by the rejuvenation and the exuberant fruitfulness of material nature. This serene vision had given them courage to sustain the struggle with the pagan world. Now, at the dawn of the fourth century, after the ingenuous idealism of primitive Christianity had been followed by the deadening constructions of the Gnostics and of Alexandrian speculation, Methodius revived the joyous idea of the millenium, and by reflex effect his own Christian experience became more profound, more heroic, more conscious that it could not be reduced to the values and perspectives of the world. In all his argumentation Methodius pursues the spiritualizing eschatology of

¹³ It seems more probable that the text should be *μενεῖ* rather than *μένει*. — Ed.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 47, 3-6; Bonwetsch, pp. 297-299.

Origen for the purpose of confuting and dispelling it. 'How then, our opponents say, if the universe is not destroyed, did Christ say that heaven and earth shall pass away, and the prophet that the heaven shall be dissolved like smoke and the earth grow old like a garment?' Methodius' acute reply is: 'It is the manner of scripture to use the word destruction (ἀπώλεια) for the transformation (μεταβολή) of the present constitution of the world into something better and more glorious, the previous form perishing in the change of all things into a more splendid state.'¹⁵ Thus, according to Methodius, when we read in the scriptures of a ruin of the material universe we are to think of a providential palingenesis, wherein the animate and inanimate creation shall be raised in a state of existence which, while not abolishing the fundamental characteristics of the present world, exalts and ameliorates them in the highest degree. Methodius triumphantly concludes his argument against Origen by declaring confidently that, inasmuch as all things were essentially good when they proceeded from the creative hand of God, man also, such as he is, made up of soul and body, constitutes a nature in itself good, which shall participate in the joy of the immortal life with all the elements of its composite being, excluding none.¹⁶

These eloquent extracts from the two principal writings of Methodius may suffice to show the importance of the author in the development of ethical and metaphysical ideas at the dawn of the fourth century. They also give additional evidence of the profound interaction between ethics and eschatology. Morality is the more elevated and the more heroic, the more closely it is linked to an intense expectation of an impending providential revolution which shall give a new direction to the course of events and make a final end of the injustices and defects which exist, by its very constitution, in every social organization. In the midst of the portentous effort which Christian society was making in the fourth century to reduce the gospel proclamation to the formulas of a shallow and conservative religion, capable of adapting itself to circumstances and making

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 48, 1-2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i, 50.

compromises with them, the position of Methodius seems like the last anachronistic survival of that call to heroism which had been common in primitive Christianity and had been nurtured and supported by the great chiliastic dream. And whereas at the close of the fourth century, with Epiphanius and Jerome, ascetic practice and the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh appear as the definitive reconciliation of an extra-Christian asceticism with a form of eschatology which is a substitute for primitive chiliasm, in the age of Diocletian and of Maximin the bishop of Olympus, candidate for martyrdom, delivers to Christian society the last challenge to the perfect renunciation under the simple stimulus of an enthusiastic faith in the restoration of the universe in the joy and freedom of the sons of God.

In place of this, only a few years later than Methodius, shortly after the victory of Licinius over Maximin, Eusebius of Caesarea established among Christians a dichotomy, which, while destined to have a clamant success in the subsequent evolution of Christian society, unquestionably represented the radical rejection of that programme of perfection which, according to the majority of Christian authors before Constantine, should have been the irremovable goal of every believer, who by definition and vocation was *τέλειος*. In the *Demonstratio Evangelica* Eusebius wrote:

. . . 'So that even for the Church of Christ rules have been laid down for two ways of life. The one is above nature and beyond ordinary human life; it admits neither marriage nor the begetting of children nor the acquirement or retention of property; it changes the ordinary and accustomed behavior of all men from beginning to end and makes them live for the service of God alone in the strength of heavenly love. Those who change over to this way seem to be dead to the life of mortals, and do but carry their body on earth for their soul has been translated in spirit to heaven. Like dwellers in heaven they look at the life of men, consecrated for the whole race to the God who is over all . . . not by animal sacrifices and blood nor by libations and sweet savor of offerings . . . but by sound doctrines of true piety and the disposition of a purified soul, and further by virtuous deeds and words. In this way, propitiating the divinity, they perform a priestly office in their own behalf and in behalf of others.' Such is the perfect way of Christian life. There is, however, Eusebius continues, another way, more within ordinary human capacity, which does not demand the abandonment of the rights and duties that belong to the political and social life of mankind. To contract marriage, have children, attend to business, faithfully obey the laws of the state, and in all spheres fulfil the tasks of a normal citizen — these are all things per-

fectly compatible with the Christian profession, provided with them be joined the strenuous purpose to maintain piety and devotion to the Lord. Christianity accepts as wholly praiseworthy this second rule of life also, in order that no class of men and no group of peoples may imagine themselves deprived of the eminent benefits of the 'saving manifestation' of Christ.¹⁷

Thus Eusebius, the future counsellor of Constantine, formulated that distinction between precepts and counsels in which the ethics of collective Christianity were ever thereafter to find their basis. Origen, also, had distinguished among Christians *πρακτικοί* from *θεωρητικοί*, but to the former had assigned as the proper place for them only the forecourt of the temple, while to the temple itself he granted access only to the pure. Eusebius, now, having regard to the pressing exigencies of a Christianity which by the very fact that it now aspired to be the religion of the majority was constrained to mitigate its primitive moral programme, combines in the same Christian profession the two categories of believers. It is easy to understand how in his eyes the exalted mysticism of Methodius and his attempt to reanimate the enthusiasm of the Christian renunciation by reviving the fervor of chiliastic expectation must have seemed like the vain self-deception of a man hopelessly behind the times. The historian who had described the ancient Papias of Hieropolis as a man 'scant of brains' could not have looked with complacency upon his successor in the fourth century. Methodius had to wait long decades before he found in Epiphanius an adequate appreciation of his doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, although even in the Panarion the bishop of Salamis takes pains to purge his anti-Origenistic thought of the suspicion of chiliasm.

Christian society after Constantine found it most convenient to adopt the sharp distinction Eusebius made between the two different ways in which it is possible to live according to the gospel. But in the course of the centuries every revival of the religious spirit finds itself carried back to the mystical conception of the earliest Christian generations for which the message of Christ could be taken in only one possible way, in that, namely, which demands renunciation of the world in the expectation of perfect righteousness.

¹⁷ *Demonstratio Evangelica*, i, 8.

AMERICAN THEISTS

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THE problem of the existence and nature of God, remote and oppressive though it is to some minds, to others is of all questions the most urgent and engaging. It has had its fascination for the mind of America, as for that of all intelligent peoples.

Among the outstanding names in American theism one of the first to attract the student is that of Theodore Parker (1810-1860), transcendentalist and theist.¹ His is a theological rather than a philosophical theism. Indeed for him theism meant *theology*, a reasonable theology as over against the rigid orthodoxy which he combats. He dwelt in that cosmically dim hour before the dawn of evolution, and argued for a minutely fore-known universe, of which God "knew perfectly all the actions, movements and history, at the moment of creation as well as today,"² and by his "infinite engineering brought them to pass without infringing upon freedom." In his roseate theodicy God created man and nature "from a perfect motive, of perfect material, for a perfect purpose, and as perfect means to achieve that purpose." He expunges the stigma of imperfection and evil from the present order by positing a future of unending bliss for every creature as well as for every man. Such assumptions mark the preacher rather than the philosopher. And yet there is in his *Sermons on Theism* (1853) a tide of conviction, a largeness of outlook, and a sense of ultimate values, which cannot be dismissed as mere sentiment. It is true that some of his arguments fall upon the modern mind with an undeniable antiquity of accent. They are as the idle wind which it respects not. But the sweep of his faith in a "Father-Mother" God, the breadth of his sympathy, the glow of his imagination, the strength of his conviction, still speak from his

¹ Professor Caldecott terms him "the most confident intuitionist I can find since Herbert." *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 99.

² *Views of Religion*, p. 100.

highly-colored pages, as they did from his famous pulpit, with the power of permanent worth.

The year 1881 witnessed the publication of two volumes of exceptional character in the field of Theism, Diman's *The Theistic Argument* and Mulford's *The Republic of God*.

J. Lewis Diman, the author of *The Theistic Argument* was from 1864 until his death in 1881 Professor of History and Political Economy in Brown University. Before that time he had been in the Christian ministry, having spent two years in Germany, mainly engaged in the study of Kant. His interest in philosophy was life-long, and when in 1880 he was invited to deliver a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute on its foundation of Natural Religion, he found himself drawn to the subject of Theism.

The course opened with a discussion of the relativity of knowledge, in which the author concludes that "while we conceive that the Absolute cannot be known as the product of any inductive or deductive reasoning from the phenomena presented to the senses, we affirm that it is and can be known as the correlate which must be necessarily assumed to explain and account for those phenomena."³ He then presents in free and compact form the several classic arguments for the existence of God, throwing the whole burden of proof upon none of them, but treating them all as "but stages in a single rational process and parts of one comprehensive proof."⁴ The knowledge of God, he holds, grows with us as we grow. Nor is God a distant Being. "We know him simply and naturally as we know our fellow men."⁵

The part which intuition plays in this growing knowledge of God is described thus:

While we had no hesitation in rejecting intuition as an exclusive and immediate source of our belief in the divine existence, we recognize intuition as essential to the completeness of the theistic argument . . . as a part of cognition, as the final and legitimate step to which the intellectual process leads.⁶

The question arises whether intuition, as a cognitive act of the whole personality, does not also *initiate* the knowledge of God

³ *The Theistic Argument*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

ratiocination serving to ratify and confirm that which intuition seizes.

Professor Diman's theism was supplemented and surpassed — at least in the extent of its influence — by the well-known author of *The Nation*, Elisha Mulford, in *The Republic of God*.⁷ He was the author of but two volumes, but these, the fruit of long study and reflection, gave him a deep and lasting influence upon American thought. *The Nation* (1870) — rewritten, Mr. H. E. Scudder states, seven times, beside subsequent alterations in correcting the proof — ⁸ has taken rank as one of the major treatises on the American theory of the state.

The Republic of God (1881) has an atmosphere of its own in American theological literature. After the tumult and shouting of the polemic period of theology it came with the elemental calm and persuasiveness of pure, rational conviction. It does not strive nor cry, neither does it argue nor dogmatize. Its stately and mature affirmations carry the weight of sincere and ripe reflection. It is the Fourth Gospel among American theologies. It grounds theism in consciousness, whence it cannot be dislodged.

The being of God is the precedent and the postulate of the thought of God. It is the ground in man of his conscious life. From the beginning, and with the growth of the human consciousness, there is the consciousness of the being of God, and of a relation to God.⁹

The chapter, "The Personality of God," did much to lift the conception of personality to its true level. "There is in personality," wrote Dr. Mulford, "the highest that is within the knowledge of man. It is the steepest summit toward which we move in our attainment. . . . The personality of God does not involve limitation. The only limitation is self-limitation — the limit which it sets in its own self-determination."¹⁰ Such

⁷ Elisha Mulford was born in Montrose, Pa., in 1833, and died in Cambridge, Mass. in 1885. Like Diman he was a student of philosophy. He graduated at Yale College, studied at Union and Andover Seminaries, and at Halle and Heidelberg Universities, was ordained as an Episcopal minister and served several parishes. In 1881 he removed to Cambridge and delivered courses of lectures on theology at the Episcopal Divinity School.

⁸ See his article on Elisha Mulford in the *Atlantic Monthly*, lvii, 362.

⁹ *Republic of God*, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23 (first edition).

words have become familiar to us in the present century. But at the time, and in the fullness of the realization of their import in which they were written, they meant much. The discussion of the divine attributes also shows how far this emancipated thinker had risen above the conventional scholasticism of Protestant theology.

The impression which Mulford made upon American theology is comparable in some respects, though less in degree, to that of Maurice in England, by whom he was greatly influenced. One may readily detect the impact of Coleridge upon his thought and style. And yet there is nothing whatever of imitation, for upon every page one can discern freedom and originality of thought and expression.¹¹

Both Diman and Mulford wrote in the philosophic temper, and made contributions of value to theism, but neither presented what could be called an exhaustive treatment of the subject. This remained to be done by Professor Samuel Harris, whose sterling volume, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism* (1883), takes rank, as on the whole the leading American work on this subject. It is to be hoped that Yale University, mother of theologians, will sometime see that there is an adequate biography of this comprehensive and independent thinker, eminent among her great teachers, and regarded with admiration and gratitude by his students.¹²

The *Philosophical Basis of Theism* bears evidence of years of toil and reflection. It shows a thoroughly comprehensive and well-digested knowledge of the literature of philosophy, as well as a wide acquaintance with general literature. It is clear

¹¹ A biographical sketch of Dr. Mulford and his work, by Dr. T. T. Munger, may be found in *The Century Magazine*, xiii, 888.

¹² Samuel Harris came of a Maine family, and was born in East Machias, June 14, 1814. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1833 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1838. He was a Congregational pastor until 1855, when he became professor of Systematic Theology in Bangor Theological Seminary. In 1867 he was called to the presidency of Bowdoin College, and in 1871 became Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in the Yale Divinity School, continuing in this office until he was made professor emeritus in 1896. His death occurred in 1899. His portrait, together with those of Dr. C. C. Everett, H. B. Smith, and other Maine theologians, may be found in an article by W. I. Cole, 'Maine in Literature,' *New England Magazine*, August 1890.

as well as profound in thought, and is written with an ease and a strength of sustained interest which are too rare in such treatises.

Starting with the assumption that if theism is to stand the test of rational criticism it must be grounded on a broad philosophical basis, Professor Harris introduces his work with a careful study of the nature and reality of knowledge. He bases the reliability of knowledge upon its self-evidencing character. Although admitting that "in human intelligence there is a nucleus of knowledge surrounded by a zone of probability, opinion and doubt,"¹³ he regards this nucleus as having the character of genuine knowledge, and hence as wholly trustworthy. In common with practically all apologetic writers of that period, he directs his criticism of Agnosticism against Herbert Spencer, its arch-proponent, who has served innumerable philosophers and theologians as a *pièce de résistance* by means of whom a new sense of confidence in the reliability of spiritual knowledge was gained.

Harris divides the acts and processes of knowing into three classes: Intuition, Representation, and Reflection. Intuition is immediate and self-evident knowledge. It exists in two forms Perception, or Presentative Intuition, and Rational Intuition. The former includes sense-perception and self-consciousness. It gives us the objects or particular realities about which we think. Rational Intuition is the immediate and self-evident knowledge of universal truths or principles. Representation is knowledge of a reality originally presented in intuition and now *re-presented* in a mental image or concept. Reflection or Thought is the reflex action of the intellect attending to the reality known in presentative intuition, and apprehending, differentiating, and integrating it (thesis, antithesis, synthesis) under the regulation of the principles known in rational intuitions, and concluding in a judgment.

On the surface this looks not a little like the Intuitionism of the Scotch school, supplemented by Hegelianism. But closer scrutiny reveals the difference. In his *Intuitions of the Mind*, McCosh wrote:

¹³ *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, p. 22.

Our intuitive convictions are thus not ideas, notions, judgments, formed apart from objects, but are in effect discoveries of something in objects or relating to them. . . . Intuitively the mind contemplates an event happening in time, and then by a further process arrives at the notion of time. The mind has not intuitively an idea of cause or causation in the abstract, but discovering a given effect, it looks for a specific cause.¹⁴

This is evidently far removed from Harris's epistemology. Indeed we have here all the difference between Idealism and Realism.

In his treatment of Rational Intuition, by which comes the knowledge of God, Professor Harris seeks first of all to establish the validity of Reason. He meets the objection that Reason breaks down in self-contradictions by showing that Kant's antinomies, rightly understood, are not contradictions, but opposite poles of bi-polar truth.¹⁵ They became contradictions for Kant "because of his phenomenalism; his antithesis of phenomenon and noumenon is so complete that they are reciprocally exclusive and therefore contradictory."¹⁶

Rational Intuition reveals five unchanging forms, under which (since the Universe is grounded in Reason) all existences may be subsumed: the True, the contrary of which is the Absurd; the Right, the contrary of which is the Wrong; the Perfect, the contrary of which is the Imperfect; the Good, the contrary of which is the Unworthy or Evil; the Absolute (or Unconditioned), the contrary of which is the Finite (or Conditioned). The first four are the norms or standards of Reason. The fifth, as the Unconditioned and All-conditioning, stands by itself and is the basis of Theology.¹⁷

Rational Intuition does not give the knowledge of Being but only of its unchanging forms. Knowledge of Being is given by Presentative Intuition:

The intuition that Absolute Being must exist presupposes the knowledge of beings. Beings are already known to exist; thus Reason sees that a Being that is absolute and unconditioned must exist.¹⁸ . . . The idea of God has content in consciousness through five ultimate ideas of the reason, and not as Kant holds, through the Practical Reason alone.¹⁹

This account of the forms of Rational Intuition is manifestly

¹⁴ Part I, Book i, Section iv.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

open to criticism. The Good and the Perfect are too closely akin to admit of clear demarcation; the Perfect and the Absolute have too much in common to warrant separate classification. The present-day psychologist would doubtless belittle the whole attempt as having been rendered irrelevant by psychology. But the last word on that subject has not been spoken.

A discussion of Personality ensues upon the foregoing. Professor Harris defines personality thus: "A Person is a being conscious of self, subsisting in individuality and identity, and endowed with intuitive reason, rational sensibility and free-will."²⁰ The will is the person's power of self-determination. The determinations of the will are of two kinds, Choice and Volition. Man is *self-conditioning*. God alone is *self-existent* and independent, unconditioned and all-conditioning.

After an extended refutation of materialistic objections to the existence of personal beings (Chapter xvii), the author introduces a chapter on "The Two Systems of Nature and Personality," thus aligning himself with James Marsh and the Coleridgeans. His final emphasis is upon the existence of God as necessary to the trustworthiness of the human reason, the community of human knowledge, and the completeness of human thought, since it combines knowledge of all particulars in the unity of an all-comprehending system.²¹

The somewhat abstract character of this discussion was supplemented by Harris's companion volume, *The Self-Revelation of God* (1886), in which emphasis is laid upon the *experiential* nature of the knowledge of God. Revelation is here treated, not according to the older idea of an external *datum*, but as self-disclosure, such as Personality naturally makes of itself to others. In the case of the Supreme Person, revelation makes use of the structure and course of nature, the constitution and history of man, and redemption through Christ. The idea of God as Absolute Being is retained, but the predominant conception is that of Personal Spirit.

These two volumes, with a third, *God, the Creator and Lord of All* (1896), form an institute of Theism rarely equalled in

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 408.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 560, 561.

scope, balance, and sustained strength, and in the harmonizing of philosophical and theological thought.

In marked contrast with the voluminous Philosophical Theism of Professor Harris is the succinct and dramatic Cosmic Theism of John Fiske, who approached the subject from the angle of the scientist rather than that of the theologian or philosopher. The inclusion of John Fiske among the leading American theists may seem to be a case of a scientific Saul among the theological prophets. Whether his rôle were such or not, there can be little doubt that at a time when — owing to the materialistic interpretation of evolution — Christian theism in America was threatened with abandonment by a host of thoughtful minds, it was he more than any other writer, who turned back the tide.

An instructive experience, singularly characteristic of his time, fitted Mr. Fiske for this task. It may be traced with clearness in the pages of his biography.²² Branded as an infidel and skeptic by his minister, and virtually excommunicated as a boy from the orthodox church of Middletown, Conn., for having in his library volumes by Voltaire, Comte, Strauss, and John Stuart Mill; regarded for a time at Harvard College as a dangerous radical; his volume *Cosmic Evolution* greeted by the religious press as the work of an enemy of religion, Mr. Fiske knew what it meant to feel the full force of the *odium theologicum*. And yet he was neither embittered by it nor deflected from his course. Having become an admirer and apostle of Herbert Spencer in his student days, and continuing such after mature study and reflection, he became the leading exponent of the Spencerian philosophy in this country. Yet at one most vital point he found Spencer lacking, and so freely and frankly expressed his divergence as practically to repudiate the Spencerian Agnosticism. Spencer's religious attitude did not at all satisfy him. It is quite evident from several of Spencer's letters to Fiske published in Mr. Clark's volumes that Spencer had little or no interest in the religious aspects of evolution. In his acknowledgments of Fiske's writings and in his comments upon his utterances he habitually avoids the subject of religion;

²² John Fiske: *Life and Letters*. By John Spencer Clark. 2 vols. (1917).

but on one occasion, at the farewell dinner given him in New York on November 9, 1882, after Mr. Fiske's speech in response to the toast "The Doctrine of Evolution and Religion," he expressed himself as much pleased, and afterwards, wrote, "I wanted to say how successful and how important I thought was your presentation of the dual aspect, theological and ethical, of the Evolution doctrine."²³ Aside from this single indication of approval, Spencer apparently did not sympathize with Fiske's disposition to find religious significance in the evolution theory. Yet Fiske pursued his purpose. At a period when pretty much all of the theological, and most of the philosophical, world resounded with criticism and often with denunciation of Herbert Spencer and his agnosticism — a large part of it well directed — it was a signal achievement for Fiske, while supporting Spencer, to turn the findings of the evolution theory away from Agnosticism toward a theistic interpretation of the cosmos.

The chief deliverance of Mr. Fiske on the relation of evolution to religion is contained in two lectures given before the Concord School of Philosophy, *The Destiny of Man* (1884), and *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge* (1885). If the Concord School had done nothing more than to call forth these two lectures its existence would have been more than justified.

The theism outlined in "The Idea of God" is very different from the "Anthropomorphic Theism" which Fiske criticized in his *Cosmic Philosophy*, and against which, under the caption of "Finite Theology," Theodore Parker had hurled his thunderbolts. And yet Fiske advanced a very definite and positive teleology, which recognizes that "there is a reasonableness in the universe such as to indicate that the Infinite Power of which it is the multiform manifestation is psychical."²⁴ Remaining loyal to Spencer and averring that his characterization of God as "Unknowable" presents "only one aspect of Deity,"²⁵ Fiske managed to transform the dreaded shadow of evolution into an angel of light.

²³ *Op. cit.*, ii, 264.

²⁴ *The Idea of God*, Preface, p. xxix.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxx.

The argument for the existence of God which he advances is the design argument, reconstructed upon the lines of the evolutionary hypothesis:

The events of the universe are not the work of chance, neither are they the outcome of blind necessity. Practically there is a purpose in the world whereof it is our highest duty to learn the lesson, however well or ill we may fail in rendering a scientific account of it. When from the dawn of life we see all things working together toward the evolution of the highest spiritual attributes of Man, we know, however the words may stumble in which we try to say it, that God is in the deepest sense a Moral Being. The everlasting source of phenomena is none other than the infinite Power that makes for righteousness.²⁶

The presentation is impaired by a tone of assurance, not to say dogmatism, as of one speaking from a new seat of authority. Its somewhat dramatic form admits also some rather sweeping doctrinal generalizations, as Professor George Harris indicated in his review of the volume in the *Andover Review*.²⁷ Moreover, as the same critic also pointed out, its sole reliance upon teleology affords a quite inadequate basis for a sufficient theism. And yet, with all its assumptions and omissions, this skilful etching of "a well-marked dramatic tendency toward the *dénouement* of which everyone of the myriad little acts of life and death during the entire series of geologic aeons was assisting" ²⁸ constituted a unique and brilliant contribution to American thought. Without it our theistic literature would be not only far duller but far less advanced.

Mr. Fiske was not a profound thinker nor a man of marked religious sentiment, but he had an exceptionally sane, reverent, and forceful mind, and the fact that as the leading exponent of evolution in America he threw his judgment unhesitatingly on the side of theism carried a great deal of weight at a time when there was much mental confusion and disturbance. The *Idea of God* has gone through fifteen editions, and will not cease to be read for many years to come.

It is worthy of note that in his *Interpretation of Nature* (1893) Professor N. S. Shaler took an attitude toward evolution similar to that of Fiske. In a recent volume, *The Order of Nature*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 167.

²⁸ *The Idea of God*, p. 161.

²⁷ Vol. v, pp. 98-102.

(1917), Professor Lawrence J. Henderson also finds indications in nature of an evolutionary teleology, though with a far greater reserve than either Fiske or Shaler. He writes as follows:

Nothing more remains than to admit that the riddle surpasses us and to conclude that the contrast of mechanism with teleology is the very foundation of the order of nature, which must ever be regarded from two complementary points of view, as a vast assemblage of changing systems, and as an harmonious unity of changeless laws and qualities working together in the process of evolution.²⁹

We meet with a similar faith in the theistic implications of the developmental theory, but with a contrasted point of view and method, in the theist whose work we are next to consider, Charles Carroll Everett, the publication of whose theological lectures under the title *Theism and the Christian Faith* (1909) added a contribution of large and permanent value to the literature of Theism.³⁰

Doctor Everett's long and fruitful term of service as professor of Theology in the Harvard Divinity School (1869-1900) ran parallel with that of Samuel Harris at Yale.³¹ The two teachers were alike in their philosophic vision, wide knowledge of philosophy and literature, penetration of mind, and skill and charm of expression. They were alike also in their faith in intuition and in idealism. Yet they differed in their types of idealism. Harris was more the Kantian, Everett the Hegelian, although neither of them was in any sense a camp-follower, but each an independent thinker.

If anyone imagines that it is impossible to find a course of lectures in theology that is at once free, profound, and engaging, he may be disillusioned by looking into Professor Everett's course as reported and edited by the Reverend Edward Hale.

²⁹ Page 209.

³⁰ Dean W. W. Fenn of the Harvard Divinity Faculty has made a valuable summary and evaluation of Professor Everett's theology in *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. iii, 1-23.

³¹ Charles Carroll Everett was born in Brunswick, Me., June 19, 1829. He graduated from Bowdoin College, and studied at Berlin University, Germany. He was librarian of Bowdoin College Library for five years, and professor of Modern Languages, 1855-57. In 1869 he joined the faculty of Harvard Divinity School and from 1879 until his death in 1900 was Dean of the School.

Here is no dry-as-dust dogmatism, but life, movement, literature. Dr. Everett was accustomed to begin his course of lectures with the following definition of religion, to be found in his volume, *The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith* (1902): "Religion is a feeling toward a Supernatural Presence manifesting itself in Truth, Goodness and Beauty." This definition he traced through six phases of development, beginning with the simple "feeling" of primitive religion and culminating in "feeling toward a spiritual presence, manifesting itself in Truth, Goodness and Beauty, especially as illustrated in the life and teaching of Jesus and as experienced in every soul that is open to its influence."³² These three — Truth (or Unity), Goodness, and Beauty — in harmony with Plato, he presents as the three Ideas of Reason and the guides to the knowledge of God. Unity he finds existent in three forms: Unity in time, or Eternity; Unity in space, or Omnipresence; and Dynamic Unity, or Omnipotence. Thus we have, in place of Harris' *five* forms of Reason, Everett's *three* forms, with a somewhat differing content, although there is a fundamental agreement between them.

In making Truth coincident with Unity, Dr. Everett adopts a norm which in spite of its inclusiveness limits him. Unity is a fundamental quality of truth, but when made supreme it forces into the background that which has become the chief quest of contemporary philosophy, Reality. With so exclusive an emphasis upon Unity he naturally became enmeshed in the web of Hegelianism. It is true that he rejected an abstract unity as applied to God in favor of a "concrete unity in which the parts are not done away with but taken up into the whole";³³ and yet there is wanting a certain sense of personality which is not to be had when Unity is made the supreme category. The supremacy of the category of Unity tends to subordinate goodness, or moral truth, to theoretical truth. Along with this goes also the disposition to minimize evil which the Hegelian finds it so hard to avoid. It does not remedy the situation to make sin a factor in the "negative

³² See W. W. Fenn, *l. c.*, p. 20.

³³ *Theism and the Christian Faith*, p. 51.

movement" by which man is brought into conflict with his environment, as Everett does. This offers too negative an account of sin. It is not enough to define sin as "a state of inertia, the resting in some lower plane of life, where it is possible to rise to a higher."³⁴ It is that — and more.

Christianity is truly presented by Everett as the religion of reconciliation; yet Christianity is not so much concerned to reconcile good and evil as to reconcile the *Author* of good and the *sinner*. In other words, persons, rather than their products, are the true objects of reconciliation.

Especial emphasis is laid by Everett upon the idea of Beauty in theism, which he rightly contends, "has been too much left out of account by many theologians." Beauty is defined as "the manifestation of the glory of God";³⁵ which glory is "the self-manifestation of the divine nature regarded as the sum of all ideals." Such self-manifestation, he points out, necessarily excludes abstract unity and all forms of pantheism. "When the divine nature is conceived merely as abstract unity there can be, of course, no self-manifestation, no outpouring of the divine nature, no glory of God."³⁶ Man glorifies God by self-fulfilment, by means of which he fills his place in the universe. His description of the Divine Glory and Blessedness as consisting in Active Love³⁷ reminds the reader of Jonathan Edwards. Here, at least, the Berkeleian Calvinist and the Hegelian Unitarian are in striking harmony, both in spirit and in idea.

While the emphasis upon Divine Personality is less marked in the theism of Everett than in that of Harris, the ruling idea of God is the same, that of Spiritual Presence; and that means Personality. At the same time Divine Personality, in Everett's thought, is more or less shadowed by the conception of the Absolute. In elevating Idea above Reality, Hegelianism — even in such a modification of it as this — inevitably veils the realization of God behind the thought of God. If knowledge is confined to *ideas*, the idea of God, as Everett recognizes at the outset of his discussion, is necessarily a rep-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, chap. vii.

resentation, a *Vorstellung*, but if knowledge is *not* confined to ideas, if it is recognized as deeper and fuller than ideas, using them only as its instruments, then it is possible to have a knowledge of God that is far more than a *Vorstellung*. The knowledge by personal beings of one another can hardly be confined to representation. Whatever its ultimate nature, it would seem to be primarily presentative and only secondarily representative. In relating itself to other aspects of knowledge and other forms of reality, the knowledge of God is doubtless representative, indirect, mediate; but in itself is it not more direct and experiential than Professor Everett conceived it to be?

A number of other noteworthy books on theism by American authors have appeared, among which may be mentioned: *A Theodicy* (1859), by Albert Taylor Bledsoe, at that time Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Missouri; *The Theistic Conception of God* (1875), by B. F. Cocker, professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the University of Michigan; Borden P. Bowne's *Philosophy of Theism* (1888);³⁸ George P. Fisher's *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief* (1902); Josiah Royce's and George H. Howison's *The Conception of God* (1897);³⁹ William N. Clarke's *The Christian Doctrine of God* (1909); Richard Wilde Micou's *Basic Ideas in Religion* (1916); George A. Gordon's *Aspects of the Infinite Mystery* (1916).⁴⁰

A contribution to the literature of theism of marked value appeared in the year 1890 entitled *Belief in God* (Winkley Lectures at Andover Theological Seminary), by President Jacob Gould Schurman, at that time Sage professor of Philosophy at Cornell University. As a condensed and succinct statement of the grounds of theism it is in many respects unrivalled. President Schurman entitles his Theism *anthropocosmic*, since it is based on the double facts of the cosmos and human nature. From a study of the implications underlying the totality of

³⁸ See *The Personalist*, vol. i, No. 1, pp. 27 ff. Professor Borden P. Bowne's *Theism and Personalism* have been omitted from this discussion for the reason that I hope to discuss them at length in a volume upon *American Philosophy*.

³⁹ See *The Harvard Theological Review*, viii (1915), 219-237.

⁴⁰ See *Progressive Religious Life in America*, chap. iii.

phenomena he reaches the conclusion that "the ground or immanent cause of the universe must be an Infinite Spirit." This Spirit, interpreted through personality, is Love. It would be difficult to find a finer interpretation of Christianity as it is seen in the light of a rational philosophy than President Schurman presents in his closing chapter, "Belief in God as Father of Spirits," from which the following passage is taken:

Nothing requires us then to modify the conclusion already reached that love is the complete expression of the moral character of God. This also is the burden of the revelation through Christ as it is the one imperishable idea of every form of the Christian faith. I believe, therefore, that it is to the religion of Christ, as the absolute religion, that we shall find ourselves approximating, the deeper our soundings in the soul of man and of nature. But that religion is not to be confounded with any rigid and unprogressive creed that claims, in a formidable array of ancient articles, a monopoly of Christian truth. Not merely do we need, what Locke so earnestly demanded, a broadening of the bottom of religion; we need also a recognition of its constant progressiveness. For our knowledge of God must continue to grow with our knowledge of humanity and nature through which alone he reveals himself. The endless problem of religious thought will therefore be the re-setting of the religion of Christ in the framework of contemporary knowledge.⁴¹

In connection with this volume should be mentioned Professor Arthur Kenyon Rogers' ⁴² *The Religious Conception of God* (1907), in which the author defends "a view of the world which is frankly religious and theistic."⁴³ Professor Rogers deliberately adopts this view in preference to "the attitude of disinterested spectator" in which the philosopher "assumes a position outside the world's life and makes it simply a subject on which to exercise one's skill in dialectic."⁴⁴

It is impossible to glance over even so limited a sector of the history of Theism without realizing that it is in its very nature a progressive science. The idea of God, as well as the experience of God, develops and deepens and expands with the growing mind of man. Such has been the case in American thought.

⁴¹ *Belief in God*, pp. 260, 261.

⁴² At the time this volume was published, Doctor Rogers was professor of Philosophy in Butler College. Since 1918 he has been professor of Philosophy in Yale University.

⁴³ Page 1.

⁴⁴ Page 3.

It is true that many minds refuse with no little heat to accept this alternative; the idea of God for them is a fixed and unchangeable *datum*. It is easy to fall into the assumption that here knowledge has reached the limit of its possibilities. What more can be learned of God than the fundamental truths of his "nature and government" as disclosed in the laws of the mind itself, in nature, and in "revelation"? So it seemed to the scholasticism of the Middle Ages and again to the divines of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. But this proved a misconception. *Stability* in the idea of God does not mean fixity. There is no fixity of idea in such a realm as this, representing as it does the highest and widest of our concepts. It is, to be sure, difficult to see in what direction so ultimate an idea as that of God can farther expand. No age can see how the next can possibly advance further; but the advance comes, taking up into itself the best that has gone before, and carrying enlarged experience on into enlarging idea.

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LITERATURE ON CHURCH HISTORY

IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, AND THE
SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1914-1920

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I. EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen.
AAB	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
AGPh	Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AGW	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AMM	Abhandlungen aus Missionskunde und Missionsgeschichte.
BFTh	Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie.
BGPhM	Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters.
BGThPrPred	Beiträge zur Geschichte, Theorie und Praxis der Predigt.
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.
BphW	Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
DTh	Divus Thomas. Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie. Seit 1914.
FLDG	Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte.
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments.
FrThSt	Freiburger Theologische Studien.
GChrSchr	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft.
HPBl	Historisch-politische Blätter.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift.
KÅ	Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift.
Kath	Der Katholik.
KIT	Kleine Texte, hrsg. von H. Lietzmann.
LF	Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen.
LQ	Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen.
LZBl	Literarisches Zentralblatt.
NA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen.
NADG	Neues Archiv für die ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.
NAKG	Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis.
NGW	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NJkIA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
NkZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NThT	Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift.
OChr	Oriens Christianus.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin.
SAH	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Heidelberg.
SAW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Wien.
SchrGesStr	Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft zu Strassburg.
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums.
StMB	Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden.
StML	Stimmen aus Maria Laach. Seit 1915 durch StZ ersetzt.

StZ	Stimmen der Zeit.
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube.
ThLBl	Theologisches Literaturblatt.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR	Theologische Rundschau.
ThRev	Theological Revue.
ThSt	Theologische Studien.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
VKSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar München.
VRSG	Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft der Görres-Gesellschaft.
WSt	Wiener Studien.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZkTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.
ZMW	Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZwTh	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie (1914 eingegangen).

IN the preparation of the following survey two methods were possible. I might select for fuller notice certain of the most important productions and by means of them illustrate the progress in this branch of historical science during the period of the war, or I might endeavor to give as complete an account of the literature as possible, including notices of less significant but nevertheless useful publications. I decided upon the second course, partly because the mass of production seemed to me too large and varied to be satisfactorily exhibited by the more or less arbitrary selection of a few works, partly because it often happens that a seemingly unimportant note may be of worth to some scholar who happens to be pursuing research in that particular field—something which in the many years during which I edited the *Theologische Jahresbericht* I have often found true in my own experience and that of others. Unfortunately the *Jahresbericht*, which seemed to us indispensable, as well as the *Theologische Rundschau*, edited by Bousset, whose untimely death we mourn, have both succumbed to the unfavorable conditions of the times. All the more necessary does it seem to create at least a partial substitute for them, and I embraced the opportunity offered me by the editors of this

Review the more gladly because in my own country it will for the present be quite impossible to publish such a survey.¹

Manifestly in such an undertaking exhaustive completeness is not to be achieved or even aimed at. Having regard to the readers of this Review, it is clear that, of writings on the history of the church in individual countries, only those should find a place in our survey which may claim a general interest; to say nothing of the fact that it is beyond the power of a single reviewer, even with the friendly assistance of others, to record, much less to read, everything. But here again a distinction is necessary. The history of the ancient church is a peculiarly international field, and accordingly it is desirable here to include as far as possible everything which by its scientific character is adapted to advance learning, even if only in a single minor point. To achieve a certain degree of completeness for this period was in itself an attractive task, and one which I took upon me the more gladly because in fulfilling it I should be acquitting myself of a debt of honor. In the field of early church history German scholarship has from the beginning taken the lead. That it is not disposed to relinquish this leadership was proved during the war, and is still being shown in the distressful years that have followed. It was not without a feeling of pride that I took up the January number of this Review bearing witness to this, as it does, by the prominent place occupied in it by German scholarship; and I cannot think without bitterness of the political servitude and the internal derangement of my own country which, unless conditions soon change for the better, must lead to the decline of this prestige also.

In regard to the limits of the period covered by this survey, I would remark that the history of primitive Christianity does not fall within its scope. This subject can be advantageously treated only in connection with the literature on the New Testament, which Professor Windisch, of Leiden, has undertaken. Gnosticism also belongs in his field. The external ar-

¹ For a comprehensive survey of important publications on Antenicene church history, see Hans von Soden, *Die Erforschung der vornicänischen Kirchengeschichte seit 1914*, in ZKG 39, 1921, 140-166.

rangement of the *Jahresbericht*, which experience has proved practical, has been retained, with such changes as the contracted space dictate. The abbreviations in the bibliography are those employed in the *Jahresbericht* with the addition of a few new ones. As readers cannot be expected to understand these symbols without explanation, an alphabetical list of those which occur in this first article is prefixed. All these periodicals, reports of the sessions of Academies, and similar publications, are having a hard struggle for existence, and many of the symbols in our list will shortly disappear.

Of the literature which has appeared in the German language I have seen almost everything, for which I am in part indebted to the kind coöperation of the publishers. The prices noted are the original ones; beyond which considerable excess charges must be reckoned with. In ordering a book it would be advisable to refer to my report, or to use my services by ordering the book through me. Of the literature in other languages only the smallest part has come under my eyes. I am the more grateful for the generous assistance of scholars who in response to my request have aided me by furnishing notices of such publications — Professor Karl Völker, of Vienna, for Austria; Professor O. Ammundsen, of Copenhagen, and Professor Sigmund Mowinckel, of Christiania, for Denmark and Norway; the Rev. Bakhuizen van den Brink, Theol. Doct., of Nieuw Dortrecht, for Holland; Professor Hjalmar Holmqvist, of Lund, for Sweden. The names of these scholars are attached to the notes contributed by them.

I. GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

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 — *Bess, Bernhard*, Unsere religiösen Erzieher. 2. Aufl. 2 Bände. xi, 335; iii, 344 pp. Mit Bildnissen. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1917. Geb. M. 14.
 — *Bonwetsch, G. Nathanael*, Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte. 2. Aufl. iv, 219 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1919. M. 12; geb. M. 14. — *Brandrud, A.*, Den kristne kirkes historie. 410 pp. Kristiania, Aschehoug, 1915. — *Ehrengabe* deutscher Wissenschaft, dargeboten von katholischen Gelehrten, dem Prinzen *Johann Georg von Sachsen* zum 50. Geburtstag gewidmet. xx, 858 pp., mit 34 Bildern und 7 Tafeln. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. Geb. M. 250. — *Ehrhard, Albert*, Die Stellung der Slawen in der Geschichte des Christentums. 46 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1918. — *Festgabe, Alois Knöpfler*

zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres gewidmet. viii, 415 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 30. — *Festschrift*, Theologische, für *G. Nathanael Bonwetsch* zu seinem 70. Geburtstag. iii, 147 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1918. M. 5. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Dogmengeschichte. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 4). 5. Aufl. xii, 472 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1914. M. 7; geb. M. 8. — *Hergenröther, Josef*, Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. (Theologische Bibliothek). Neu bearbeitet von *Johann Peter Kirsch*. 5. Aufl. 3. und 4. Band. xiv, 864 pp. mit einer Karte; x, 798 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1915 und 1917. M. 13, 60 und M. 14; geb. M. 15, 40 und M. 16. — *Heussi, Karl*, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte. 4. Aufl. xv, 637 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 12; geb. M. 15. — *Heussi, Karl*, und *Hermann Mulert*, Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte. 66 Karten auf 12 Blättern. 2. Aufl. 18 pp. Text. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. kart. M. 7. — *Knöpfler, Alois*, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. 6. Aufl. xxv, 862 pp. mit einer Karte. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. M. 30; geb. M. 36. — *Lübeck, Konrad*, Georgien und die katholische Kirche (AMM 6). 119 pp. Aachen, Xaverius-Verlag, 1918. M. 8, 50. — *Müller, Karl*, Kirchengeschichte. (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften 4, 2). 2. Band. 2. Hälfte. xxiii, 788 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 18; geb. M. 21. — *Pijper, F.*, Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Christelijke Kunst. Mit 125 afbeeldingen. 191 pp. 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1918. fl. 7; geb. fl. 8, 50. — *Schubert, Hans von*, Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte. 6. Aufl. xi, 344 pp. Tübingen, Mohr, 1919. M. 6, 75; geb. M. 9. — *Seeberg, Reinhold*, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. (Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher). 2. und 3. durchweg neu ausgearbeitete Auflage. 4. Band in 2 Abteilungen. xii, xvi, 896 pp. Leipzig, Deichert, 1917 und 1920. M. 10, 50 und M. 54. — *Studien*, geschichtliche, *Albert Hauck* zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht. xii, 352 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 13, 50; geb. M. 15.

No new treatise covering the whole of church history has appeared within our period. The books whose titles are given above are for the most part good old acquaintances, and the circle of their readers will doubtless be enlarged through the new editions, which have in all cases been supplemented and brought up to the present stage of knowledge. *Müller* has continued his admirable work, which has been widely praised without as well as within the lands of German speech as a landmark in ecclesiastical historiography, from the Reformation to the end of the seventeenth century. At this point, unfortunately, he proposes to lay down his pen, so that a critical account of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — a thing that does not exist in any language — is likely long to remain a desideratum. The latest volume, like its predecessors, is distinguished by thoroughness of investigation and independence of judgment. Especially noteworthy is the skill with which the

author has apprehended and presented the connections, including those that belong to the general history of civilization. Besides this there are many new observations in particulars. Thus, to take a single example, Müller is the first adequately to appreciate the great importance for Holland, England, and Germany of Jacobus Acontius, a notable champion of religious toleration whose very name has hitherto not found a place in our church histories.² Protestantism and Catholicism are treated by Müller with equal thoroughness, and within the sphere of Protestantism he has given the same attention to the non-German churches as to the German. I cannot doubt that the sections on England and Scotland will be found instructive by English and American theologians and historians also.

Seeberg's work is bibliographically described as the second edition of the *Lehrbuch* issued in two volumes in 1895 and 1898. In reality it is an entirely new work, of which the first three volumes appeared in 1908-1913, and with the fourth volume noted above is now complete. The first part of this volume treats of the formation of Protestant doctrine, with a specially detailed estimate of Luther's teachings; the second part, of the further development of the doctrines of the Reformation and of the Counter-Reformation. For Catholicism he takes the Vatican Council (1870) as the terminus, for Lutheranism the Formula of Concord (1580), for Calvinism the Synod of Dordrecht (1619). The lines of development which connect this history with the present the author has traced in an instructive and readable concluding chapter on the several confessional types as the ultimate outcome of the evolution of dogma. Seeberg's work has an importance of its own by the side of Harnack's great *History of Dogma*, since for the recent period Harnack gives no more than a sketch. Seeberg has endeavored throughout to give due importance to the connection between the development of religious ideas and the general history of thought. The reader who is acquainted with

² On Acontius see now Gaston Sortais, S. J., *La philosophie moderne depuis Bacon jusqu'à Leibniz*, Tome I. Paris, 1920, pp. 41-53. See also Adolf Matthaei, *Jacob Acontius, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Gedanken über Toleranz*, NKZ 30, 1919, 290-308.

Troeltsch's 'Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen' (Tübingen, Mohr, 1912) — a brilliant work, but often provoking contradiction — will follow with special interest Seeberg's acute and well-considered discussion. It is gratifying also to find that this Lutheran scholar has so fine a sense for the distinctive features of the Calvinistic type of doctrine, which expresses itself in well-considered judgments. Seeberg could not make up his mind to assign to modern Protestantism a place in the history of dogma as a distinct type of religious life. At this point workers in the field will have to address themselves to the problem with greater energy than heretofore. — The History of Dogma by *Aulén* is praised by Professor Holmqvist as a remarkably clear outline. — Professor Ammundsen describes *Brandrud's* short general sketch as interestingly written, without bibliographical references, but with good illustrations.

Pijper's volume, according to information furnished by Dr. Bakhuizen van den Brink, deals with the whole development of Christian art, paying special attention to ancient art. The reader is made acquainted with the scientific investigation of the catacombs, and the well-known thesis of Strzygowski, 'Orient or Rome,' is discussed, the author endeavoring to steer a middle course. The merits of the book lie on the one hand in the clear, concise, and progressive presentation, on the other in the selection of material with an eye particularly to Dutch readers, and therefore giving especial though not one-sided attention to Dutch art.

Pursuant to a graceful custom, which has been kept up even in our present trying situation, when a noted scholar has completed an epoch in his life, grateful pupils, colleagues, and friends have in several cases contributed to a volume of scientific papers in his honor. Such collections are recorded above in the bibliography. So far as these essays are of general interest for church history they will be specially noted below in their proper place. For more detailed information about the contents the following notices may be consulted: for Bonwetsch, *Schuster*, ThLZ 44 (1919), 49; for Hauck, *Köhler*, ThLZ 41 (1916), 247; for Knöpfler, *Seppelt*, ThRev 17 (1918), 447.

II. THE ANCIENT CHURCH

1. GENERAL

Arnold, Carl Franklin, Die Geschichte der alten Kirche bis auf Karl den Grossen im Zusammenhang mit den Weltbegebenheiten kurz dargestellt. (Evangelisch-theologische Bibliothek, hrsgg. von Bernhard Bess). xvi, 284 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 7; geb. M. 8. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Aus der Friedens- und Kriegsarbeit. viii, 373 pp. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1916. M. 8; geb. M. 10. — *Heckel, Andreas*, Die Kirche von Aegypten. Ihre Anfänge, ihre Organisation und ihre Entwicklung bis zur Zeit des Nicaenums. (Diss.) vii, 85 pp. Strassburg, Heitz, 1918. M. 2. — *Schrijnen, Josef*, Uit het leven der oude kerk. vii, 300 pp. Bussum, Brand; Utrecht, Dekker en van der Vogt, 1919. fl. 7; geb. fl. 8, 50. — *Seeck, Otto*, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr. 2 Halbbände. 200 und xi, 487 pp. Stuttgart, Metzler, 1918 und 1919. M. 100; geb. M. 140 (no excess charge); Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt. 6. Band. 380 pp. Ebda., 1920. M. 32; geb. M. 42. — *Soden, Hans Freiherr von*, Die Entstehung der christlichen Kirche. Vom Urchristentum zum Katholizismus. 2 Bände. (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt. Nr. 690 und 691). 138 und 130 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919. Je M. 2, 80; geb. M. 3, 50. — *Troeltsch, Ernst*, Die alte Kirche. (Logos 6, 1916–17, 265–314).

‘A study in the philosophy of civilization,’ is the characterization *Troeltsch* gives of his article on the nature and significance of the ancient church. The fundamental idea is that Christianity as a supernatural institute of salvation found its classical form in the ancient, that is to say, the catholic church. The church is the last great creation of the ancient world, and as such the source of power for the beginning of a new civilization, the mother’s womb from which the Occidental world was born. It is therefore a great and weighty question how this church arose out of the whole situation of the ancient world, and wherein its significance in particulars consists. The church itself, under the influence of its belief in its immediate divine origin, has, consciously or unconsciously, refused to recognize the traces of its own origin, effaced them, or even destroyed them. *Troeltsch* traces the lines of development which are nevertheless recognizable in two directions. One points back to Hebraism, and makes the church appear as the conquering power of the prophets and of the gospel. The other leads to Hellenism, and shows us in the church the means by which the ancient world in a time of grave distress and in a complete intellectual overturning brought to fulfilment the most char-

acteristic tendencies of its life, and found the satisfaction of its needs. How this came about in particular cases, Troeltsch has developed in a stimulating way. He thus sums up the conclusions: 'Die Bedeutung der alten Kirche liegt in der Zusammenschweissung der christlich-religiösen Ideenwelt der Schöpfung, der Freiheit, der Gnade, der Wesensumkehr, der Gottes- und Bruderliebe, mit der antiken, wesentlich von den Hellenen geprägten Kultur der allgemeinbegrifflichen gesetzlichen Wissenschaft der rationalen Staats-, Gesellschafts- und Rechtsgestaltung, der humanitären Vernunftethik, der ästhetischen Immanenz der Form in Stoffe.' These are fundamental contrasts; yet, as Troeltsch believes, they have since become so closely bound together that they can not be separated from each other. No one who wishes to go to the bottom of these questions should neglect this study, which, it must be confessed, makes great demands upon the reader. An English translation would be all the more desirable since the essay appeared as an article in a periodical, and can not be obtained separately through the booksellers. (Compare also the note on Troeltsch's 'Augustin,' below, p. 327.) An article on 'de dogmenhistorische theorieën van Ernst Troeltsch' was published by J. Lindebloom in *ThT* 53 (1919), 181-223.

Arnold's book is intended primarily for students; but even professional scholars will be surprised to find how much valuable information has been compacted in small space yet in readable form by a skilful use of small print. The author has not only the advantage of his many years' experience as a teacher of church history (he is professor in Breslau), but possesses a happy gift of portraying the spirit of an age by means of skilfully selected details. The book has thus a personal note which distinguishes it from other manuals. — *Von Soden's* little volumes are made up of lectures which the author (now professor in Breslau) delivered as chaplain in war-university courses on the western front. His aim was to make one of the most important epochs in intellectual and political history intelligible to educated readers with no special knowledge of the subject. It is not an ordinary case of popularization, however; a high scientific level is maintained throughout, and the

many extracts from the sources interspersed through the volume add to its value. — It is to be regretted that conditions have permitted the printing of only the first chapter of *Heckel's* work. In it the author, bringing to the task an excellent methodical training, examines the lists of Alexandrian bishops, which he finds to be untrustworthy, and the tradition that Mark the Evangelist was the founder of the Alexandrian Church, which he rejects as legendary. To this he subjoins some observations on the planting and spread of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt. — *Iselin's* work is commended by H. Jordan ThLBl 39 (1918), 431 as a careful critical summary of results hitherto attained.

Seeck's 'Regesten' is one of those books which every one concerned with investigations in that field must find completely indispensable. The work is intended as a supplement to Mommson's famous edition of the Codex Theodosianus, and at the same time as a preliminary study for a Prosopographia of the period of the Christian empire which was among the projects of the Berlin Academy. The framework is furnished by those laws in the Theodosian Code (completed in 438) the dates of which can be determined. Seeck did not, however, confine himself by this limit, but brought his work down to 476. For this continuation the imperial laws offer no material for the western half of the empire and very little for the eastern. Consequently it was necessary to have recourse to the chronicles and the letters of the popes, which had already been employed in criticism of the data of the Theodosianus and as supplementary to it. In this way the Regesta eventually grew into chronological tables, from which, however, everything is excluded that can be dated only in a given year, but not to the month or at least the season.

After a long interval — the fifth volume appeared in 1913 — Seeck has brought to completion his 'Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt.' The concluding volume deals with the period from the death of Alaric to the end of the Western Roman Empire (476.)* The ecclesiastico-political movements

* More recently the notes to vol. 6 have appeared (1921), as pp. 385-504 of that volume. They contain the references to the sources and some chronological discussions. The author died June 29, 1921.

of the time receive ample attention. The author's extreme subjectivity, which characterizes the whole work, appears again in full force in this volume. The plainest proof of this is given by the chapter on Augustine. To use a familiar German expression for which we have no equally drastic English equivalent, Seeck "lässt an Augustin kein gutes Haar." To read him one would think that in Augustine one had to do not with a genius but with an intellectually and morally inferior individual. "He never had a single new idea of his own, except that of investing his autobiography with the form of a confession — an idea of extremely dubious value." "His City of God is as untrue and full of mental reservations as his Confessions." "The question may well be raised how a book so shallow and of so little originality (viz. *De Civitate Dei*!) could exert so profound an influence on the whole of the Middle Ages, and even to a later time." Such quotations might be multiplied. Fortunately not all parts of the work are so saturated with antipathy; and, at any rate, the gifted author everywhere captivates us by his original way of viewing the subject. Even by his unjust judgment upon Augustine the reader may review his own. We must remind ourselves that it is the same Seeck who wrote the 'Regesten,' noticed above, and therein gave conclusive proof that he has in the most thorough-going way made his own the materials contained in the sources. Since Gibbon's immortal work, it would be hard to name another which brings before us in such enthralling presentment persons and conditions in the decadent empire. (In ordering the volume it must be noted that the publisher, who for the earlier volumes was Siemenroth in Berlin, has been changed.)

In the collection of *Harnack's* addresses and essays the following studies bearing on the history of the ancient church are reprinted: pp. 21-44, *Die älteste Kircheninschrift u. die älteste Kirchenbibliothekinschrift*; pp. 45-65, *Griechische und christliche Frömmigkeit am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts* (*Hibbert Journal* 1911); 67-99, *Die Höhepunkte in Augustins Konfessionen* (*Die Christliche Welt* 1912, 1913); 101-140, *Der Geist der morgenländischen Kirche im Unterschied von der abend-*

ländischen (SAB 1913); 141-161, Die Askese (*infra*, p. 367); 163-172, Bericht über die Ausgabe der Griechischen Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte (SAB 1916). — *Schrijnen's* volume also is a collection of studies on life in early Christian society, in which a Catholic apologetic tendency is combined with a serious scientific aim. A few papers by other authors are included. The subjects treated are: The Cult of the Saints; The Tombs of Peter and Paul in Rome; Sunday in the Early Church; The Virgins' Wreath; Women and Propaganda; Cremation or Burial; The Civilizing Work of the Early Christians and the Edict of Milan; The Form of Christian Communities in Roman Law (W. Pompe); Antimilitarism and the Duties of the Citizen; Ecclesiastical Latin; Commodian (H. B. Vroom; *vide infra* Commodian); Slavery; Clement of Alexandria and Trade (O. van der Hagen; inadequate); Apologetics; Church Penance (*infra*, p. 364); The 'Salvatore Olandese.' This last essay has for its subject a fresco of Christ discovered in 1912 by two Hollanders in the crypt of St. Cecilia in Rome. The author dates it about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century; Christ is still represented without a halo. A good reproduction adorns the book. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

2. CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM

a. General Relations

Birt, Theodor, Charakterbilder Spätroms und die Entstehung des modernen Europa. vi, 492 pp. mit 6 Bildern. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. Geb. M. 16. — *Geffcken, Johannes*, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums. (Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek, hrsg. von Wilhelm Streitberg 6). viii, 347 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. M. 20; geb. M. 25; Stimmungen im untergehenden Altertum (NJkLA 28, 1920, 256-269); Kaiser Julianus. (Das Erbe der Alten, hrsg. von Otto Crusius u. A. 8). x, 174 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1914. M. 4; geb. M. 5. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Porphyrius "Gegen die Christen," 15 Bücher. Zeugnisse, Fragmente und Referate. (AAB 1916, 1). 115 p. 4°. Berlin, Reimer, 1916. M. 5, 50. — *Hartman, J. J.*, Honderd jaar geestelijk leven in den Romeinischen keizertijd. 555 pp. Leiden, van Doesburgh, 1918. fl. 17, 50. — *Kurfess, A.*, Platos Timaeus in Kaiser Konstantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung (ZNW 19, 1920, 72-81). — Lucianus, de dood van Peregrinus, van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien door *D. Plooij* en *J. C. Koopman*. (Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani adnotationibus instructi curantibus

P. J. Enk en D. Plooi). 114 pp. Utrecht, Ruys, 1915. fl. 2. — *Meyer, Eduard*, Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos (Hermes 52, 1917, 371-424). — *Plooi, D.*, De schoolstrijd onder Keizer Julianus. (Stemmen des tijds 4, 1914-15, 162-180). — *Schepelern, V.*, Montanismen og de phrygiske kultur. 212 pp. Kopenhagen, Pio, 1920.

The end of Greek and Roman paganism is a subject which has at all times particularly attracted historians of civilization and of the church, but it had not been comprehensively treated since the much-used books of Victor Schultze and Gaston Boissier. *Geffcken*, professor of classical philology in Rostock, has attacked the subject in a new way. It is his aim to seize upon the chief traits of the history of religions in the Roman empire from the second century of our era. He accordingly shows what cults are concerned, when and through what influence they declined and disappeared, the attitude of the several emperors toward the religions of their time, the significance of philosophy, and the reflex influence of the conflict upon belles lettres, in order in the end to throw light upon the outcome of these centuries of religious agitation, namely the gradual accommodation between pagans and Christians. All this is based on an amazing wealth of material gathered from literary sources, inscriptions, papyri, and coins, and worked up by the hand of a master. The inscriptions, in particular, have never before been used in such completeness. Besides all this, *Geffcken* has given his work a well-rounded, artistically satisfying form, both in his reproduction of the general milieu and in remarkably successful portraits of leading figures, such for instance, as those of the Neoplatonists Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus, and Synesius, and of the emperor Julian. To the last he has devoted a separate monograph, and in spite of all the Neoplatonic rubbish that surrounds that remarkable figure, esteems him as a genuinely religious nature. Indeed it is a great merit in *Geffcken* that he everywhere shows true comprehension for religious feeling and experience. Thus his book is of importance alike for theologians, philologists, historians, and philosophers; educated laymen also will derive great profit from it.—The 'Charakterköpfe,' also, by *Birt*, the Marburg philologist, is a brilliant — perhaps rather too brilliant

— book, and the pictures which he draws of the emperors after Septimius Severus, including their relations to Christianity, and the sharply defined characterization of men like Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, make charming reading. — *Hartman*, professor in Leiden, calls his book a *causerie*; it is, however, the fruit of scientific investigations. He treats of the nature of heathenism, of sophists and philosophers, of Lucian, Dio Chrysostom, and Seneca; and, in a special division of the work, of the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan about the Christians, which he shows to be genuine. A translation of the whole correspondence is appended. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

In the first part of the collection entitled 'Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani,' *Plooij* and *Koopman* have edited Lucian's 'De morte Peregrini.' As the basis of his text *Koopman*, after a critical examination, took the edition of *Levi* (Berlin 1892). The ample commentary is instructive and valuable. The introduction by *Plooij* offers a clear view of the religious conditions of Lucian's environment, particularly of the cynics, at whom the story of the death of Peregrinus was aimed. The facts from the life of Peregrinus which Lucian relates are regarded by *Plooij* as trustworthy; Lucian's exaggerations are pointed out. The relations that have been thought to exist between the treatise and the letters of Ignatius are considered by *Plooij* of small consequence. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — In an excellent study, the Berlin historian *Meyer* has shown that for the purposes of his philosophical romance *Philostratus* completely transformed the portrait that tradition gave of the wonder-worker Apollonius.

Since Lardner in his 'Credibility of the Gospel History' (1727-1757) brought together the fragments of Porphyry's book against the Christians, much has been written about the work, and many attempts have been made to reconstruct it; but no critical edition has been produced. *Harnack* has now collected all the material, which has been considerably enlarged since Lardner's time, and rearranged it. He has included also the extracts from a writing by an unknown author preserved in *Macarius Magnes*, believing that the results of his earlier investigations (TU 37, 4, 1911) warrant him in reclaiming them

for Porphyry. — *Kurfess* defends the genuineness of the 'Oratio ad sanctorum coetum,' attributed to the emperor Constantine, and decides for a Latin original. The objection that Plato's *Timaeus* is used in the speech, he thinks may be met by supposing that the emperor read Plato's work in Cicero's translation. To the reviewer this does not seem very plausible. — *Plooij* treats the conflict about schools under Julian as the first historical emergence of the fundamental question whether instruction without relation to religion is possible. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — *Schepelern* arrives at the conclusion that although Montanism was originally a Christian phenomenon, it later became an orgiastic religion resembling the Phrygian cults, which are described at large. [Professor Ammundsen.]

b. *The Emperors and Christianity*

Bihlmeyer, Karl, Die "syrischen" Kaiser zu Rom und das Christentum. vii, 166 pp. Rottenburg, Baader, 1916. M. 3; Das angebliche Toleranzedikt Konstantins von 312 (ThQ 96, 1914, 65-100, 198-224). — *Eberlein, Helmut*, Kaiser Mark Aurel und die Christen. (Diss.) 54 pp. Breslau, Genossenschaftsdruckerei, 1914. — *Faulhaber, Ludwig*, Die Libelli in der Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius (ZkTh 43, 1919, 439-468, 617-656). — *Linderholm, Emanuel*, Om den kristna statskyrkans uppkomst. 135 pp. Uppsala, Almqvist och Wicksell, 1914. — *Linsenhayer, Anton*, Eine christliche Kaiserin in der vorkonstantinischen Zeit (HPBl 164, 1919, 721-729). — *Schroers, Heinrich*, Die Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen in der Ueberlieferung (ZkTh 40, 1916, 238-257); Zur Kreuzerscheinung Konstantins des Grossen (ebda. 485-523). — *Sild, Olaf*, Das altchristliche Martyrium in Berücksichtigung der rechtlichen Grundlage der Christenverfolgung. 184 pp. Dorpat, Bergmann; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. M. 35.

In view of the many investigations that, since the appearance of Mommsen's famous 'Religionsfrevl nach römischem Recht' (1890), have been devoted to the problem of the legal grounds of the persecution of Christians, a new one may seem almost superfluous. The reviewer would find it difficult, moreover, to attempt to state in a few words, precisely wherein the new element in *Sild's* investigation lies. He must be content therefore to say that scholars will find in the book an independent discussion of the sources and literature, and one which prompts to reflection, although its effect is unfortunately impaired by a clumsy treatment. What the author says about

the difference in legal doctrine and practice between the East and the West in regard to the persecution and condemnation of Christians deserves attention, though it will hardly bear the test of closer examination. Sild draws too large conclusions from the fact that the cult of the emperors had not as much importance in the West as in the East. — The church historian *Bihlmeyer*, of Tübingen, has addressed himself with great thoroughness to the critical problems presented by the literary tradition about the so-called Syrian emperors, Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. Bihlmeyer's contribution to the criticism of the 'Scriptores Historiae Augustae,' particularly of Lampridius's Vita of Severus Alexander is worthy of notice. The statements of Lampridius about the religious attitude of the emperor which have so often been utilized will hereafter have to be employed with greater caution. In the articles in the *Quartalschrift* named above Bihlmeyer rightly denies that any special imperial edict in favor of the Christians is to be interposed between the Edict of Galerius in 311 and the Constitution of Milan in 313. — *Eberlein* gives, among other things, a well-considered criticism of the legend of the miraculous downpour of rain (Thundering Legion). Unfortunately his work is printed only in part. — *Faulhaber* comes to the conclusion that the Egyptian Libelli should be regarded as certificates that the holder had offered sacrifice, issued, not to Christians who had not really done so, but to pagans and to so-called Sacrificati. This, he thinks, is proved by the edict of Decius ordering sacrifice universally, and by the contents of the Libelli, especially that of Aurelia Ammonus, priestess of Petesuchos. Only in this way can it be explained that the issuing of Libelli for the whole empire was directed from one central office. — The empress whom *Linsenmayer* claims as a Christian because she is represented on bronze coins as 'Augusta in Pace' is the wife of Gallienus, Cornelia Salonina. — *Linderholm*, professor in Upsala, gives a good survey of the development of the relations between church and state down to 380. [Professor Holmqvist.]

c. *Martyrology and Hagiography*

THE MEANING OF "MARTYR." *Corssen, Peter*, Begriff und Wesen des Märtyrers in der alten Kirche. (NJkIA 34, 1915, 481-501); *Μάρτυς* und *Ψευδομάρτυς*. (ebd. 35, 1916, 424-426); Ueber Bildung und Bedeutung der Komposition *Ψευδοπροφήτης, ψευδομάρτυς, ψευδομάρτυρ*. (Sokrates 6, 1918, 106-114). — *Doergens, Heinrich*, Zur Geschichte des Begriffs "Martyr." (Kath. 98, 1, 1918, 205-208). — *Holl, Karl*, Die Vorstellung vom Märtyrer und die Märtyrerakte in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. (NJkIA 33, 1914, 521-556); Der ursprüngliche Sinn des Namens Märtyrer. (ebd. 35, 1916, 253-259); *Ψευδομάρτυς*. (Hermes 52, 1917, 301-307). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Zur Frage nach der Entstehung des Märtyrertitels (ZNW 17, 1916, 264-269). — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Bemerkungen zur Martyrienliteratur. i. Die Bezeichnung Märtyrer. (NGW 1916, 417-467). — *Schlatter, Adolf*, Der Märtyrer in den Anfängen der Kirche. (BFTh 19, 3). 86 p. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1915. M. 3, 50. — *Strathmann, Hermann*, Der Märtyrer. (ThLBl 37, 1916, 337-343. 353-357).

ACTS AND LEGENDS OF MARTYRS. *Allgeier, Artur*, Untersuchungen zur syrischen Ueberlieferung der Siebenschläferlegende (OChr 4, 1914, 279-297; 5, 1915, 10-59; 263-270); Die älteste Gestalt der Siebenschläferlegende herausgegeben und übersetzt (ebd. 6, 1916, 1-43; 7, 1918, 33-87). — *Anrich, Gustav*, Hagios Nikolaos. Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen. 2 Bände. xvi, 464 und xii, 592 pp. Leipzig, Teubner 1913 und 1917. M. 18 und M. 24. — *Bruck, W.*, Das Martyrium der heiligen Apollonia und seine Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst. xi, 152 pp. Mit 100 Abbildungen. Berlin, Meuser, 1915. M. 12. — *Corssen, Peter*, Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cyprian (ZNW 15, 1914, 221-233, 285-316; 16, 1915, 54-92, 198-230; 17, 1916, 189-206; 18, 1917/18, 118-139, 202-223); Der Schauplatz der Passion des römischen Bischofs Sixtus II (ebd. 16, 1915, 147-166). — *Gerhardt, Rudolf*, Ueber die Akten des hl. Anthimus und des hl. Sebastianus. (Diss.) 50 pp. Jena, Frommann, 1916. — *Grohmann, Adolf*, Studien zu den Cyprianusgebeten (WZKM 30, 1917, 121-150). — *Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Die Passio der heiligen "Vier Gekrönten" in Rom (HJG 38, 1917, 72-97); Die Märtyrer der Katakombe "ad duos lauros." (Ehrengabe für Johann Georg von Sachsen [vide supra, p. 287] 577-602). — *Miedema, R.*, Menas en Men (ThT 48, 1914, 390-404); De wonderverhalen van den heiligen Menas (NAKG 14, 1918, 210-245). — *Niedermeyer, Hans*, Ueber antike Protokoll-Literatur. (Diss.) 91 pp. Göttingen, Dieterich, 1918. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Bemerkungen zur Martyrienliteratur. ii. Nachträge zu den Akten Cyprians (NGW 1919, 177-219); Cyprian der Magier (ebd. 1917, 38-79). — *Reuning, Wilhelm*, Zur Erklärung des Polykarp-Martyriums. (Diss. Giessen.) ix, 49 pp. Darmstadt, Winter, 1917. M. 1, 60. — *Scapian, Moses*, Das Martyrium des heiligen Pionius aus dem Altarmenischen uebersetzt (WZKM 28, 1914, 376-405). — *Waal, Anton de, Sant' Eutichio Martire* (RQ 29, 1915, 271-275).

THE MEANING OF "MARTYR." A vigorous and instructive debate has been evoked by *Holl's* study of the idea of a martyr and of the Acts of the Martyrs in their historical development.

In 2 Cor. 15, 14, Holl finds warrant for maintaining that even in the primitive Christian communities the apostles were given the title *μάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ* because they were regarded as witnesses of the resurrection of Christ. This title was transferred to those who witnessed in their blood, because they too were deemed to be witnesses of the resurrection. For according to the conviction of the early Christians, to one who thus bore testimony by his death, it was granted, in the decisive hour, to behold with the eyes of the spirit the world above and the Lord whom he confessed. Here the connection with the late Jewish conception of the necessary death of the prophet, who was looked upon as *μάρτυς τοῦ θεοῦ*, is unmistakable (on this point see also *Schlatter*). Thus the Spiritism of the primitive age of Christianity was kept peculiarly alive in the conception of martyrs; and herein the conditions were given for the representation of the conflict of the martyrs in a special form of literature, the Acts of the Martyrs. Holl traces the development of this kind of literature in its two types, narration in a letter (Martyrdom of Polycarp, the Martyrs of Lyons, etc.), and the records of trials (*Acta Justini*, *Acta Scilitanorum*, etc.), as they were influenced by Jewish prototypes (2 Maccabees), and by Hellenistic models. Convincing as his treatment of the Acts of the Martyrs is, the attempt to explain the origin of the title martyr has not commanded corresponding assent. *Reitzenstein*, in particular, has pointed out that it is not the confession alone that makes the martyr, but above all the joyful endurance of the suffering (the *ἔργῳ μαρτυρεῖν*), and that the conception of martyrdom is thus intimately connected with Hellenistic ideas of the *ἀσκητής*, *ἀθλήτης*, *ἀγωνιστής*, *στρατιώτης*. This connection does not, however, sufficiently explain the Christian use of the title, in which the testimony rendered in blood is the essential factor. For this the idea that the martyrs are *μαθηταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου* is decisive. Our best source of information on these points is the Martyrdom of Polycarp, the inestimable value of which as a classical document has again been made most evident by this new discussion. (See also p. 369 f. *Reitzenstein*.) The attention of scholars should be earnestly directed to the whole controversy.

ACTS AND LEGENDS. *Niedermeyer* shows the relations between the Acts of Christian martyrs and the pagan judicial Acta. He finds that for the evaluation of an account a definite date is of decisive importance. Acts that bear no date, or only a general indication of time, were composed independently of the protocols and the official records, and therefore fall into the category of stories with a purpose. Among the most important of the martyr stories from the point of view of the history of literature are the letters from the Church in Smyrna about the death of Polycarp, and the different versions of the Martyrdom of Cyprian, which are ultimately derived from a judicial document. The former has been subjected by *Reuning* to a fresh investigation, in which he has laid special emphasis on a comprehensive interpretation of Polycarp's prayer. *Reitzenstein* had already put the accounts of the death of Cyprian in a new light in 1913 by a very important paper in the SAH. He has continued his work and made a complete investigation of the different versions of the Martyrdom in the mediaeval Passionals and in the manuscripts of Cyprian, to the list of which he was able to add. Contrary to Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri (*Studi Romani*, *Rivista di archeologia e storia* 2 (1914), 189), he believes that the version found in the manuscripts can be proved to be the original. The articles by *Corssen*, which include in their purview not only the Acts of Cyprian but also the Life of Cyprian by Pontius, would be more effective if they were less diffuse and circumstantial. (See also below, p. 332, 'Cyprian.') — It is known that in the legend the bishop of Carthage is confused with another Cyprian, the scene of whose martyrdom is laid in Antioch. The legend of this other Cyprian has been newly examined by *Reitzenstein*, and its antecedents clearly traced through successive stages back to the classical form given it by the empress Eudokia about 450. Beside the legend, prayers by this Cyprian have been handed down, the original Greek text of which was first published by Scherman in OChr 1903. *Grohmann* now publishes a German translation of them from the Ethiopic.

Allgeier, on the basis of a minute investigation of the tradition, shows that the oldest form of the Syriac version of the

legend about the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus is preserved in the Cod. Sachau 321 and Cod. Par. 235. This version he publishes, with a German translation. — The Acts of Anthimus and of Sebastian are the production of an unknown writer of legends of the fifth century, whose narrative bears the marks of free invention, but is nevertheless instructive from the point of view of the history of civilization. *Gerhard* has treated these Acts comprehensively. — *Kirsch* thinks that the solution of the much discussed problem of the Quatuor Coronati is to be found in the following way: 1. The four saints buried on the Via Labicana are not Pannonian, but Roman martyrs. 2. These alone constitute the group which was venerated under the designation Quatuor Coronati. 3. The author of the legend, without any historical warrant, shifted the scene of their martyrdom to Pannonia, and endeavors in his last chapter to explain how they came to be venerated at Rome. 4. Thus the Pannonian martyrs also are legendary. — *Srapian* has published from the Cod. Mechitar. 224, anno 1428, an Armenian text of the Acts of Pionius (Greek in von Gebhardt, *Märtyrerakten*, 2d ed., p. 56) with a German translation. At this point attention may be called to the fact that Karl Schmidt in his edition of what he calls the *Epistula Apostolorum* (see the article by Professor Lake in the *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1921, p. 15 ff.) has again emphatically controverted the theory of Corssen and Schwartz that the martyr Pionius was the author of the *Life of Polycarp*. He sees in that *Life* the work of a Syrian author of the second half of the fourth century. — Saint Eutychius, on whom *de Waal* writes, seems not to have suffered martyrdom under Diocletian, as has been generally supposed, but under Decius.

The most conspicuous achievement in the field of hagiography that we have to record is beyond doubt the work of *Anrich* (at the time of his writing professor in Strassburg; now teaching in Bonn). The first volume contains the *Vitae*, *Encomia*, and *Thaumata*, the literary precipitate of the legends of Nicolaus, edited on the basis of a very extensive manuscript apparatus. The second volume, besides the prolegomena to these texts, contains wide-ranging and profound investigations

concerning the two heroes of the legend, the Archimandrite Nicolaus of Sion and the Bishop Nicolaus of Myra, whose two figures are so strangely intertwined. A chapter is added on the geography and topography of Lycia. Of the rich contents of these researches a brief notice like this can give no adequate idea, but any scholar who works through these two volumes thoroughly will be well rewarded for his pains, for they touch upon subjects of the most varied interest — the history of tradition and of language, archaeology and folk-lore, the history of literature and of civilization. Anrich writes in a captivating style, disposing his matter admirably, and masters the details so that even the most ungrateful material becomes attractive in his hands. — Continuing his work on St. Menas, begun in his Leiden dissertation on Menas (Rotterdam 1913), *Miedema* discusses the connection between the Menas cult in Egypt and the worship of Men in Phrygia. He agrees with Delehaye in believing that the Menas cult originated in Egypt, whence it soon found its way into Phrygia. The legend then transformed the originally Egyptian saint into a native Phrygian one. In Miedema's opinion a relation between the names of the two saints is possible, but not between their respective characters and history. To illustrate the character of the Menas legend Miedema has edited ten miracle stories from the Codd. Vatic. gr. 866 and 797. The legends bear distinctively Egyptian earmarks. Like Horus, Menas appears as the avenger of wrong, and on horseback. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

d. *The Spread of Christianity*

Allgeier, Artur, Untersuchungen zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte in Persien (Kath. 98, 2, 1918, 224–241, 289–300). — *Aufhäuser, Johann Baptist*, Armeniens Missionierung bis zur Gründung der armenischen Nationalkirche (ZMW 8, 1918, 73–87). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. 3. Aufl. 2 Bände. xvi, 483 und 387 pp. Mit elf Karten. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 15; geb. M. 21. — *Lübeck, Konrad*, Die altpersische Missionskirche (AMM 15). 131 pp. und 1 Karte. Aachen, Xaveriusverlag, 1919. M. 8, 50. — *Sachau, Eduard*, Die Chronik von Arbela (AAB 1915, 6). 94 pp. Berlin, Reimer, 1915. M. 4; Vom Christentum in der Persis (SAB 1916, xxxix, 958–980). Ebd. 1916. M. 1; Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien (AAB 1919, 1). 80 pp. Ebd. 1919. M. 6.

Harnack has dedicated the third edition of his famous book to Thomas Cuming Hall, 'investigator and teacher, the energetic and faithful friend of Germany.' The new edition is a considerable enlargement upon the second, so that even those who possess the latter should find the new edition indispensable. — The works of *Sachau* and *Allgeier* have substantially enriched our knowledge of the spread of the earliest Christianity in Asia. The chronicle of Arbela in Adiabene (Assyria) has proved in this respect a valuable source, since for the earliest period the Greek and Latin writers fail us. The traditions which connect the mission with the names Bartholemew and Thomas have gained in importance. It may with much confidence be assumed that the mission in Persis was already in existence in the first century. *Sachau's* latest work is occupied with the expansion of the Nestorian Church, and gives valuable information about the several dioceses and their bishoprics. — *Lübeck* has given a readable sketch of the development of Christianity in the region under the Catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon down to the time when the countries comprised in it were conquered by the Arabs.

3. LIFE, WRITINGS, AND DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS

a. Editions, in Alphabetical Order

AMBROSIUS. Sancti Ambrosii Opera. Pars vi: Explanatio Psalmorum XII. Rec. *M. Petschenig* (CSEL 64). v, 474 pp. Wien, Tempsky; Leipzig, Freytag, 1920. M. 70. APOLOGISTS. *Goodspeed, Edgar J.*, Die ältesten Apologeten. xi, 380 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915. M. 7, 40. — *Krüger, Gustav*, Die Apologien Justins des Märtyrers. 4. Aufl. (SQ 1). xii, 91 pp. Tübingen, Mohr 1914. M. 1,25; geb. M. 1,75. ATHANASIUS. *Fromen, Heinz*, Athanasii historia acephala. (Diss. Jena.) 86 pp. Münster i. W., Bredt, 1914. AUGUSTINUS. Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones inediti ex Codice Guelferbyitano 4096. Detexit adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit *Germanus Morin*, O. S. B. Accedunt SS Optati Milevitani, Quodvultdei Carthaginensis Episcoporum aliorumque ex Augustini schola Tractatus novem. xxxiii, 250 pp. Kempten und München, Kösel, 1917. M. 15; geb. M. 21. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA. *Zoepfl, Friedrich*, Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis enarratio. (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, hrsg. von M. Meinertz 4, 1). viii, 48* und 148 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1914. M. 5, 70. EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS. Epiphanius, hrsg. von *Karl Holl*. 1. Band. Ancoratus und Panarion Haereses 1-33. (GChrSchr 25). x, 464 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 18; geb. M. 20, 50. GELASIUS OF CYZIKUS. G. 's Kirchengeschichte,

hrsg. von *Gerhard Loeschcke*(†) durch *Margarete Heinemann*. (GChr Schr 28). xl, 263 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. M. 13, 50; geb. M. 18, 50. HIERONYMUS. Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae. Pars iii: Epp. cxxi-cliv. Rec. *Isidorus Hilberg*. (CSEL 56). viii, 368 pp. Wien, Tempsky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1918. M. 24. HILARIUS OF POITIERS. S. Hilarii Episcopi Pictaviensis Opera. Pars iv: Tractatus Mysteriorum. Collectanea Antiariana Parisina (Fragmenta historica) cum appendice (Liber I ad Constantium). Liber ad Constantium imperatorem (Liber II ad Constantium). Hymni. Fragmenta minora. Spuria. Rec. *Alfredus Feder S. J.* (CSEL 65). lxxxviii, 324 pp. Wien, Tempsky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1916. M. 16, 80. HIPPLYTUS. Hippolytus Werke. 3. Band. Refutatio omnium haereseum. Hrsg. von *Paul Wendland*. (GChrSchr. 26). xxiv, 337 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 16; geb. M. 19. IRENAEUS. S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Demonstratio Apostolicae Praedicationis (*Εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος*). Ex armeno vertit, prolegomenis illustravit, notis locupletavit *Simon Weber*. viii, 124 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 3. METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS. Methodius. Hrsg. von *G. Nathanael Bonwetsch*. (GChrSchr 27). xlii, 578 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. M. 27; geb. M. 20. ORIGENES. Origenes Werke. 6. Band. Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Uebersetzung. Hrsg. von *W. A. Baehrens*. Erster Teil. Die Homilien zu Genesis, Exodus und Leviticus. (GChrSchr. 29). xxxvii, 507 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920. M. 31, 25; geb. M. 47, 25. Dazu vgl. *Baehrens, W. A.*, Ueberlieferung und Textgeschichte der lateinisch erhaltenen Origenes-Homilien zum Alten Testament. (TU 42, 1). viii, 257 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916. M. 9, 50. PSEUDO-CYPRIAN. See Tertullian. TERTULLIAN. *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum 10: Tertulliani de paenitentia et de pudicitia recensio nova. iv, 104 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1915. M. 2. — Ibid. 11: Tertulliani de baptismo et Ps.-Cypriani de rebaptismate recensio nova. iv, 77 pp. Ebenda 1916. M. 12; Emendationes et adnotationes ad Tertulliani apologeticum. 58 pp. Ebenda 1919. M. 1, 20. VICTORINUS OF PETTAU. Victorini Episcopi Petavionensis Opera ex recensione *Johannis Haussleiter*. (CSEL 49). lxxiv, 194 pp. Wien, Tempsky, und Leipzig, Freytag, 1916. M. 15.

The large number of exemplary editions of the works of the Church Fathers which have appeared during and since the war is surely one of the best proofs of the eagerness and the success with which work has been carried on in Germany in these sorry times. In particular, the two collections which we are accustomed to call the Vienna Corpus (CSEL) and the Berlin Corpus (GChrSchr) have been enlarged by a number of valuable volumes, and still others are in prospect. We shall take up the new editions severally in alphabetical order. Of *Petschenig's* edition of AMBROSE's Explanation of the Psalms the second volume has appeared. This contains the Enarrationes in duodecim psalmos Davidicos (Psalms 1, 35-40, 43, 45,

47, 48, 61), which were composed at different times. The not very numerous extant manuscripts fall into two classes, whose archetypes must have been written in the early Middle Ages. The codices of the first class (Paris 1733, Ambros. (without numeral), Trecensis 933), from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have the greater value; nevertheless the leading manuscripts of the second class (Paris 1739, 14465, 16398) from the twelfth century are not to be neglected. Codex Parisinus 1733 must be regarded as the true basis for the text.

The lack of a handy complete edition of the Greek APOLOGISTS of the second century has long been felt, and this has now been supplied by *Goodspeed*. Theophilus of Antioch alone is not included, an omission which is explicable in view of the great length of his Apology, but is nevertheless to be regretted. The Syriac Aristides is presented in Latin translation; the Greek fragments are introduced essentially in the form in which the text was given by Geffcken (*Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig 1907). For Justin the Codex Parisinus was freshly collated, and the text of the manuscript is followed substantially throughout, with rather excessive conservatism. In the case of Tatian, too, a more conservative attitude toward the manuscript tradition is maintained than was held by Schwartz in his edition (TU 4, 1888). For Athenagoras a photograph of the Arethas manuscript was employed for comparison with the editions of Schwartz (TU 4, 1891) and Geffcken (see above). The brief introductions to the several authors are written in German. That Goodspeed's edition does not satisfy all requirements may be seen, for example, from *Geffcken's* review of it in ThLZ 40 (1915), 368.

Fromen has brought out a critical edition with historical explanations of the 'Historia Acephala,' which is an important source for the history of ATHANASIUS. As the time of its composition he leaves the years from 373 to 380 open, whereas hitherto a date between 385-402 had been accepted. — A very welcome discovery has been made by the indefatigable *Morin*. In a Wolfenbüttel manuscript which must have been written in the ninth century in northern Germany, he discovered ninety-five (ninety-six) sermons, of which seventy-two can with

certainly be ascribed to AUGUSTINE, including thirty-three which were previously wholly or in part unknown. Morin has published these thirty-three, and in an appendix nine other sermons, one of which he attributes to Optatus of Mileve, and four to Quodvultdeus of Carthage, to whom Augustine addressed his treatise 'De haeresibus.' The authors of the four others he is unable to determine. The gem of the collection is sermon 32, 'de ordinatione episcopi,' an extensive discourse which Augustine must have delivered soon after the *Collatio cum Donatistis* (411). The edition has been prepared with that circumspection and painstaking care which were to be expected of Morin. The external form of the volume may fairly be called magnificent, worthy of the great subject, and a treasure for book-lovers. A full descriptive account of the several pieces in the collection is given by *Carl Weyman*, HJG 39 (1919), 117. The Greek text of the commentary on the Catholic Epistles by DIDYMUS THE BLIND is lost, but for insignificant fragments. The Latin translation made by Epiphanius Scholasticus, the friend of Cassiodorus, has to serve instead of the original. Of this translation *Zöpfl* has furnished a critical edition, taking as a basis, in addition to the manuscripts (Codd. Laonensis, Berolinensis, Vaticanus), the editio princeps of 1531, which rests on a manuscript basis of its own.

A critical edition of the writings of EPIPHANIUS of Salamis has long been felt to be one of the pressing needs of learned studies in this field, since neither Dindorf nor Oehler based his text on adequate material, or was able to form any clear idea of the manuscript tradition. This lack has now been supplied by *Holl*. As far back as 1910, in a monograph in TU 36, 2, he had laid the foundations for a text which should satisfy all demands, and such a text he has given us in this edition. Unfortunately, though some of the manuscripts are old (Cod. Vatic. goes back without intermediary to a complete edition of the works current in the ninth century), the tradition is poor and the editor is constrained at every turn to resort to conjectural emendation. In this procedure, *Holl* has shown the skill of a master, and has presented us a text that is not arbitrarily made to conform to preconceived notions, but rests on sober

and trustworthy considerations. A special merit of this edition is the apparatus, which gives not only references to all Biblical passages and parallels in other authors — of itself an extremely laborious undertaking — but also abundant references to the modern literature and many observations of the editor's own. The whole work has deservedly been called a philological masterpiece of the first order. — A substantial addition to the tools of our learned craft is an edition of GELASIUS's Church History, prepared by the church historian *Loeschke*, who unfortunately died prematurely before the war. We had previously no complete edition of this history, but had to depend for books 1 and 2 on Balforeus's edition of 1599 and reprints of it, and for book 3 on Ceriani's edition of 1861. The chief manuscripts have proved to be Codd. Ambros. 534, Vatic. 1142, and Hierosol. 111. None of these manuscripts is free from errors, and it was the task of the editor to construct by means of internal criticism a text which should correspond as closely as possible to the original text of Gelasius. In this, by general consent, *Loeschke* was most successful, and, unless new material should come to light, his edition may be considered definitive.

Of *Hilberg's* edition of the Letters of HIERONYMUS the third and last volume of the text has appeared. The Prolegomena and the Indices are still lacking; the manuscript of these, according to the editor, has been handed in to the Academy, but has not yet been printed. — *Feder* had already done preliminary work for his edition of the minor writings of Hilarius in his 'Studien zu Hilarius von Poitiers,' which appeared in 1910-12 in SAW, and for the Prolegomena he could refer to this work. The chief interest of scholars has always centred upon the polemic-historical writings, and above all upon the so-called 'Fragmenta Historica.' These *Feder* proposes to designate as 'Collectanea (not collectio) antiariana Parisina,' in view of the contents and tradition an appropriate title. Happily he has resisted the temptation to arrange the fragments according to his personal surmises. If *Feder* is right, Hilarius wrote in 356, before he went into exile, a work probably bearing the title 'Opus historicum adversus Valentem et Ursacium.'

To this the first two fragments belong, and probably the third also, as well as the 'Liber I ad Constantium.' After Seleucia and Rimini, probably in December 359, he wrote in Constantinople a book with the same title, and as 'Liber II ad Constantium,' to which fragments 4-10 may be ascribed. The remaining fragments may belong to a Liber III, which appeared shortly before the death of Hilarius (367), or shortly after. The excerpts from the work which led to the present collection were made before 400. In the new edition of the 'Tractatus Mysteriorum' many errors of the first editor, Gamurrini (1887), were to be corrected as a result of a fresh examination of the Codex Aretinus. Besides the undoubtedly genuine hymns, those that are doubtful, or are certainly not genuine, are also printed. Feder offers supplementary notes in WSt 41 (1920), 51-60, 167-181.

The edition of HIPPOLYTUS' Refutatio by *Wendland* is designed to replace the Göttingen edition by Duncker and Schneidewin, the Oxford edition by Miller, and the Paris edition by Cruice. This end has been fully attained. The volume cannot, however, be taken up without sadness, for *Wendland* died (1915) before he had finished his work. A short preface signed by Hermann Diels and Karl Holl informs us that *Wendland* was able to supervise the printing of the text and to prepare the indexes; but for the introduction, which was to deal not only with the history of the tradition, but also with material problems, he had got no farther than a sketch, only a few parts of which had been completely worked out. No attempt has been made to make a whole out of these fragments. The only addition to the author's work is the account of the manuscripts and printed editions which was indispensable to the use of the edition. One excellence of this new edition, as in *Holl's* Epiphanius, are the references beneath the text to cognate ideas in other authors. The short tractate of IRENAEUS, preserved only in Armenian, in proof of the Apostolic preaching, was translated into German by *Weber* 1912 for the Bibliothek der Kirchengväter. He has now published it in Latin translation. Scholars who know Armenian, like *Allgeier* (ThRev 17, 1918, 253) and *Preuschen* (ThLZ 44, 1919, 77), praise the trust-

worthiness of this literal translation. In 1891 *Bonwetsch* made accessible to us a collection of the works of *METHODIUS* by a Slavic translator which greatly enlarged our knowledge of the literary production of the Bishop of Olympus. The new edition of his work unites in one volume all the remains of the writings of Methodius. A comparison of the introduction to this volume with the Prolegomena of the edition of 1891 shows at every point that in the meantime Bonwetsch has not been idle. In view of the completeness with which all the attainable material has been brought together and the thoroughly reliable way in which it has been edited, the edition may well be called definitive. The volume begins with the *συμπόσιον ἢ περὶ ἀγγελίας* (this is the correct title), for which Bonwetsch has had recourse to the direct tradition. This is followed by the other writings in the order in which they stand in the Slavic Corpus; and at the end are the fragments from *περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν* (Photius), *κατὰ Πορφυρίου*, on Job, *περὶ μαρτύρων* (Theodoret, *Parallela Sacra*), and some fragments which it is impossible to assign definitely. The copious index of passages makes it easy to get an insight into Methodius's sources and cognate material.

After the death of Franz Skutsch the edition of the Homilies of *ORIGEN* on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua and Judges, was entrusted to *Baehrens*, who in a study published in 1916 in the TU made clear the relations of the textual tradition. For the history of the text it is an important fact that, as Baehrens proved, the five archetypes of the Latin translation preserved to us come from Cassiodorus's library at Vivarium, whither they had probably been brought from the library of Eugippius in Castellum Lucullanum. There was no other tradition of the text than that which goes back to these archetypes. The Greek fragments are included in the edition under a rule. It adds to the usefulness of the edition that the parallels found in Philo, Procopius, Ambrose, and especially in Origen himself, are included in the literary apparatus. An important aid is thus provided for the study of the Alexandrian interpretation of the Bible, since the large dependence of Origen upon Philo is nowhere more demonstrable than in these Homilies.

Rauschen's editions of two writings of TERTULLIAN, designed primarily for seminary exercises, have text-critical value. Professor Esser in Bonn, one of the most competent judges in the matter, has described the edition of 'De paenitentia' and 'De pudicitia' as the best that we possess. In many places the correct reading has been restored, and the text is accompanied by an ample apparatus of valuable notes. On these editions cf. further, *G. Esser*, ThRev 15 (1916), 65 and 16 (1917), 256. — On the edition of the Pseudo-Cyprianic treatise 'De rebaptismate' cf. the additional critical remarks of *Ernst*, ZkTh 41 (1917), 726-741. For the work of VICTORINUS no editor better qualified by his knowledge of the subject could well have been found than *Haussleiter*. He has been occupied with preparations for a complete edition of this author for the Vienna Corpus ever since 1886. He discovered that in Cod. Ottobon. 3288A the commentary on the Apocalypse by the bishop of Pettau was preserved in its original form, not disfigured by Jerome's alterations, as in all the printed editions. His efforts to discover other witnesses to this text were unfortunately vain, and the Ottobonianus remains our only source. Facing the genuine Victorinus laboriously recovered from that manuscript, Haussleiter sets on the opposite page the bastard text of Jerome, distinguishing in it the later recensions by means of an easily intelligible system of brackets. Those who use the edition can hardly realize what a wearisome task this presentation of the text involved. The edition of the Commentary is preceded by the little treatise 'De fabrica mundi.' For the text of this also there is only a single witness, the Lambeth Codex 414.

b. *Translations*

Bibliothek der Kirchenväter. Eine Auswahl patristischer Werke in deutscher Uebersetzung. Hrsg. von *Otto Bardenhewer*, *Theodor Schermann*, *Carl Weyman*. 16-37. Band. Kempten und München, Kösel, 1914-1920. Jeder Band geb. M. 4, 50. — *Herling*, *Georg Graf von*, Die Bekenntnisse des hl. Augustinus. 8.-15. Aufl. x, 520 pp. Titelbild. 12°. Freiburg, Herder, 1915-'19. M. 5; geb. M. 6, 50. — *Oud-Christelijke Schrijvers in Nederlandsche Vertaling*, onder Redactie van *H. U. Meyboom*. Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff. Each Part, fl. 1, 50. — *Zettersteen K. V.*, En anonym biografi öfver biskop Rabbula i Edessa. Öfversatt från syriska (KÅ 16, 1915,

1-40). — *Zurhellen-Pfleiderer, Else*, Augustins Bekenntnisse. Gekürzt und verdeutscht. 3. Auflage. 159 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920. M. 2, 50.

That important undertaking, the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, the first volumes of which appeared in 1911, has made active progress. The translations are in all cases careful; the introductions, frequently dealing minutely with the subject, are based upon thorough acquaintance with the literature, and may be consulted with advantage even for questions of critical detail. The following volumes have appeared in the period covered by our survey; volumes 17, 21, and 32, Ambrosius, Hexameron, Lukaskommentar, Ethische Schriften (*J. E. Niederhuber*); 35, Apostolische Väter (*F. Zeiler*); 31, Athanasius, Reden gegen die Arianer (*A. Stegmann*); Leben des Antonius, and (as an appendix) Leben des Pachomius (*H. Mertel*); 16, 18, 19, 28, 29, 30, Augustinus, Gottesstaat (*A. Schröder*); Johannes-evangelium (*Th. Specht*); Bekenntnisse und Briefe (*A. Hoffmann*); 20, Regel Benedicts von Nursia (*P. Bihlmeyer*); 23, 25, 26, 27, Chrysostomus, Matthäuskommentar (*J. Chr. Bauer*); Vom Priestertum (*A. Naegle*); 34, Cyprian, Traktate (*J. Baer*); 37, Ephraem der Syrer, Reden und Hymnen (*O. Bardenhewer*); 33, Justin, Dialog und Mahnrede (*Ph. Häuser*); 36, Laktantius (*A. Hartl*); 20, Sulpicius Severus, Martin-schriften (*P. Bihlmeyer*); 24, Tertullian II (*G. Esser*); 20, Vincenz von Lerinum (*G. Rauschen*); 22, Persische Märtyrer (*O. Braun*).

In the collection of Dutch translations under the direction of *Meyboom*, the works of Clement of Alexandria (11 parts), and Irenaeus's "Weerleging en Afwending der valschelijk dusgenaamde Wetenschap" (4 parts), both by *Meyboom*, have appeared. In the judgment of *Bakuizen van den Brink* the translation is faithful and readable.

c. General Works on Patristics

Bardenhewer, Otto, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. 2. Band. Vom Ende des 2. bis zum Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts. 2. Aufl. xiv, 729 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1914. M. 14; geb. M. 16, 60. — *Marx, J.*, Abriss der Patrologie. 2. Aufl. viii, 201 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1919. M. 6. — *Schanz*,

Martin, Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. 4. Teil: 1. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des vierten Jahrhunderts. 2. Aufl. xv, 572 pp. München, Beck, 1914. M. 17, 50; geb. M. 33, 50. 2. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts. Von *Martin Schanz* (†), *Carl Hosius* und *Gustav Krüger*. xviii, 681 pp. Ebenda 1920. M. 50; geb. M. 72.

The second edition of the second volume of *Bardenhewer's* Litteraturgeschichte everywhere gives evidence of careful revision. The formal side of the writings, in particular, receives more attention, and the sections on the development of the literature in general have been thoroughly recast. It may be remarked here that the concluding volume of Bardenhewer's work has not yet appeared. On the other hand, Schanz's *Römische Literaturgeschichte* has been brought to completion, and in it a work of reference created such as in similar comprehensiveness we have hitherto not had either in German or in any other language. After Schanz's death (1914) the task was taken up by *Hosius*, professor of classical philology in Würzburg, and *Krüger*, professor of theology in Giessen, the author of the present review. While in the part of the work which he undertook Hosius was able to avail himself of preparatory studies by Schanz which were already well advanced, Krüger had to break up completely new ground, so that the part published by him is entirely his own production. Especial pains have been taken in the characterization of the several writers, the assembling of the whole scientific apparatus, and the exposition of the learned controversies. That the author was enabled to include the most recent literature in English he owes to the active assistance of Professor Alexander Souter in Cambridge. Inasmuch as in a work of this kind the personality of the author is completely in the background, it will not be regarded as an exhibition of vanity on his part if in this place he says of his own work that it will be an indispensable aid for all learned studies in the history of the literature of its period.³

³ It may be noted here that the third part of Schanz, comprising the literature from Minucius Felix to Lactantius, which is at present out of print, will be ready in a new edition, completely revised by the present writer, in the autumn of this year.

d. *Monographs and Critical Investigations*

1. GENERAL.

Baur L., Untersuchungen über die Vergöttlichungslehre in der Theologie der griechischen Väter (ThQ 98, 1916, 467-491; 99, 1917/18, 225-252; 100, 1919, 426-444). — *Bousset, Wilhelm*, Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 6). viii, 319. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915. M. 12. — *Emmel, Karl*, Das Fortleben der antiken Lehren von der Beseelung bei den Kirchenvätern. (Diss. Giessen.) v, 107. Born-Leipzig, Noske.* — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Der "Eros" in der alten christlichen Literatur. (SAB 1918, v, 81-94). Berlin, Reimer, 1918. M. 1. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche. (TU 42, 3, 97-143). Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918. M. 13, 20 [see below, under Origen]. — *Holzhey, Karl*, Das Bild der Erde bei den Kirchenvätern. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 177-187). — *Huebner, Margarete*, Untersuchungen über das Naturrecht in der althristlichen Literatur, besonders des Abendlandes, vom Ausgang des 2. Jahrhunderts bis Augustin. (Diss.) xi, 82. Bonn, Georgi, 1918. — *Kneller, C. A.*, Joh. 19, 26-27 bei den Kirchenvätern (ZNTh 40, 1916, 597-612). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Die Bibeldichtung zu Ausgang des Altertums. Mit einem Anhang: Des Avitus von Vienna Sang vom Paradiese, zweites Buch, im Versmass der Urschrift übertragen. 32. Giessen, Töpelmann, 1919. M. 2. — *Loofs, Friedrich*, Die Christologie der Macedonianer. (Studien für Hauck [supra p. 288], 64-76); Zwei macedonianische Dialoge. (SAB 1914, xix, 526-551). Berlin, Reimer, 1914. M. 1. — *Meyer, Hans*, Geschichte der Lehre von den Keimkräften von der Stoa bis zum Ausgang der Patristik. v, 227. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Nelz, R.*, Die theologischen Schulen der morgenländischen Kirchen während der sieben ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte in ihrer Bedeutung für die Ausbildung des Klerus. iii, 112. Bonn, Hanstein, 1916. M. 1, 50. — *Schilling, Otto*, Naturrecht und Staat nach der Lehre der alten Kirche. (VRSG 24). viii, 247. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 7. — *Schulte, Eleazar, O. F. M.*, Die Entwicklung der Lehre vom menschlichen Wissen Christi. (FLDG 12, 2). vii, 147. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Walther, Georg*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Vaterunser-Exegese. (TU 40, 3). viii, 123. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. M. 4, 50. — *Zahn, Theodor*, Ein Kompendium der biblischen Prophetie aus der afrikanischen Kirche um 305-325. (Studien Hauck [supra p. 288], 52-63). — *Haase, Felix*, Christlich-orientalische Handschriftenkataloge (Ehrengabe [vide supra, p. 287], 1-15).

GENERAL. The variety of subjects brought together under this heading is so great that the reviewer is constrained to abandon any attempt at a methodical grouping and to fall back upon the simple alphabetical order. *Bauer's* investigation has to do with the question how the doctrine of *θέωσις* was

* *Haase*, see below (after Zahn).

worked out into the comprehensive, speculative, fundamental concept of the dogmatics of the church, so that it was not only made fruitful for the theoretical comprehension of Christian doctrine, but the moral demands and the content of the sacramental liturgy were linked with it, and thus the glow of Christian mysticism could be kindled from it and inflamed to the highest pitch. Bauer endeavors to make this clear to begin with in the writers of the first two centuries. The articles are not yet concluded: Irenaeus and Clement are still lacking.

The theme which *Bousset* treats is equally significant for philologists and theologians. In a study of the writings of Philo and Clement of Alexandria he came upon the problem how to separate what was original in the two men from what they had received through a school tradition. Investigation showed that Philo built up his exegetical work on an older foundation which is almost everywhere clearly recognizable. The sources which he thus used stand much nearer to the spirit of Hellenistic culture and philosophy than Philo himself. This material came to him from Jewish exegetical schools in Alexandria. Similarly Clement in large parts of the *Excerpts* and *Eclogae*, apparently also in his *Hypotyposes*, drew largely from an extraneous source characterized by peculiar ideas which Bousset designates as in the broader sense of the word gnostic; as the author he is inclined to conjecture Pantænus. In the *Paedagogus* and the first five books of the *Stromata*, Clement is more independent; while the last books show that after he left Alexandria he fell back upon his earlier note books. Thus, as we find the products of Jewish exegetical schools behind the literary productions of Philo, so there emerges behind those of Clement the teaching of the Alexandrian catechetical school. Bousset thinks that the work of very different minds is clearly to be discerned in it — antiquarians whose learning commanded Clement's highest respect, and theosophists who influenced his whole thinking, although his personal interest did not fasten upon their perilous fantastic notions, but was throughout dominated by the great idea of a reconciliation of Christianity with Greek philosophy. With the key to the understanding of Philo and Clement which he has thus discovered, Bousset endeavors in

the last section of his book to explain certain phenomena in the Christian literature of the second century, and to gain an insight into the nature of the ancient Christian διδάσκαλος and his method of instruction. The work in all its parts is unusually stimulating, and will keep its charm under critical examination and in further development. That its author was taken away by an untimely death (March 8, 1920) ⁴ is a great loss to international scholarship. — *Emmel's* dissertation deserves attention both on account of its subject and of the copious material which the author has collected. Emmel shows how the controversy about the origin of animal life in the foetus which had its rise in Greek philosophy was taken up in Christianity, and particularly the form and application which the Church Fathers gave it in order to create a theoretical substructure capable of supporting the doctrine of original sin.

Haase gives a catalogue of the Syrian, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Abyssinian manuscripts of Christian origin. They offer much material for the textual criticism of the Old and New Testaments, for liturgics, hagiography, the history of theological literature, and heresiology. Through the numerous Apocrypha preserved in them, they are also an inexhaustible mine for folk-lore and for piety.

Harnack aims to exhibit the development through which the conception of ἔρως as sensual love, which was current among Christian writers (Ignat. ad Rom. 7), was transformed into the lofty appraisal of it that is found in Origen and still more in Dionysius the Areopagite: θεϊότερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης. In the essay named in the second place above Harnack gives a wide extension to the idea of 'regeneration'; almost everything is discussed which stands in any relation to the Christian 'renewal' (ἀνακαίνωσις). The article is not merely a collection of materials, but makes contributions to methodology. Harnack is especially concerned to oppose the — in his opinion erroneous — method of the historians of religion, who think that they throw light upon the Christian religion by ascertaining where particular opinions, ideas, and images origi-

⁴ Not March 15, as was stated by mistake in the January number of this Review, p. 20, n. 4.

nated, and what their original meaning was. — *Holzhey* has treated an interesting theme with much intelligence. He shows how the doctrine of the spherical form of the earth, which was entirely familiar to Greek science, fell into discredit with the Fathers in their endeavour to rescue the Mosaic account of creation and especially the biblical idea of the στερέωμα, and eventually so completely disappeared that it had to be rediscovered at the end of the Middle Ages. — *Kneller* shows that the Fathers interpreted the words of Jesus on the cross to his mother and to John as a testimony to the birth from the Virgin, and to give support to the custom of *virgines subintroductae*. — *Krüger's* endeavour is chiefly to rescue the poetical paraphrase of Scripture by Avitus of Vienna from unmerited oblivion. He sees in it the climax of epic composition in the ancient church, reminiscences of which may be discovered even in Milton. — *Loofs* supplements his numerous studies on the history of the Arian controversy by an admirable account of the homoiousian party, for the purpose of illumining the Christology of the Macedonians, who developed out of that party under homoian influence. In the second of the articles noted he has investigated the Macedonian quotations in Didymus of Alexandria, and with them collected the other scanty identifiable remains of Macedonian writings. — Especially to be commended is the admirable study of *Meyer* on the doctrine of the λόγοι σπερματικοί in Greek philosophy and in the Church Fathers. It would be hard to find an equally thorough philosophical investigation which deals with difficult problems in so readable and suggestive a fashion. Augustine is treated with especial thoroughness.

Schilling's work is occasioned by Troeltsch's celebrated book on the 'Soziallehren.' He is not convinced that Troeltsch is right in his contention that the state and its institutions appeared to the early ecclesiastical writers to be founded upon 'Urfreveln der Menschheit,' and that consequently these writers contradict their own fundamental principle when—since they could not simply reject the state—they took up and adapted the Stoic *lex naturae* to give a justification to it. In *Schilling's* view no such contradiction exists. The truth is rather that in

regarding the state from the point of view of the law of nature, these writers were not adapting kindred, but non-Christian, forces and ideas; the law of nature is, on the contrary, from the very beginning rooted and grounded in the Christian idea as it is set forth by Jesus (Matt. 7, 12) and by Paul. To prove this Schilling treats first the classical doctrine of the law of nature in the Stoa and the doctrine of the Roman jurists, and then traces the development of the Christian doctrine of the law of nature in the individual Fathers down to Isidore of Seville. The addition and expansion which Schilling thus gives to Troeltsch's presentation of the subject are recognized by Troeltsch himself as valuable (ThLZ 40, 1915, 435, and HZ 115, 1915, 99-109). — In her re-examination of the problem Fräulein *Huebner* comes to the result that the Fathers, notwithstanding all their agreement with the Stoic theory, did not find their way to a recognition of the state. The historical state appeared to them, in spite of everything, as a result of sin; and they gave hardly any serious consideration to the possibility of a development of it on the good side. According to Fräulein *Huebner* therefore Troeltsch's conclusion must be regarded as substantially established.

The problem of the human knowledge of Christ ever afresh occupies theologians, most recently Bishop Gore (*The Problem of the Consciousness of our Lord in his Mortal Life*, 1917). *Schulte* gives a résumé of the history of the problem from Origen to the Carolingian theologians. Unfortunately, as F. Diekamp in ThRev 14 (1915), 101-108 has shown by numerous examples, the work lacks critical acumen and accuracy in details. — *Walther* investigates the question whether the Greek patristic interpreters of the Lord's Prayer were influenced by one another in their understanding of it, and if so to what extent. The Fathers examined are Clement, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus Confessor, and Peter of Laodicea. It turns out that they hardly ever get beyond the questions which Origen had raised. Cyril of Jerusalem influenced especially Gregory and Chrysostom. The influence of the latter Fathers is not easy to estimate, but that of Chrysostom is evident in Peter. Val-

uable critical additions are made by G. Wohlenberg, ThLBl 35 (1915), 82-86. — *Zahn* reprints, after a fresh collation, the 'Prophetiae ex omnibus libris,' which Amelli published in the *Miscellanea Casinense* from Cod. Sangall. 133. *Zahn* considers it to be a handbook of biblical prophecy for readers who had small acquaintance with the Scriptures. Compare the review by G. Wohlenberg, ThLBl 36 (1916), 65-69.

2. THE FATHERS, IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

AMBROSIASTER. *Mundle, Wilhelm*, Die Exegese der paulinischen Briefe im Kommentar des Ambrosiaster. Diss. 95 pp. Marburg i. H., Chr. Schaaf. AMBROSIOUS. *Friedrich, Philipp*, St. Ambrosius von Mailand über die Jungfräulichkeit Marias vor der Geburt (Kath. 97, 2, 1917, 145-169, 232-258, 319-333; St. Ambrosius von Mailand über die Jungfraugeburt Marias. (Festgabe Knöpfler [supra p. 287], 89-109). AMMONIUS. *Zahn, Theodor*, Der Exeget Ambrosius (ZKG 38, 1920, 1-22, 311-336). APOLOGISTS. *Andres, Friedrich*, Die Engellehre der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts und ihr Verhältnis zur griechisch-römischen Dämonologie (FLDG 12, 3). xx, 183 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 6. — *Casel, Odo*, Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Justinus Martyr (Kath. 94, 1, 1914, 153-176, 243-263, 331-355, 414-436). — *Friedrich, Philipp*, Studien zum Lehrbegriff des frühchristlichen Apologeten Marcianus Aristides (ZkTh 43, 1919, 31-77). — *Haase, Felix*, Der Adressat der Aristides-Apologie (ThQ 99, 1918, 422-429). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Rhodon und Apelles. (Studien Hauck [see p. 288], 39-51). — *Preuschen, Erwin*, Die Echtheit von Justins Dialog gegen Trypho (ZNW 19, 1920, 102-127). — *Waibel, Alfons*, Die natürliche Gotteserkenntnis in der apologetischen Litteratur des zweiten Jahrhunderts. (Diss. Breslau.) ii, 140 pp. Kempten, Kösel, 1916. ASTERIUS OF AMASEA. *Bretz, Adolf*, Studien und Texte zu Asterios von A. (TU 40, 1). iv, 124 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914. M. 4. ATHANASIUS. *Hugger, V.*, Des heiligen Athanasius Traktat in Matth. 11, 27 (ZkTh 42, 1918, 437-441). — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des heiligen Antonius. (SAH 1914, 8). [See below under Monasticism, p. 369 f.] — *Stegmann, Anton*, Die pseudoathanasianische ivte Rede gegen die Arianer als κατὰ Ἀπειρανῶν λόγος ein Apollinarisgut. 214 pp. Rottenburg, Baader, 1917. M. 4, 50; Zur Datierung der drei Reden des hl. Athanasius gegen die Arianer (ThQ 96, 1914, 423-450; cp. 98, 1916, 227-231). — *Weigl, Eduard*, Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius. (FLDG 12, 4). viii, 190 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914. M. 16. — *Woldendorp, Johannes Jacob*, De incarnatione. Een Geschrift van Athanasius. (Diss.) 72 pp. Groningen, Wolters, 1919. AUGUSTINUS. *Aalders, W. J.*, A. 's bekeering (Stemmen des tijds 4, 1915, 1-28. 123-155). — *Adam, Karl*, Die kirchliche Sündenvergebung nach dem heiligen Augustinus. (FLDG 14, 1). x, 167 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917. M. 6. — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Die Lobpreisungen des Augustinus (NkZ 26, 1915, 419-438, 487-512). — *Draeseke, Johannes*, Zur Frage nach den Quellen von Augustins Kenntnis der griechischen Philosophie (ThStKr 89, 1916, 541-562). — *Eisenhofer, Lud-*

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tatis. Zu Cyprians Schrift an Donatus (ZkTh 40, 1916, 676-703). — *Mengis, Karl*, Ein donatistisches Corpus cyprianischer Briefe. (Diss.) 76 pp. Freiburg, Caritasdruckerei, 1916. [cp. ZNW 15, 1914, 274-279]. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Ein donatistisches Corpus cyprianischer Schriften. (NGW 1914, 85-92). — Cp. Pseudo-Cyprian. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. *Tyszkiewicz, Stanislaus*, Der heil. Petrus in den Schriften Cyrills von Alexandria (ZkTh 43, 1919, 543-550). DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA. *Müller, H. F.*, Dionysios, Proklos, Plotinos. (BGPhM 20, 3. 4). viii, 111 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1918. M. 5. — *Sassen, Ferdinand*, Pseudo-D. de Areopagiet (De Beiaard 1919, 221-243). — *Weertz, H.*, Die Gotteslehre des sogenannten Dionys. Areop. (ThGl 6, 1914, 812-831). EPIPHANUS OF SALAMIS. *Gressmann, Hugo*, Jüdisch-aramaisches bei Epiphanius (ZNW 16, 1915, 193-197). — *Holl, Karl*, Die Schriften des Epiphanius gegen die Bilderverehrung. (SAB 1916, xxv, 828-868). Berlin, Reimer, 1916. M. 2. — *Wilpert, Josef*, Drei unbekannte bilderfeindliche Schriften des Epiphanius. (HJG 38, 1917, 532-535). EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. *Doergens, Heinrich*, Eusebius von Caesarea als Darsteller der phoenizischen Religion. (FLDG 12, 5). xi, 103 pp. Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1915. M. 3, 60. — *Zahn, Theodor*, Eusebius von Casarea ein geborener Sklave (NkZ 29, 1918, 59-82). FIRMICUS MATERNUS. *Groll, F.*, De syntaxi Firmiciana. (Diss.) viii, 66 pp. Breslau, Favorke, 1918. — *Morin, Germain*, Ein zweites christliches Werk des Firmicus Maternus: "Die Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii." (HJG 37, 1916, 229-266). — *Reatz, August*, Das theologische System der Consultationes Zacchaei et Apollonii mit Berücksichtigung ihrer angeblichen Beziehung zu Firmicus Maternus. (FrThSt 25). viii, 153 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1920. M. 12 (cp. Kath. 98, 2, 1918, 300-314). GELASIUS OF CAESAREA. *Glas, Anton*, Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisarea die Vorlage für die beiden letzten Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufins. (Byzantinisches Archiv 6). vi, 90 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1914. M. 4, 80. HIERONYMUS. *Kunst, Carl*, De S. Hieronymi studiis Ciceronianis. (Dissertationes philologicae Vindobonenses 12, 109-219). 111 pp. Wien und Leipzig, Deuticke, 1918. — *Lammert, F.* Die Angaben des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus über vulgäres Latein (Philologus 76, 1919, 395-413). — *Wutz, Franz*, Onomastica Sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus. 2 Vols. (TU 41, 1. 2). xxxii, 1200 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915. M. 40.* HIPPOLYTUS. *Baumstark, Anton*, Hippolytos und die ausserkanonische Evangelienquelle des ägyptischen Galiläa-Testaments (ZNW 15, 1914, 332-335). — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Der Leserkreis der Philosophumena H.s (ZkTh 38, 1914, 421-445); Hippolyts Ausscheiden aus der Kirche (ebd. 42, 1918, 177-186). IRENAEUS. *Hoh, Johannes*, Die Lehre des hl. Irenaeus über das Neue Testament. (NA 7, 4. 5). xiii, 208 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1919. M. 11, 20. — *Lüdtkje, W.*, Bemerkungen zu Irenaeus (ZNW 15, 1914, 268-273). ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. *Bayer, Leo*, Isidors von P. klassische Bildung. (FLDG 13, 2). xi, 102 p. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1915. M. 4, 20. JOVINIANUS. *Bakel, H. J. van*, De "Protestant" Jovinian (NThT 7, 1918, 51-71). JULIAN VON AECLANUM. *Stiglmayr, Josef*, Der Job-kommentar von Monte Cassino

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AMBROSIASER. The importance of the Ambrosiaster in the history of exegesis justifies the detailed discussion which *Mundle* devotes to his commentary on the Pauline epistles. As a result it appears that Ambrosiaster did not do full justice to the peculiar formulation of Paul's ideas. He was too sober and rationalistic to do so, and very little genuine religious feeling is to be discovered in him; but the fact that he is unaffected by the allegorical method of the Alexandrians, the comparative

absence of bias in his exegesis, and its acuteness, give him a right to an honorable place in the history of interpretation. On the question who the author was, Mundle also is unable to say anything certain. He does not accept any of the hypotheses thus far advanced, including Morin's last, which identifies him with Evagrius of Antioch, translator of the *Vita Antonii*. — **AMBROSIUS.** *Friedrich* gives a painstaking account of the numerous utterances of Ambrose about the Virgin Mary, in connection with that Fathers's general attitude to the idea of flight from the world and of virginity. The author's Catholic standpoint exempts him from the necessity of a critical treatment. — **AMMONIUS.** *Zahn* believes himself warranted in claiming, among the numerous Ammoniuses, as the only possible author of the Scholia to the Gospel of John and to the Acts, and the other fragments which with more or less confidence are attributed to an Ammonius, one of the four so-called 'Tall Brothers' (οἱ μακροί), who played a considerable part in Egypt about 400 in the history of the Origenistic controversy. In his exegesis also Ammonius is true to his decisive rejection of the crude notions of the anthropomorphists. — **APOLOGISTS.** *Andres* sets forth the angelology and demonology of the Greek Apologists, followed by a presentation of contemporary Greek and Roman demonology, and inquires into the mutual relations of the Hellenic and Christian views. He emphasizes the endeavour of the Apologists, in spite of their unmistakable borrowings from the Greeks, to set up an independent doctrine of spirits over against heathen beliefs. The work is trustworthy, and based upon comprehensive material. An exhaustive bibliography, enumerating something like two hundred books and articles, is appended. — *Haase* comes out very positively for the tradition, attested by Eusebius but rejected by most modern investigators, that Aristides presented his apology to the emperor Hadrian, not to Antoninus Pius. The present reviewer is inclined to agree with him. — In connection with the well known story in Eusebius Hist. Eccl. v. 13 about a conversation between the Apologist Rhodon and the Marcionite Apelles, *Harnack* contrasts the two theologians in a brilliant characterization. — The doubts which

have been occasionally expressed about the genuineness of Justin's Dialogue with Trypho have been materially strengthened by *Preuschen's* thorough investigation. His opinion is that, if the Dialogue be not wholly spurious and composed later than Irenaeus and Tertullian with the use of their writings, it must at least have been interpolated in the third century; the Dialogue cannot have attained its present form earlier than 249 A.D. Whether this contention will stand the test of re-examination remains to be seen. Unfortunately the author, who died May 25, 1920, was not able to bring his study to entire completion. — *Waibel's* painstaking dissertation gives a good insight into the philosophical thinking of the Apologists, but does not bring out anything new. — ASTERIUS OF AMASEA. *Bretz* re-examines and carries farther the works of Max Schmid and Michael Bauer which appeared in 1911. Contrary to Bauer he regards the Encomium on St. Basil as not genuine; but believes himself to have demonstrated the genuineness of the three discourses attested by Photius (on Stephen, Concerning Penitence, and the Fast-day Sermon). In a concluding section he treats of Asterius's relation to Greek rhetoric and on the features of the diatribe recognizable in his diction and style.

ATHANASIUS. Against Loofs and Stülcken, who would date the discourses against the Arians as early as about 338, *Stegmann*, relying upon external testimonies and internal criteria, adheres to the traditional date of about 357. In a careful examination Stegmann has again proved the spuriousness of the fourth discourse against the Arians, of which scholars familiar with the subject have long been convinced. The present reviewer doubts whether he is right in recognizing in this discourse a writing of Apollinaris of Laodicea. Stegmann has done a useful service in editing the text critically upon the basis of the entire manuscript tradition, though material deviations from the text of the current editions do not result. — *Weigl's* presentation of the Athanasian Christology, though otherwise well done, suffers from the fact that the author employs as trustworthy sources such contested writings as the fourth discourse against the Arians, the books against Apollinaris, and 'De incarnatione Verbi.' — In a Berlin dissertation

of 1913 Tr. Kehrhahn endeavored to prove that in the treatise on the incarnation of the Logos attributed to the youthful Athanasius, Eusebius's Theophania was used, which would exclude the possibility of its being a work of the Alexandrian Father. *Woldendorp* holds that this thesis is not established, and attempts to prove that Athanasius is the author by a elaborate comparison of the theology of the 'De incarnatione' with that of his later writings. On the other hand H. Windisch in the Museum, 1920, has corroborated Kehrhahn's observations by the comparison of a whole series of new passages, so that the question about the genuineness of the youthful production has again become a burning one.

AUGUSTINE. Of works upon Augustine *Troeltsch's* is by far the most important. In it he endeavors to prove that the idea that Augustine was the intellectual pioneer of the Middle Ages, which has become current especially through modern works on the history of doctrine, is erroneous. Augustine is rather to be regarded as the consummator of Christianized antiquity. It is needless to say that *Troeltsch* has no intention of denying or minimizing the actual influence of Augustine's thinking on the Middle Ages. In this, however, he sees, not a development of genuine Augustinianism, but an entirely different spirit and meaning, the explanation of which is to be found in the completely changed character of mediaeval culture in contrast to the ancient world. Accordingly, in 'De Civitate Dei,' which he makes the starting point of his discussion, he sees, not the product of reflection on the philosophy of history by which directives for the future are projected, but only the final outcome of ancient Christian apologetic, the last great attempt to justify the church against the old charge that it was responsible for the dissolution of Roman society. The positive significance of Augustine's attempt lies, according to *Troeltsch*, in the creation of the first great 'Kulturethik,' an ethic which, however, is wholly oriented to ancient conditions. For my part, I am of the opinion that this thesis is one-sided, and in particular that however fully we may recognize the apologetic intention of 'De Civitate Dei,' the work has every right to be described as a philosophy of history, and the first work that deserves that

name. However that may be, Troeltsch has developed his thesis in a masterly way, in regard both to the development of Augustine as an ethical thinker and to the particular features of his ethics. Troeltsch lays particular emphasis upon the erroneousness of the widely current notion that Augustine defined his two *Civitates* empirically simply as State and Church. For Augustine there are here only relations, not equations. His subject throughout is Christian salvation and heathen corruption, nowhere State and Church as such. The Middle Ages approached the latter far-reaching problem from its own pre-suppositions, and in doing so was able to claim Augustine for its theory of the relation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. An English translation of Troeltsch's book is to be desired, in order that the discussion he has started may have as wide a response as possible. He himself gratefully acknowledges his obligation to previous works of others, for instance to the brothers Carlyle (*History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*), Mausbach (*Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus*), Schilling (*Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustin*), Scholz (*Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte*), and others. A very good critical summary of Troeltsch's position is given by H. Lindau, *ZKG* 37 (1918), 406-432. His excellent remarks on the demonic should not be overlooked. — *Offergelt's* discussions of the doctrine of the state in Augustine are in the same general line with Troeltsch's. He too gives warning against imputing to Augustine a modern idea of the state, and like Troeltsch points out that one of the principal sources of erroneous interpretation is the habit of translating *civitas terrena*, which expresses a metaphysical or religious-ethical conception, by the word 'state,' thus making of it an empirical magnitude. He does not however question the fact that Augustine's teaching contains materials for the construction of a theocratic legal system. — *Boehmer* in a finely elaborated study shows that Augustine's life-long repentance is one-sidedly judged when it is viewed exclusively from the standpoint of the Confessions, forgetting that the predominating note in it is praise to God who had so graciously led him. — *Draeseke* with good reason doubts that Augustine had read Plato in any other way than through a

translation, and refers the quotations from the *Timaeus* in *De Civitate Dei* to Cicero's version of that dialogue. *Rolfes'* arguments to the contrary are not convincing. — *Haitjema's* characterization of Augustine's idea of science is in effect as follows: The theism of the Christian creed alone is capable of explaining the world, and no development of science is thinkable that Christianity is not capable of becoming master of. In the Neoplatonic idealism Augustine found a great deal of material which he could use upon his theistic basis. But science, morals, and religion are for him one thing. He is therefore not the 'modern man' that he is often called. He still did not see science as a unity in the light of universal divine grace. The several sciences, as fruits of civilization, are, however, gifts of the grace of God, and Christians should employ them to the glorifying of God. Christian science as such is the same with the *Civitas Dei*, and thus loses its independent worth. In particulars, there are good remarks upon Augustine's conversion, our conception of which should not be based exclusively either upon the *Confessions* or on the *Dialogues*. *Haitjema*, also, thinks that the thing of greatest moment in the conversion was the transformation of Augustine's moral life. — *Hessen* sums up the result of his investigation of Augustine's theory of the grounds of knowledge in the following theses: 1. By the side of the sphere of a priori intelligence (*sapientia*) Augustine recognized a realm of inferior knowledge (*scientia*), in which we are able to arrive at knowledge by induction and abstraction. 2. The so-called cosmological proof for the existence of God is not formally developed by Augustine, but is substantially present in his thought. 3. The specifically Augustinian proof of the existence of God is not the argument from causality, but rests upon a Platonic evaluation of the *veritates* and *rationes aeternae*. 4. The true meaning of his theory of divine illumination lies between the two extremes of the ontological and the Thomist doctrine. — *Hünemann* sees in Augustine an unexceptionable witness to the current Catholic doctrine of penance. This view, as *Adam* has correctly observed, is erroneous; it overlooks the decisive influence of Augustine's conception of the saving power of the particular gracious will of God on his

estimate of the sacraments, and of penance in particular. Ecclesiastical penance is for him not primarily what it was for Tertullian and Cyprian, an inducement to the utmost possible reparation of the fault; and not *excommunicatio* but *communio* is for him the true way of life in a real penitential discipline. This led him to advocate and to introduce in his diocese the form of penance which was accomplished within the communion of the church and in the presence of the minister alone. Adam thus regards Augustine as the speculative founder of private penance in the Western Church. *Poschmann* takes the opposite side, and Scheel (ThLZ 45, 1920, 294 f.) gravely questions the thesis. At any rate it is very energetically propounded. — *Jülicher* shows that the Curma anecdote narrated by Augustine in his 'De cura pro mortuis gerenda' rests on an actual occurrence, and is therefore not a travel-tale to be relegated to the domain of Aretalogy. — In the judgment of Professor Ammundsen, *Noerregaard's* work is the best investigation we possess of the history of Augustine's conversion. In the discussion started particularly by Wilhelm Thimme (1910) about the value of the Confessions as a source for this history, Noerregaard takes a tolerably conservative position: the philosophical writings from the time when Augustine was living in Cassiciacum are more Christian than Thimme allows, and in the Confessions themselves Augustine's subsequent reflections are easily distinguished from his memory of the events. The author is master of the whole German, English and French literature on the subject. Alfarić's extensive work on Augustine's development, in which a somewhat different view is taken of the relative value of our sources, appeared too late for Noerregaard to avail himself of it, but he has treated independently and thoroughly Augustine's relations to Manichaeism and Neoplatonism. — *Aalders's* chief endeavor is to bring out clearly the continuity in Augustine's intellectual life before, in, and after his conversion. He bases his presentation on the Confessions and the philosophical Tractates: in the Confessions it is the catechumen and the future that speak, in the Tractates the rhetor and the past. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

CASSIAN. The chief importance of *Schwartz's* study lies in the new proof it gives of the preservation of fragments of Nestorius in the Massilian author, a more complete demonstration than that of Loofs in his *Nestoriana* (1905). — CHRYSOSTOM. *Naegle* (see, in addition to the essay named above, the extensive introduction to his translation of 'De sacerdotio' in BKV, *supra* p. 312) adopts the opinion most recently propounded by Colombo in the *Didaskaleion* (1912) that the dialogue form of the writing is purely a literary device, and supports this view with noteworthy arguments. *Stiglmayr*, on the contrary, abides by the opinion that Chrysostom's own account of the occasion of the composition (endeavor to escape the election to the bishopric) has a historical foundation. He accordingly dates the writing before 374, while *Naegle* with more probability assigns it to the years of Chrysostom's presbyterate, between 386 and 390. — COMMODIAN. *Martin's* essay is devoted to showing that Dombart's text of Commodian's poems in CSEL is in many places exposed to criticism. In the forefront stands the false estimate of the value of the two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris respectively, which Dombart treated as independent witnesses to the text, whereas in reality they are both derived from the Codex Berolinensis 167 (formerly in the Cheltenham Library). A fresh comparison of this manuscript led Martin to discover many errors in earlier collations which seriously impair the recension of the text. In the second of the articles named above, Martin makes it probable that in the composition of Instr. ii, 26 (*lectoribus*) Commodian was influenced by the ancient formula of consecration of which there is an echo also in Const. Apost. viii. 22, 2. See further below on Tertullian (Holl). — CYPRIAN. In a Würzburg manuscript *Reitzenstein* has found a small collection of genuine and spurious writings of Cyprian, of the major part of which account is given below under Pseudo-Cyprian. Internal evidence makes it certain that the collection comes from Donatist circles. The four Epistles contained in the collections (Epp. 67. 6. 4. 10, Hartel), besides other variations, exhibit a biblical text frequently different from that represented in the printed editions of the letters. *Mengis*, in an excellent dissertation, has care-

fully edited the Epistles and discussed the text of the quotations. — *Dessau* would identify Pontius, the author of the life of Cyprian, with a resident of Curubis who is proved by an inscription to have lived about the middle of the third century. If this is true we should have documentary evidence that the biographer was a contemporary of the bishop, which Reitzenstein (SHA 1913) had contested.

DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA. In the studies which Koch, Stiglmayr, and others devoted to the Areopagite his dependence upon Proclus was proved. *Müller*, accepting this demonstration, has investigated the indications that lead to the conclusion that the Areopagite was directly acquainted with Plotinus also. He makes it probable that the Hierotheos, whom, along with Paulus, Dionysius names as his teacher, was no other than Plotinus himself. He discusses Dionysius' doctrine of the good and beautiful, of Eros, of the origin of evil, his doctrine of God and the ways to the knowledge of God, and finally of union with God. Copious extracts from the text both of Plotinus and of the Areopagite present the evidence to the eye of the reader. — *Sassen's* article offers nothing new to those who are acquainted with the subject. — *Gressmann* treats: 1. the formula of Elxai (Epiphanius, Haer. 19, 4, 3); 2. the first formula of the Marcosians (Haer. 34, 20, 2 ff.); 3. the second formula of the Marcosians (*ibid.*); 4. the names of the planets among the Pharisees (Haer. 16, 2 ff.). — *Holl* draws the attention of scholars to the fragments of three writings of Epiphanius against the worship of images which are transmitted in Nicephorus (about 815); namely, a fragment of a pamphlet, one of a letter to the emperor Theodosius I, and one of a testament of Epiphanius to his churches. The genuineness of these pieces is established by Holl on convincing grounds. Apropos of this luminous essay, *Wilpert* shows that in the face of such opinions as are propounded by Epiphanius, religious monumental art in the East could make but slow progress. See also below, p. 350 (Koch). — EUSEBIUS. *Doergens* has re-examined the notices about the Phoenician religion in the Praeparatio Evangelica, with unfavorable results. There is no trace whatever of actual acquaintance with the subject on the

part of the bishop of Caesarea; borrowed material is exclusively used. — *Zahn* brings weighty arguments to prove that the words $\delta \tau\omicron\upsilon \Pi\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ appended to the name of Eusebius should be interpreted as 'the slave of Pamphilus.' Even as late a writer as Photius seems to have understood them so. *Zahn* would account for certain weaknesses in the ecclesiastical, political, and theological attitude of the bishop by his humble origin; and in this also has the support of the Byzantine author.

FIRMICUS MATERNUS. In the twentieth volume of Migne's *Patrologia*, under the title 'Consultationum Zacchaei Christiani et Apollonii philosophi libri tres,' is a dialogue in the course of which the heathen philosopher's pride of knowledge yields to the simple grandeur of the Christian confession. *Morin* has no doubt that the writing is to be dated about the middle of the fourth century, and, on the ground of numerous parallels in language, attributes it to Firmicus Maternus, the author of the 'Mathesis,' and of the Christian writing, 'De errore profanarum religionum.' *Reatz* has tested this thesis and does not regard the authorship of Maternus as established. But he also confidently maintains that the writing originated not long after the middle of the fourth century. The emphatic rejection of Sabellianism and Photinianism, as well as the positive theology of the author, which bears throughout the stamp of the pre-Augustinian theology, seems clearly to point to this period. In regard to the importance of the writing, *Reatz* agrees with *Morin*, who recognizes in it not only a luminous presentation of the Christian faith and a model of apologetic composure and tactical skill, but also a precious monument of Christian Latinity in its early formative period. — **GELASIUS.** Gelasius, metropolitan of Caesarea, a nephew of Cyril of Alexandria, wrote a church history which, as *Glas* has proved, is the source of the last two books of Rufinus's Church History, where he is beyond the limits of Eusebius. Here also Rufinus was merely a translator.

HIERONYMUS. *Kunst* examines the Epistles of Jerome, particularly Ep. 60, 'De consolatione Heliodori,' for traces of that Father's reading in Cicero. The work is valuable. — The name *Onomastica Sacra* is given to ancient Christian collec-

tions of proper names from the Old and New Testaments, with etymological interpretations, a species of literature which the Alexandrians had taken over from Philo, and which Jerome had made accessible to the Western Church also in a trustworthy translation. *Wutz* has investigated the sources and system of these collections with marvellous industry. Above all he has reprinted the texts of these *Onomastica*, a work which *Lagarde* (1870, 2d ed. 1887) had already done for the Greek and Latin texts, but which *Wutz* has now materially enlarged by the edition of the Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Slavic collections. Exhaustive indexes are appended. That even in so carefully elaborated a work not everything is achieved that might be desired may be seen from the review by *Erich Klostermann* in *LZBl* 66 (1915), 137, and 68 (1917), 497. But for what has been accomplished the small circle of scholars who have an interest in the matter will be unanimous in their gratitude. — *HIPPOLYTUS*. *Baumstark* shows that in Hippolytus's commentary on the Song of Solomon there are traces of the extracanonical gospel used in the Ethiopic 'Testamentum domini nostri Jesu Christi,' in which he would recognize the Gospel according to the Egyptians (cf. his article in *ZNW* 14, 1913, 232-247). — In opposition to the assumption that Hippolytus was put out of the Church when his enemy Callistus ascended the episcopal throne, *Preysing* tries to prove that he remained in the communion of the Church for a time after the election of Callistus, and allowed himself to be elected as rival bishop only after Callistus had excommunicated him on the ground of ditheism. The antagonism between the two was partly due to the social separation of the adherents of Hippolytus, who according to *Preysing* belonged to the upper classes of Roman society.

IRENÆUS. The merit of *Hoh's* work on the teaching of Irenæus concerning the New Testament lies chiefly in the complete and conveniently arranged collection of the material. The author has, however, also contributed independent observations to the discussion both of the history of the canon and of the history of doctrine. — *Lüdtke* offers text-critical notes on a sermon on the sons of Zebedee attributed to Irenæus which was published by *Jordan* in 1913 from the Ethiopic, to-

gether with notices of Slavic and Ethiopic fragments, and finally an allusion to Irenaeus in Maximus Confessor. — ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. The breadth and depth of Isidore's classical education has never before been investigated; consequently, insignificant as the subject is in itself, *Bayer's* industrious study fills a vacant place. It appears that Isidore's culture had narrow limits; he nowhere betrays any independent philosophical or historical interest. — JULIAN OF AECLANUM. In the third volume of the *Spicilegium Casinense*, Amelli published in 1897 a commentary on Job which in the tradition is designated as the work of the presbyter Philip, a disciple of Jerome. Vaccari in 1915 attributed this commentary to Julian. *Stiglmayr* has subjected this theory to a thorough examination, and on the ground of the formal and material differences which he has established thinks that it must be rejected. — LACTANTIUS. In support of the attribution of the 'Mortes' to Lactantius, *Koch* refers to Div. Inst. ii. 4, 16 and ii. 4, 7, where obvious points of contact with topics developed in the *Mortes* are found. In his second note Koch contends that the *templum dei* in Inst. div. 5, 2, 2 is to be understood figuratively, and not to be referred to the destruction of the church in Nicomedia, Feb. 23, 203; so that the passage does not fix the date of the Institutions. — *Stangl* offers material contributions to the criticism of the text of all the writings of Lactantius. Notwithstanding the recognized merits of Brandt's edition in the CSEL, numerous improvements are possible and necessary. — LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. *Loofs* proves that by the so-called 'Dedication Formula' (ἐν τοῖς ἐγκαινίοις) of the Synod of Antioch in 341 is meant the second Antiochian formula (Hahn § 154), and that in this formula, taken together with Sozomen Hist. Eccl. iii. 5, 9, the confession of the martyr Lucian is to be recognized.

MINUCIUS FELIX. The discussion of the literary character of the Dialogue of Minucius Felix and the circumstances of its composition shows no signs of coming to an end. While *Baehrens* again takes sides for a date of composition earlier than Tertullian, *Buizer* with great positiveness decides for the reign of Severus Alexander (225-230). In his view Minucius Felix does not belong at all to the Apologists of the type of

Tertullian. His book is a literary effort by which Christians are to be confirmed in their faith, and heathen incited to follow the example of Caecilius and connect themselves with the church. The model he has in mind is not so much Cicero's 'De natura deorum' as Paul's speech on the Areopagus. — *Plooij* also puts Minucius Felix before Tertullian. His article is directed against J. van Wageningen in *ThT* 96 (1912), 217. On the question whether Minucius Felix was a modernist he takes the negative side. — *NOVATIAN*. *Koch* adduces noteworthy reasons for not regarding Novatian's authorship of 'De spectaculis' and 'De bono pudicitiae.' as securely established. — *ORIGEN*. The exegetical works of ecclesiastical writers have hitherto contributed almost nothing to church history, because nobody has taken the trouble to go through them systematically in quest of significant historical notices. The recognition of this fact has led *Harnack* to make a beginning in this untouched field, and to work through the homilies and commentaries of Origen from the historical point of view. *Harnack's* keen observation and his great gift for extracting rich gains from seemingly unimportant matter are brilliantly evidenced in this self-denying investigation. — The chronology of the years 395–402 has been securely established by the studies of *Holl* and *Jülicher*, both of which exhibit complete mastery of the sources. The minor differences in their results are negligible. The Catena codex Vaticanus 754 (cf. *Karo-Lietzmann*, p. 41) contains sixteen prologues, five of which can be proved to Origen. Of these *Rietz* gives a critical text with explanatory notes.

PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS. *Peters* and *Böhmer* have simultaneously devoted two excellent pieces of work to the archbishop Peter of Ravenna, whose pulpit eloquence gained him the honorific name Chrysologus. Both endeavor to give an exhaustive account of the contents of the sermons. *Böhmer* has in addition directed special attention to the stylistic side, and in an extensive appendix has treated at length the technic of the close of sentences (the so-called *cursus*). — *PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE*. To this opponent of Nestorius, *Bauer*, with a good knowledge of the sources, has devoted a monograph which

may well be described as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of a period of church history which scientific research has by no means exhausted. — *Schwartz* gives more than the title of his treatise indicates, namely an admirably written sketch of the situation about the year 435, unquestionably the best that we have on the subject, and in the reviewer's opinion a little gem of historical presentation. Cf. also the article by *Schwartz* noticed on p. 359. — PSEUDO-CYPRIAN. From the collection of Cyprianic writings noted above under Cyprian, *Reitzenstein* has published a hitherto unknown writing, which may with certainty be described as a sermon, although the beginning is lost. The three parts preserved treat of the three manner of fruits of the Christian life (Matt. 13, 3 ff.). The hundredfold gain (*centesima*) is assigned to the martyr, the sixtyfold (*sexagesima*) to the ascetic (*agonistes*), the thirtyfold (*tricesima*) to the ordinary Christian (*iustus*). Cyprian cannot be the author. The plainly recognizable affinity between his writings and this sermon, *Reitzenstein* would explain on the assumption of the priority of the preacher. That would make the discovery of great importance, for a Latin sermon from the age before Cyprian would be an event. Further investigation, however, in which *Harnack* (ThLZ 39, 1914, 220–223), *De Bruyne*, *Heer*, *Seeberg*, *Wohlenberg* (ThBl 36, 1915, 65–69), and others have taken part, has apparently put it beyond question that our preacher is dependent upon Cyprian. On the other hand it is not to be denied that many of his peculiarities, e.g. his Christology, have an archaic stamp. *Reitzenstein*, and still more positively *De Bruyne*, contend that the author was a Gnostic; while the other investigators emphasize on the contrary his correct churchly position. The resemblance between the biblical text employed by the preacher and the quotations from the Gospels in Justin has led *Heer* to the bold surmise that, not indeed the sermon in its present form, but its basis may be a Sunday sermon from the age of Justin. The text of the sermon, however, gives no occasion to assume that it is the revamping of an older composition. For the present it is not possible to say where and when the sermon was delivered. Africa and Spain are the most natural conjectures, and

as to the time, the whole period between about 260 and 370 is open. *De Bruyne* expresses himself the most definitely: 'Rien n'empêche qu'il y ait en quelque part en Afrique une petite église dissidente avec une Bible délibérément corrompue et des dogmes manifestement gnostiques.' For the date he would not go beyond the end of the third century. Notwithstanding the objections of his fellow investigators, *Reitzenstein* continues to hold that the writing originated either about the end of the second century, or was composed not very long after *Cyprian*, with the use of an older work (cf. his *Vita Antonii*, infra p. 369, 24 n. 1). — *Rauschen* takes the ground that the 'De rebaptismate' originated in the fourth century, to which period its peculiar doctrine of baptism, in particular, assigns it; while *Ernst* sees in it a document from the time of the controversy over heretical baptism in the middle of the third century.

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINA. Attention has often been called to similarities between the introductory chapter of the Clementine romance and *Lucian's Nekyomanteia*. *Boll* has now discovered similar and still plainer resemblances to an astrological writing by a certain *Harpokration*, a contemporary of *Lucian of Samosata*. The three texts are, however, independent of one another, and their resemblances are accounted for by the existence of a type of religious novel, evidently widely distributed, which *Harpokration* and the author of the Clementine romance appropriated, while *Lucian* parodied it. — It is impossible to give a survey in brief of the very complicated problems of sources which *Heintze*, carrying further the work of *Waitz* (*TU* 25, 4, 1904), endeavors to solve. In addition to the common source which *Waitz* recognizes as underlying the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*, *Heintze* would assume another common source, the Jewish disputations with *Apion*, which he dates about 200. He is in all probability right in the opinion that the principal source had its origin in the third century in Syria. The evidence he adduces that the *Recognitions* had also a source used by *Cicero* deserves attention, as do also his remarks on the connections between the Christian romance and the Greek romance literature. On this point *Bousset's* work should be compared, though its main purpose is an investigation of the

much discussed Placidus legend, which does not here further concern us. On Heintze see the review by Hans Waitz, LZBl 66 (1915), 1025-1028. — QUODVULTDEUS. Morin has directed attention to bishop Quodvultdeus of Carthage (ca. 453) as a preacher in an article in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1914, and in his edition of recently discovered sermons of Augustine (see above p. 307 f.), attributing to him a number of pseudo-Augustinian sermons. *Franses* has re-examined these attributions, and been able to confirm almost all of them. To his presentation of the evidence he adds detailed proofs of the importance of these sermons for biblical learning, the history of doctrine, and liturgics. — SEVERIAN OF GABALA. The exploration of the exegetical remains of Severian has hitherto been greatly neglected. *Durks's* first endeavor is to determine the extent of these literary remains, which have come down to us in part under other names, especially Chrysostom's. In conclusion he gives a comprehensive survey of all Severian's homilies, after separating the spurious from the genuine. *Zellinger* has undertaken the detailed criticism with great circumspection. He first tests the tradition of the homilies on Genesis, with the result that all of them, including the two which Savile put among the *Dubia*, are to be ascribed to Severian, and then proceeds to give a critical view of their contents. It becomes manifest that Severian's commentary fills a gap in the exegesis of the *Hexaemeron*, inasmuch as we discover in him an Antiochian of the strictest school, whose sources have in large part been lost.

TERTULLIAN. The question of the importance of the lost *Codex Fuldensis* for the textual tradition of the 'Apologeticum' has provoked much discussion. In general it is agreed that its value is very high, and that, although not free from errors, the *Fuldensis* is throughout to be made the basis of a recension of the text. The contrary opinion of *Schrörs*, that the *Vulgata* is a revision by the author himself of a first draft represented by the *Fuldensis*, has been almost universally controverted. Nevertheless *Thörnell*, *Wohleb*, and *Löfstedt* (the latter at least in his second work) hold that the *Vulgata* deserves consideration by the side of the *Fuldensis*; while *Rauschen* in his

Emendationes has adopted the readings of the Fuldensis in much larger measure than he did in the second issue of his well known edition of the Apologeticum (Bonn, 1912). On this problem, besides the works named above, Esser's translation in the Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (see above p. 313) should be compared. Esser is here in full accord with Rauschen. It may be added here that the Belgian scholar, Waltzing, has expressed himself on the matter in his *Étude sur le cod. Fuldensis de l'Apologétique de Tertullien* (Liège-Paris 1914), and more recently in an edition of the Apologeticum (1920) has likewise made large use of the Fuldensis. — *Harnack* collects all the references in the works of Tertullian to Jewish and Christian writings used by that author, from which it appears that the number of those with which he was acquainted is very considerable, both in itself and in comparison with what was then extant. Unfortunately the wealth of Greek Christian learning and of Greek Christian books which he had at his command were after him as good as unknown in the Latin Church down to the time of Hilary and Jerome. — In an article characterized by admirable method, *Holl* has proved conclusively that the five poetical books against Marcion, erroneously attributed to Tertullian, originated in Gaul in the last quarter of the fifth century, or but little later. The dependence of the poet upon Commodian which had been observed by earlier investigators is confirmed by Holl. With Brewer he puts Commodian, however, in the fifth century, a thesis which I also regard as correct (see my remarks in Schanz [above p. 314], p. 397). — *Ackerman* has, in the opinion of the reviewer, finally settled a much discussed problem, proving by a thorough philological investigation that the second half of the book 'Adversus Judaeos' is not genuine. That I replied at length in GGA 1905, 31 ff. to Harnack's contrary opinion escaped Ackerman's notice, but his demonstration has not suffered from this oversight. He might, however, have noted in addition that in chap. 13, Daniel is quoted in the version of Theodotion, but in chap. 14 (=Adv. Marc. 3, 7) from the Septuagint. With a notice of this excellent work by a Swedish scholar the patristic part of our survey may close.

4. CHURCH LIFE

a. *The Creed*

Harnack, Adolf von, Zur Abhandlung des Hr. Holl "Zur Auslegung" u. s. w. [vide Holl]. (SAB 1919, vii, 112-116). — *Haussleiter, Johannes*, Trinitarischer Glaube und Christusbekenntnis in der alten Kirche (BFTb 25, 4). 124 pp. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1920. M. 17, 50. — *Holl, Karl*, Zur Auslegung des 2. Artikels des sogenannten apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses. (SAB 1919, I, 1-11). — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Die Urform des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses. (SAB 1919, xii, 269-274). — *Peitz, Wilhelm M., S. J.*, Das Glaubensbekenntnis der Apostel (StZ 94, 1918, 553-566). — *Thieme, Karl*, Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis. (Wissenschaft und Bildung 129). 144 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1914. M. 1, 25.

Our knowledge of the conditions under which the creed of the ancient church was formed has been materially advanced by a number of excellent works. Among these *Haussleiter's* book is to be named in the first place, and it is the welcome duty of the reviewer to direct the special attention of scholars to it. The methodical fault of previous investigation, as *Haussleiter* points out, was the ever recurring attempt to derive the whole great body of baptismal symbols from one single primitive formula. In fact two types must be distinguished. The older type, which originally prevailed in Rome as well as elsewhere, is characterized by its division into two distinct parts: a very brief trinitarian confession derived from the command to baptize converts (Matt. 28, 19), and a longer confession of faith having its source in the Kerygma about Christ, which was taken as the basis of the second article. The younger type grew out of the older by the introduction of the extended confession of Christ into the trinitarian scheme. In this way the old Roman Symbol and its derivative formulas, as well as the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, the Textus Receptus of the Apostles' Creed, etc., arose. The older type, however, did not cease to maintain itself and to develop new forms. Its influence is visible in the structure of the Athanasian Symbol, and in a long series of Oriental baptismal confessions and private creeds. *Haussleiter* finds the point of departure for his demonstration in the detached position of the trinitarian formula and the confession of Christ in certain formulas of the Liber Diurnus, that is, in the official book of the Papal chancellery, which, follow-

ing *Peitz* (see below p. 363 f.), he dates considerably earlier than experts have hitherto done. The choice of this starting-point may seem to be somewhat incautious, inasmuch as the question about the *Liber Diurnus* can by no means be regarded as definitively settled; but in any event Haussleiter's other evidence for the origin and wide distribution of the older type in the earliest age of the church is very noteworthy. Thus the peculiarity of what seems to be the first union of the separate parts in Irenaeus also appears in its true significance. Strikingly novel is the theory, intimated by Peitz and carefully built up by Haussleiter, that the fixed formulation of the old Roman Symbol came about in the course of the Monarchian controversies under the Roman bishop Zephyrinus (199–217). All this naturally demands re-examination, a task which is made easier by Haussleiter's lucid, methodical exposition.

In a study which has attracted much attention *Holl* endeavors to find a key to the construction of the second article. He sees in it an artistic structure. The two titles (τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ and τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν) are followed by two clauses corresponding respectively to the two titles. In support of this view he makes connection with Luke 1, 35 and Phil. 2, 6 ff., and points to the *διό* in both passages, which in the one introduces the argument for the divine sonship, in the other that for Christ's lordship (κυριότης). *Harnack* supplements this observation by showing that it can be naturally applied to the other articles and constructs the following scheme:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 \text{Πιστεύω εἰς (1) Θεὸν} & = & \text{(2) Πατέρα} & = & \text{(3) Παντοκράτορα} \\
 \text{καὶ εἰς (4) Χριστὸν} & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{καὶ εἰς (4) Χριστὸν} \\ \text{Ἰησοῦν} \end{array}} \right\} & \text{(5) τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ} & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{(5) τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ} \\ \text{τὸν μονογενῆ} \end{array}} \right\} & \text{(6) τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν} \\
 \text{Ἰησοῦν} & & \text{τὸν μονογενῆ} & & \\
 \text{καὶ εἰς (7) πνεῦμα} & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{καὶ εἰς (7) πνεῦμα} \\ \text{ἅγιον} \end{array}} \right\} & \text{(8) ἁγίαν} & \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{c} \text{(8) ἁγίαν} \\ \text{ἐκκλησίαν} \end{array}} \right\} & \text{(9) ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν} \\
 \text{ἅγιον} & & \text{ἐκκλησίαν} & & \text{σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν}
 \end{array}$$

He tries to bring these members into relation with one another not only horizontally but vertically. This may all seem to be a kind of play, but the observations which underlie it have wide scope and are perhaps not without weight. For the evidence of this *Harnack's* article itself must be consulted. The lack of symmetry in the bifurcation of article nine is obvious at first

sight. *Lietzmann* somewhat relieves this difficulty by pointing out that the creed which is preserved as a part of the Egyptian liturgy in the papyrus from Dêr-Balyzeh (see Puniet in RB 26, 1909, 34, and Schermann, TU 36, 1b, 1910) has in fact a nine-fold division, the *ἄφεσις ἀμαρτιῶν* is lacking. — *Thieme* came too soon to make use in his résumé of the works above described, but anyone who desires to inform himself about the stage which the investigation had reached in 1914, and to follow the history of the Apostles' Creed down to the present time under the guidance of an expert will learn much from his well-considered and unprejudiced presentation.

b. Liturgical Problems

Bousset, Wilhelm, Eine jüdische Gebetssammlung im siebenten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen. (NGW 1915, 435-489); Zur Deprecatio Gelasii. (NGW 1916, 135-168). — *Dölger, Franz Joseph*, Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze. (LF 2). xii, 150 pp. mit einer Tafel. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1918. M. 8; Sol Salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum. (LF 4. 5). xii, 342 pp. Ebd., 1920. M. 25. — *Dold, Alban*, Ein vorhadrianisches Gregorianisches Palimpsest-Sakramentar in Gold-Uncialschrift. (Texte und Arbeiten 1, 5). viii, 79 pp. mit einem Lichtdruck. Nebst Zugabe einer unbekannten Homilie über das kanaänische Weib. Beuron, Kunstverlag der Erzabtei, 1919. M. 5. — *Koch, Hugo*, Zur Agapenfrage (ZNW 16, 1915, 139-146). — *Lietzmann, Hans*, Die liturgischen Angaben des Plinius. (Studien für Hauck [vide supra p. 288], 34-38; cf. also RhM 71, 1916, 281-282). — *Mohlberg, Kunibert*, Ziele und Aufgaben der liturgischen Forschung. (LF 1). viii, 52 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1919. M. 4, 20; Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Ueberlieferung (LQ 1. 2). civ, 292 pp. mit zwei Tafeln. Ebd., 1918. M. 15. — *Plum, N. M.*, Forsagelsen ved Daaben. 316 pp. Kopenhagen, Gad, 1920. — *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum. vii. Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima. Edit. 2, iv, 181 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 3, 80. — *Schermann, Theodor*, Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und altkirchliche Ueberlieferung. (StGKA, 3. Ergänzungsband). 3 Teile. viii, x, viii, und 750 pp. 1. Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts. viii, 136 pp. 2. Frühchristliche Liturgien. xii, 438 pp. 3. Die kirchliche Ueberlieferung. viii, 176 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1914-1916. M. 6, 18 und 8, 40; Frühchristliche Vorbereitungsgebete zur Taufe (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung, hrsg. von Leopold Wenger 3). vi, 32 pp. München, Beck, 1917. M. 1, 60.

Under this head we have in the first place to direct attention to a new undertaking which seems to be destined substantially to widen and deepen our knowledge of the ancient liturgy of

the Church. The Benedictine abbeys of Beuron, Emaus-Prague, St. Joseph-Coesfeld, Maria Laach, and Seckau, have joined forces for the publication of *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen* and *Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen*, the editing of which has been committed to three well-known scholars, Professors Dölger in Münster, Rücker in Breslau, and Father Mohlberg of the abbey of Maria Laach. The two series are to constitute an 'Archiv der liturgiegeschichtlichen Forschung,' and by detailed investigations on the broadest basis are meant to subserve a progressive definition of the lines of development of Christian worship and the texts connected with it. Minor contributions are to be brought together in a *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, which is also to furnish critical accounts of discoveries and new publications in the field of liturgical science. In the first number of the 'Forschungen,' Mohlberg defines the aims and tasks of this science clearly and with abundant bibliographical references.

The investigations are admirably inaugurated by the two works of Dölger, whose name is widely known through his writings on Exorcism, on Sphragis, and on Ichthys. In the course of his studies he has come to recognize more and more fully the immense importance of the religious conflict in the fourth century which is expressed in the words, Solar religion and Christianity. In this way he was brought to confront the problem of orientation (facing eastward) both in the plan of the basilica and in the attitude of prayer; and subsidiary to this, the westward position in the renunciation of the devil ('the black one') and the eastward position in the addiction to Christ ('the Sun of Righteousness, Sun of Salvation'). It is impossible in a brief notice like this to give any adequate notion of the brilliant light, both from the general history of civilization and from the history of religion, into which Dölger has brought his problem. An extended critical review by a specialist would be most appropriate, and could count with certainty upon the interest of a large circle of readers. Dölger describes the work whose title stands first above as a 'Studie zum Taufgelöbnis,' and is particularly occupied with the symbolism of the rites connected with baptism. With this he discusses also

the idea of a compact with the devil and of the oath of fidelity (*sacramentum*) to Christ taken in baptism. On this point Dölger is inclined to refer to the baptismal rites the allusions to the ritual in Pliny's letter to Trajan, as *Lietzmann* also does; but, unlike *Lietzmann*, he understands by the *carmen* not the baptismal symbol alone, but, in accordance with ancient linguistic use (*Livy* x, 38), the whole oath of fidelity to Christ. The eastward position in prayer gives him occasion for very profitable remarks on important constituents of the liturgical prayers, such for example as the Kyrie Eleison. The studies already published do not exhaust the subject. They are to be completed on the archaeological side by a discussion of the orientation of ancient basilicas, and on the side of the history of religion and of the liturgy by studies of the vigil of Easter in its relation to ancient pagan Pannychis.

The series of 'Quellen' is opened by *Mohlberg* with an excellent edition of the Frankish Sacramentarium Gelasianum from Codex Sangallensis 348. The introduction exhibits the history of the textual grouping of manuscripts of the Roman sacramentaries, in particular the Frankish recension of the Gelasianum. The original sacramentary of Codex 348 is dated by him about 800. Corrections in the text and marginal notes indicate that the manuscript is a transitional form between the Gregorian Gelasianum and the reform of Alcuin. — It would be a point of importance if *Dold* were right in his contention that a palimpsest fragment from Mainz, which he has published, contained a pre-Hadrianic sacramentary, for which he claims an English origin. Against so early a date, *Mohlberg*, in *ThR* 18 (1919), 210–213 (cf. 328 f.), has raised emphatic and, as it appears, well-grounded objection; but he does not dispute the fact that the new text has an especial value as a remnant of one of the finest and best Gregoriana of the Carolingian period. It may be further noted here that *Lietzmann* expects to publish in the current year (1921) in *LQ*, Codex 164 (159) from Cambridge, that is to say, the principal witness to the Carolingian Sacramentarium Gregorianum, from a photographic reproduction made during the war and turned over to the University of Jena.

As the titles of the several parts given above show, the extensive work of *Schermann* might with equal propriety have been included in the literature of ecclesiastical law. It is noticed here, however, because the parts which deal with the history of the liturgy seem on the whole to be of the greater importance. In the first part *Schermann* gives critical editions of the 'Apostolische Kirchenordnung' and of the so-called 'Aegyptische Kirchenordnung,' in which two documents he would recognize the book of Church Order generally accepted at as early a time as the second century. Indeed he asserts, and in the third part endeavors to prove, that this Church Order, in the production and redaction of which Rome had the principal part, originated at the beginning of the second century, if not even in the first. The relation long ago observed between the Apostolic Church Order and the Epistle of Barnabas he explains by the fact that they had the same author, or perhaps that the Church Order was in the hands of the author of the Epistle (!). Furthermore, he regards the postulated general Church Order as the middle section of a παράδοσις ἐκκλησιαστική or κήρυγμα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, which had already been fixed in writing at the beginning of the second century; a work which served as a normative basis both for the early catechetical instruction of the church and for its theological literature. Besides this middle section, it contained, as the first part, a series of events from the life of Jesus connected with words of the Lord, and, as its third part, that compendium of the Christian faith which is called by ecclesiastical writers κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας or πίστews, in Latin *regula fidei*. That would certainly be a surprisingly simple solution of the difficulties over which the learned have repeatedly wearied themselves. Unfortunately the thesis, in spite of all the industry expended upon it and the author's comprehensive knowledge of the sources and of the literature, rests upon a wholly unstable foundation; for the existence, in writing, of such a tradition of the primitive church as early as the age immediately following the Apostles, is in the end only assumed, without any serious proof whatever. The real value of *Schermann's* work lies in bringing together the whole material, with constant reference to the critical con-

troversy. This is especially true of the second part, which treats in five sections of Church Organization, Baptism, Penitence, the Eucharistic Liturgy, and the Ministry of the Word of God. Excellent indexes increase the usefulness of the book, which notwithstanding all objections which may be raised to the principal thesis, will be found by the critical reader a welcome addition to his apparatus. — In his smaller work *Schermann* has reprinted the prayers, first published in the 'Neutestamentliche Studien' für Heinrici (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1914), from the Berlin papyrus 13415; and has furnished them with ample parallels from early Christian literature. He thinks that they are to be regarded as prayers preparatory to baptism, and in this he is perhaps right; but his attempt to assign them to the second century is unsuccessful, for precisely those turns of expression which are characteristic of them seem to point to a later time.

Bousset believes himself to have proved that the whole collection of prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions vii. 33–38 are borrowed from the synagogue, and present a Jewish collection only slightly modified by Christian hands. In the eighth book, also, he believes it demonstrable that Jewish prayers and formulas of prayer have been worked in. In the so-called 'Deprecatio Papae Gelasii' in Cod. Paris. 1153 (cf. W. Meyer, NGW 1912, 87), he sees a collection of general intercessions and evening and morning petitions such as the Constitutions prescribe for the daily services, and inquires further by what route these prescriptions for prayer may have migrated into the West. — *Plum* makes a careful investigation of the whole history of the Abrenuntiatio. He is of the opinion that in the original conception (Tertullian) the renunciation meant only a rejection of idolatry, and accordingly belonged to baptism within the church; he observes, however, also that already in Cyprian another conception is present, namely the assumption of moral obligation. [Professor Ammundsen.]

c. *Feasts and Fasts*

Corssen, Peter, Das Osterfest (NJklA 39, 1917, 170-189). — *Fischer, Ludwig*, Die kirchlichen Quatember (VKSM 4, 3). xii, 278 pp. München, Lentner, 1914. M. 6, 20. — *Holl, Karl*, Der Ursprung des Epiphaniensfestes. (SAB 1917, xxix, 402-438). Berlin, Reimer, 1918. M. 2. — *Koch, Hugo*, Pascha in der ältesten Kirche (ZwTh 55, 1914, 289-313). — *Nilsen, Martin P.*, Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes (AR 19, 1917, 50-150).

Before proceeding to the review of the works named above, attention may be directed to the comprehensive investigation which Karl Schmidt, in one of the excursuses to his edition of the *Epistula Apostolorum* (see the article by Professor Lake in the January number of this Review, pp. 15-29) has devoted to the Paschal controversies of the second century. The occasion for this investigation was the fact that the *Epistola* is a new witness to what is known as the Quartodeciman Paschal festival, because it was held on the 14th of Nisan in commemoration of the death of Jesus. This testimony retains its importance even if Schmidt's opinion that the Epistle originated in circles of Quartodeciman observance in Asia Minor should not prevail. For it is definitely established by the *Epistola* that the festival was kept in commemoration of the death of Jesus, and a controversial issue which was perpetually renewed among scholars seems therewith to be finally disposed of. *Koch's* discussion, so far as it has to do with this particular question, is antiquated by this new evidence; but what he has to say about Easter and Pentecost in Tertullian retains its value. — *Corssen* directs attention not so much to the Paschal controversies as to the origin of the festival of the Roman Church, the Easter festival, in contrast to the Paschal festival. He is of the opinion that the former was created by a deliberate action of the church, probably in Rome, and very likely in the sequel of the negotiations between Anicetus and Polycarp, which brought to maturity the decision on the part of the Romans to signalize in an especial manner the first Sunday after the Jewish Passover as a festival Sunday. He is struck by certain parallels between the Christian celebration and the Attis festival, which had before this time grown into a popular festi-

val, and in which the lamentation for the death of the god changed into the rejoicing of the Hilaria on the twenty-fifth of March. If Corssen means to infer from this that the festival of the Roman Church was introduced to compete with a heathen festival, he may not find it easy to adduce evidence, however strongly the analogy of both Christmas and Epiphany may seem to suggest it.

For Epiphany, *Holl*, in a model investigation, has made it at least highly probable that this festival was a Christian substitute for a festival kept in Egypt on the 6th of January in honor of a god Aion, more particularly of his birth from a virgin. With this festival was connected a ceremonial drawing of water from the Nile; and a further belief that the Nile water changed into wine is attested. In this way an explanation would be found of the fact that the church, following the lead of the Basilidians, before the setting off of the Christmas festival, celebrated on the sixth of January, along with the birth of the Son of God, the hallowing of the water by his baptism, and the miraculous transformation of the elements at the marriage in Cana. In the Greek church the baptism of Jesus later completely crowded out the other motives. In the West, Pope Liberius (352) still kept Epiphany as the festival of the birth of Christ, and at the same time of the marriage in Cana, and of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes. The detachment of Christmas as a festival of Jesus' birth signified at the same time opposition to taking the sixth of January as the commemoration of his baptism. In its stead, the adoration of the Magi became dominant. On *Holl's* article cf. *O. Weinreich AR 19 (1918), 174-190* and *F. Boll, ibid., 190 f.* — *Nilsson*, in the first part of his study gives a sketch of the development of the Roman festival of the Kalends of January, and in the second part, in opposition to the works of *Tille* and *Bilfinger*, discusses the question whether Christmas customs were influenced on the one side by the Roman New Year's customs, and on the other by the nordic Yule festival.

Against *Morin*, who sees in the introduction of the four Ember Days a substitute for the pagan *feriae messis, vindemiales*, and *sementinae*, *Fischer* would explain their origin

from the ancient Christian conception of fasting as a *statio*, i.e. as a means to combat the *saeculum*; an explanation which seems to be favored by the great rôle which vigils play in the Quatember liturgy. Fischer regards as trustworthy the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Pope Callistus introduced the Ember days. The idea of festivals of thanksgiving for the harvest was, he thinks, first connected with them after the time of Leo the Great. The major part of this useful work is devoted to the liturgy of the Ember Days, to the legal character of these days, and to their significance from religious and moral, civil and social, and mythological points of view.

d. *Archaeology and Art*

Achelis, Hans, *Altchristliche Kunst* (ZNW 16, 1915, 1-23. 17, 1916, 81-107). — *Achelis, Hans*, *Der Entwicklungsgang der altchristlichen Kunst*. 47 pp. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 2. — *Harnack, Adolf von*, *Die älteste griechische Kircheninschrift*. (SAB 1915, xliii, 746-766). Berlin, Reimer, 1915. M. 1. — *Kaufmann, Carl Maria*, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*. xvi, 514 pp. mit 254 Abbildungen sowie 10 schriftvergleichenden Tafeln. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 18; geb. M. 20. — *Kaufmann, Carl Maria*, *Die heilige Stadt der Wüste. Unsere Entdeckungen, Grabungen und Funde in der altchristlichen Menasstadt*. ix, 218 pp. mit 190 Abbildungen. Kempten, Kösel, 1919. M. 15; geb. M. 18. — *Koch, Hugo*, *Die altchristliche Bilderfrage nach den literarischen Quellen*. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 10). iv, 105 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917. M. 4, 80. — *Lietzmann, Hans*, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Liturgische und archaeologische Studien*. xii, 189 pp. mit 6 Plänen. Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1915. M. 6, 80. — *Pfeilschifter, Georg*, *Oxyrhynchos. Seine Kirchen und Kloster auf Grund der Papyrusfunde*. (Festgabe Knöpfler [vide supra p. 287], 248-264). — *Schrijnen, Josef*, *De ontwikkeling der boetetucht in het licht der oud-christelijke kunst* (De Beiaard 1916, 253-259; 1917, 201-210; [vide supra p. 295]). — *Schultze, Viktor*, *Grundriss der christlichen Archaeologie*. viii, 159 pp. mit Titelbild. München, Beck, 1919. M. 5. — *Smit, E. L.*, *De Oud-Christelijke Monumenten van Spanje. Met 2 Kaarten en 11 afbeeldingen*. (Diss. Leiden). 158 pp. 's Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1916. fl. 4, 75. — *Stuhlfauth, Georg*, *Die "ältesten Porträts" Christi und der Apostel*. 26 pp. mit zwei Abbildungen. Berlin, Huttenverlag, 1918. M. 1. 90. — *Sybel, Ludwig von*, *Auferstehungshoffnung in der frühchristlichen Kunst?* (ZNW 15, 1914, 254-267). — *Sybel, Ludwig von*, *Frühchristliche Kunst*. iv, 55 pp. mit Titelbild. München, Beck, 1920. M. 4, 50. — *Waal, Anton de*, *Die jüngsten Ausgrabungen in der Basilika des hl. Sebastian zu Rom* (Kath. 95, 1, 1915, 395-411).

Kaufmann, who is most favorably known by his 'Handbuch der Christlichen Archäologie,' and by the excavation of

the city of Menas conducted under his direction, has now given us the first handbook of early Christian epigraphy worthy of the name. The labor involved may be judged from the fact that the number of monumental inscriptions now known exceeds 4900. Of these Kaufmann has employed for his text 2000, and has reproduced 700, by cuts or in type facsimile. He has not confined himself to the Roman and Occidental sources which hitherto have been almost exclusively utilized, but has drawn also upon inscriptions from regions of Greek speech and from the Near East. After introductory paragraphs on the conception and task of such a work, the sources and literature, the author treats of the external phenomena, the alphabets, language, and the dating of the inscriptions. This is followed by: 1. Sepulchral inscriptions, selected texts illustrating secular and social life, doctrinal texts, inscriptions bearing on the history of the church and hierarchy; 2. the graffitti; 3. documentary inscriptions; 4. inscriptions referring to the erection of buildings. In special sections are treated the inscriptions of Pope Damasus, and the later historical inscriptions (eulogies of martyrs, titles of buildings from the Roman catacombs, titles of basilicas). An appendix contains an ample apparatus of tables (forms of the inscriptional characters for purposes of comparison, the Julian calendar, chronological tables). Exhaustive indexes facilitate the use of the well-arranged and well-written book. With such an abundance of material, and in a first attempt, all sorts of errors are inevitable. Searching critical reviews (e.g. J. Wittig, *ThRev* 17, 1918, 389-392; W. Larfeld, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1, 1920, 208 ff.; R. Herzog, *HZ* 122, 1920, 301-304) have indeed convicted the author of many sins of omission that might easily have been avoided, and have even charged him with being lacking in the necessary accuracy. These shortcomings should not cast into the shade the good features of a handbook which in the opinion of the reviewer is — until we have a better one — indispensable.

Inasmuch as there are in English no comprehensive treatises on Christian archaeology of any scientific value, *Schultze's* outline should be able to count on a favorable reception, and it would be well deserved, for the little volume is both in form

and contents simply admirable. What Schultze here offers is the well-pondered result of forty years of scientific occupation with the subject; and scholars who are acquainted with the field will not fail to observe that upon almost all important points he has endeavored to carry research deeper or farther afield. But the layman in the subject will also find his account in it, since Schultze has had in mind especially the use of the book by his student hearers. Great attention has also been given to externals, especially in the references to the literature. A translation into English would be well worth while. — The somewhat more advanced student will read *von Sybel's* 'Leitfaden' also with profit. Few scholars have promoted investigation in this field by independent work in a degree comparable to von Sybel, and in this volume he writes, as in a survey from some mountain peak, the history of the development of early Christian art from its beginning under the Flavian emperors down to Theodosius. The epochs of this history as he maps them out are: the period before Hadrian, from the Antonines to Valerian, from Gallienus to Constantine, from Constantine to Theodosius. The treatment is very concise, and everywhere shows the hand of the master who has his material in complete command. The article in ZNW is devoted to the establishment by detailed proof of a thesis for which von Sybel contended in his well-known work, 'Die christliche Antike,' namely that early Christian art, and especially the paintings in the catacombs, are not, as Victor Schultze and after him Hans Achelis maintain, inspired by the thought of a future resurrection of the flesh, but are to be understood in the light of the idea of the present blessedness of the dead in paradise.

In an investigation that is a model of method, *Smit* has collected and turned to historical account the archaeological material for Christianity in Spain. To the 426 inscriptions previously known he adds seven hitherto unpublished. Besides the inscriptions, the sarcophagi, which range from the fourth (third?) to the seventh century, are discussed. The inscriptions are chiefly from the Visigothic period; twenty-two are of the fourth century or earlier. Smit seeks the origin of Spanish Christianity in Rome, though North Africa may have been the

intermediate station. In any case, Christianity had a very independent development on Spanish soil. The general designation of Christians on the Spanish monuments is *Famulus Dei*. Not as much as one per cent of the Christian inscriptions are from soldiers, against six per cent among the non-Christian inscriptions. The inscriptions yield valuable testimony in regard to Christology, penance, and the like. The formulas warning off violators of tombs, Smit derives from the primitive belief in the resurrection of the flesh. In the consciousness of these Christians the material burial *ad sanctos* and the spiritual eternal life with the saints in Paradise are still undistinguished. Bakhuizen van den Brink, to whom the above notice is due, describes the volume as a very valuable contribution to Christian archaeology.

In ZNW *Achelis* has brought to completion the series of articles which he began in 1911-1913. The leading ideas are repeated in the admirable address delivered by him when he entered upon his professorship of church history in Leipzig. The prominent thing in it is the development of the cycle of early Christian pictures, in which he gives more consideration than archaeologists are in the habit of doing to points of view taken from the history of the church. Thus, for example, he brings a group of pictures in which the idea of the forgiveness of sins seems to be manifest (Good Shepherd, Peter's denial) into connection with the controversies in the Roman Church about repentance. Here it may be questioned whether he has not allowed himself to construe too freely (see also below, p. 354, Schrijnen). Again, in making the epoch of Constantine, which is so important in church history, a main division in the development of Christian art also, and in consequence sharply separating the period of the catacomb paintings from that of the sarcophagi and mosaics, Achelis will hardly be followed by the archaeologists. See the adverse criticism on this point by G. Stuhlfauth, ThLZ 45 (1920), 248-250. — Since Ludwig von Sybel defined early Christian art as ancient art, archaeologists have frequently repeated that what is Christian in this art lies solely in the subjects, not in the artistic technic or style — in the content, that is, not in the form. *Jordan* doubts the

correctness of this proposition, and contends that early Christian art, compared with the antique, contains new stylistic elements also.

In other respects also the theories of the archaeologists seem to church historians to demand reconsideration. Above all, when it is a question of dating or making use of the monuments of Christian art, the historian notes that insufficient attention is given to the literary sources. Thus, the rich discoveries of decorative painting in the catacombs have obscured the fact that the patristic writers of the first centuries unanimously testify that the Christians rejected art on principle. *Koch* proves this by an examination of the witnesses from Tertullian to Epiphanius (see above p. 332, under Holl). He also reminds us that Spanish (Council of Elvira), African, or Oriental deliverances are not to be interpreted out of the way and disposed of by a glance at the Roman catacombs. The Roman Church seems to have been the least conservative of all, and more ready than any other to adapt itself to new conditions and to respond to the currents of the times.—*Schrijnen*, like *Achelis* (see above), brings the picture of the Good Shepherd into connection with the controversy over the stricter or laxer penitential practice. The Good Shepherd brings the soul upon his shoulders into the communion of the saints. Down to the time of Callistus, however (see below p. 365f., under Esser, and Koch), the saints were always the true believers who had kept unstained the garments of baptismal grace. The picture is therefore not to be referred exclusively to the other life, but also to the church on earth. Consequently it signifies either a last appeal to the mercy of God after death, or a protest against the Montanistic contention that the church has no power to remove sin in a second repentance. *Schrijnen* hardly pays any attention to the natural objection, supported by the dates assigned by the archaeologists to these paintings, that the oldest frescos of the Good Shepherd carry us back to the second century, that is to a time antecedent to the controversies about repentance. On the other side it is naturally not to be questioned that during these controversies the picture actually served to express the hope of the *lapsi*. The article contains

many other interesting combinations and may therefore be commended to the attention of archaeologists and church historians. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

George La Piana has dealt at length in this review (January 1921, p. 53-94) with *Lietzmann's* valuable studies on the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and has cited the rest of the literature (p. 87). I have therefore only to refer here to *de Waal's* article. — In the course of excavations at Antioch in Syria in 1910 a silver chalice was found with representations of Christ and the Apostles, which is now in New York. Gustavus A. Eisen asserted (1916) that the chalice dates from the first century, and that it is to be assumed that it gives us portrait likenesses of the persons represented. *Stuhlfauth* refutes this rash assertion, and shows that the chalice is to be assigned to the fifth century at the earliest. — In Volume 11 of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1915) a papyrus was published which contains a list of *συνάξεις*, i.e. gatherings for worship, which, like the Roman-Latin *Stationes*, were held annually at fixed times (Saints Days) in certain churches, the bishop being present. It is thus a kind of calendar, which is unfortunately preserved for only about half a year. It was drawn up about the year 535. *Pfeilschifter* makes use of it only to determine the number of church buildings in Oxyrhynchus. The list for the half-year shows 26 churches (possibly 28), so that a total of 40 would not seem to be too high. This would indicate that the needs of the church were well supplied, and that there was an active religious life in the Egyptian cities. In the course of his study *Pfeilschifter* adduces from the papyri other material referring to the churches and monasteries named in the list. — *Harnack* examines from all sides the inscription (Le Bas et Waddington 3, 1 No. 2558; 3, 2 p. 582) of the year 318-319 found in Deir-Ali near Damascus, which once adorned a *συναγωγή Μαρκωνιστῶν*.

In a handsome publication intended for general readers *Kaufmann* presents the results of his excavations in the year 1905. He was fortunate enough at that time to bring to light the famous, but till then wholly lost, sanctuary of St. Menas, in the Lybian desert south of Alexandria, an extensive monument

of civilization in the fifth century. His scientific reports on the excavations from the years 1906–1908, and his great publication on the principal basilica (1910), are well known to scholars. The new popular presentation gives a survey of the whole, in which the reader is skilfully and entertainingly made acquainted with the ruins. An introduction on the legend of Menas and the history of the sanctuary is prefixed. The volume is adorned by an abundance of photographic views excellently reproduced. (This notice follows a review by H. Lietzmann, *ThLZ* 45, 1920, 150.) The volume is at present out of print; the appearance of a new edition, which the publisher promises, is not likely to be in the immediate future.

e. Organization

GENERAL. *Goeller, Emil*, Die Bischofswahl bei Origenes. (Ehrengabe für Johann Georg von Sachsen [vide supra p. 287], 603–616). — *Koch, Hugo*, Zur klerikalen Laufbahn im Altertum (*ZNW* 17, 1916, 78–79); Zur Geschichte des monarchischen Episkopats (ebd. 19, 1919/20, 81–85). — *Metzner, E.*, Die Verfassung der Kirche in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften Harnacks. vii, 248 pp. Danzig, Westpreussischer Verlag, 1919. M. 10; geb. M. 12. — *Moe, Oskar*, Det monarchiske Episcopats Oprindelse [Origin]. 211 pp. Kristiania, Lutherstiftelsen, 1917. COUNCILS. Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, iussu atque mandato Societatis scientiarum Argentoratensis edidit *Eduardus Schwartz*. Tomus III: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum sub Justiniano habitum. Vol. II: Johannis Maxentii libelli. Collectio codicis Novariensis XXX. Collectio codicis Parisini 1682. Procli tomus ad Armenios. Johannis papae II epistula ad viros illustres. 6, xxxii, 210 pp. 4°. Strassburg, Trübner, 1914. M. 30. — Neue Aktenstücke zum ephesinischen Konzil von 431, herausgegeben von Eduard Schwartz. (*AAM* 30, 8). 121 pp. München, Franz, 1920. M. 20. — *Flemming, Johannes*, Akten der ephesinischen Synode von 449. Syrisch mit Georg Hoffmanns deutscher Uebersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen herausgeben. (*AGW* 15, 1). vii, 188 pp. Berlin, Weidmann, 1917. M. 18. — *Haase, Felix*, Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicaea. (*StGKA* 10, 4). vii, 124 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920. M. 14. — *Heckrodt, Ella*, Die Kanones von Sardika aus der Kirchengeschichte erläutert. (Diss. Jena.) x, 128 pp. Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1917. M. 3. — *Koch, Hugo*, Die Zeit des Konzils von Elvira (*ZNW* 17, 1916, 61–67). — *Schwartz, Eduard*, Zur Vorgeschichte des ephesinischen Konzils (*HZ* 114, 1914, 237–263).

THE ROMAN CHURCH AND THE PAPACY. *Bruining, A.*, De Roomsche kerk en Augustinus (*NThT* 4, 1915, 97–122). — *Esser, Gerhard*, Das Irenaeuszeugnis für den Primat der römischen Kirche (*Kath.* 97, 1, 1917, 289–315; 2, 16–34). — *Harnack, Adolf von*, Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der inneren Organisation der stadtrömischen Kirche. (*SAB* 1918, xliii, 954–987). Berlin,

Reimer, 1918. M. 2. — *Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Die römischen Titelnkirchen im Altertum (StGKA 9, 1, 2). x, 224 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1918. M. 10. — *Koch, Hugo*, Zum Lebensgange Kallists (ZNW 17, 1916, 211 sq.); Petrus und Paulus im zweiten Osterfeststreit? (ZNW 19, 1919/20, 174–179). — *Feitz, Wilhelm M.*, Aus dem Geheimarchiv der Weltkirche (StZ 94, 1917, 280–290); Das Register Gregors I (Ergänzungshefte zu den StZ 2, 2). xvi, 222 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 11; Liber Diurnus, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der ältesten päpstlichen Kanzlei vor Gregor dem Grossen. I. Ueberlieferung des Kanzleibuches und sein vorgregorianischer Ursprung. (SAW 185, 1918, 4). 144 pp. Wien, Hölder, 1918; Neue Aufschlüsse über den Liber Diurnus, das Vorlagenbuch der mittelalterlichen Papstkanzlei (StZ 94, 1918, 486–496); Martin I und Maximus Confessor. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreites in den Jahren 645–668 (HJG 38, 1917, 213–236). — *Preysing, Konrad Graf*, Zwei offizielle Entscheidungen des römischen Stuhles um die Wende des 2. Jahrhunderts (ZkTh 41, 1917, 595–597). — *Rauschen, Gerhard*, Florilegium patristicum ix: Textus antenicaeni ad primatum romanum spectantes. vi, 60 pp. Bonn, Hanstein, 1914. M. 1, 40; kart. M. 1, 60. — *Silva-Tarouca, Karl*, Beiträge zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der Papstbriefe des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts (ZkTh 43, 1919, 469–481, 657–692). — *Tangl, Michael*, Gregor-Register und Liber Diurnus (NADG 41, 1919, 741–752).

GENERAL. *Metzner* vindicates the Catholic conception of the primitive Christian organization. To this end he takes up Harnack's writings and endeavors to refute them. He has certainly done his work with industry and care, and in incidental particulars he may merit a hearing. As a whole, however, his book is only a new proof that dogma and history are in contradiction. — In connection with the statement of Epiphanius, Haer. 68, 7, that, unlike other cities, Alexandria never had two bishops, *Koch* calls attention to several well-authenticated instances of an episcopal duumvirate during the third century. — *Moe* is of the opinion that the Christians in the East were organized as *θλασσι* under a *προστάτης*, whereas in the West they chose a prominent member of the congregation to be their 'patron.' [Professor Ammundsen.]

COUNCILS. In 1909 the Strassburger Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft resolved to undertake the publication of a critical edition of the acts of the oecumenical councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople 553, Constantinople 680–681, Nicaea 787, Constantinople 869, and Constantinople 879, and intrusted the task to Eduard *Schwartz*. Properly recognizing that more was involved than merely the acts in the narrow sense, that is the

transactions of the councils themselves, which are already easily accessible in the current collections, Schwartz directed his first efforts to those compilations which, like the *Synodicon Casinense* or the *Codex Encyclius*, afford glimpses of the antecedent proceedings of the synods and of the diplomatic negotiations that accompanied or followed them. The first volume to appear in this great enterprise contains a number of such documents which are important for the understanding of the history of the council of 553, relating in part to the Theopaschite controversy, in part to that of the Three Chapters, and in part to the actual proceedings of the council. The volume begins with the writings of Johannes Maxentius, once edited by Cochlaeus from a manuscript which later found its way to Oxford, and has been identified for the first time by Schwartz in Cod. Bodl. 580. These are followed by the sections concerning the Theopaschite controversy in the so-called *Collectio Novariensis*, that is, the documents preserved in Cod. Nov. 30 and published by Amelli in the first volume of the *Spicilegium Casinense*. The third group consists of the texts of the *Collectio Codicis Parisini* 1682, largely papal letters, together with the account of Innocentius of Maronea concerning the so-called *Collatio cum Severianis* (Mansi viii, 817-834), which Schwartz assigns, as the present writer had already done, but partly on the basis of fresh considerations, to the year 533 instead of 531. An appendix supplies the encyclical addressed by Proclus of Constantinople to the Armenians in the year 435 (Mansi v, 421-437) with the Latin translation of Dionysius Exiguus, besides a letter from Pope John II to certain senators (Mansi viii, 803-806). The prolegomena deal in the main with questions regarding the history of the tradition, touching upon material problems only where intelligibility requires. But once does the author allow himself to discuss such a subject on a more extensive scale: the much-debated history of the Scythian monks is reviewed in the masterly manner which Schwartz has accustomed us to associate with his work. Complementary to this publication are the studies in the history of the councils noticed above on p. 331 (Cassianus) and p. 337 (Proclus).

The war and its consequences have unhappily greatly lessened the hope of being able to carry through without change this largely planned undertaking, but Schwartz has not given it up. In the meantime he has presented us in the *Abhandlungen* of the Munich Academy with a valuable parergon. In a manuscript in the library of the Society of Christian Archaeology in Athens he found a rich collection of documents for the history of the Council of Ephesus in 431. Of the one hundred and seventy-seven pieces in this collection he now prints those that were unknown, or had hitherto been published only in Latin translations. Among them are letters from Cyril of Alexandria, John of Antioch, Popes Celestine and Sixtus III, Theodoret of Cyrus, and others. The transactions concerning the right of the Patriarch of Antioch to consecrate bishops on the island of Cyprus, which are of such great importance for the interpretation of the sixth canon of Nicaea are now accessible in their Greek text. To the reproduction of these documents Schwartz had added an investigation of the relations of this 'Collectio Atheniensis' to those which have been transmitted to us in the libraries of the West (*Collectio Segueriana* and *Collectio Vaticana*). In the concluding section, Schwartz turns his attention to the Latin translations which were made upon the basis of these Greek collections, particularly to that which is known under the misleading designation 'Synodicon Casinense.' He shows that the *Collectio Casinensis* is an amplification of the *Collectio Turonensis* preserved in Cod. Paris. 1572. The Roman deacon Rusticus, nephew of Pope Vigilius, is to be regarded as the author of this work. We possess from his hand a Latin redaction of the Acts of Chalcedon, which belongs together with the amplification of the *Collectio Turonensis* and its continuation in the so-called *Synodicon Casinense*. To the whole Schwartz gives the title 'Synodicon of Rusticus.' The next task which Schwartz has set himself is to publish the first two parts of this *Synodicon*. The manuscript is already complete, and the type-setting is said to have begun; but if it is to be completed, large support by early subscription is necessary. Schwartz justly writes: "I think I have sufficiently shown by this Memoir that the undertaking

is necessary; and that it will contribute to science an abundance of new material, or material made for the first time usable by new editions, sufficient to engage the labor of generations. I sincerely hope that, after all my toil, it may not be brought to a halt." This hope I would most urgently second.

The account of the last day's session of the Ephesian synod of 449, the 'Robber Synod,' has come down to us only in Syriac (Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 14530 Syr. 905), and the edition of that text by S. G. F. Perry (Oxford 1875) has unfortunately remained practically unknown. Even acquaintance with the German translation by Georg Hoffmann (1873), the French by P. Martin (1874), and the English by Perry (1875), has been limited to the narrow circle of a very few investigators. It is to be hoped that the new edition now offered by *Flemming* will meet with a better fate. Facing the Syriac text *Flemming* prints the translation of Hoffmann, whose instructive notes are added, substantially unaltered, at the end of the volume. — On the subject of one or other of the individual councils there are a number of valuable contributions. In opposition to Duchesne, whose assignment of the council of Elvira to the period about 300 (that is, before the Diocletian persecution) has been accepted by many scholars, *Koch* advocates, on very respectable grounds, the period between 306 and 312, with a preference for the earliest possible date within these limits. — The Coptic sources on the Council of Nicaea, which Eugène Revillout published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873-75, have never been thoroughly investigated. A study of them has now been made by *Haase*, who comes to the conclusion that they are not official 'Acts,' but rather a gradually accumulated private corpus of documents of various origin. The creed, catalogue of bishops, and canons — the latter only partially preserved — are fairly good translations of Greek prototypes whose text was in parts better and more original than the Greek texts which have come down to us. The doctrinal sections cannot have been composed before Apollinaris of Laodicea and the earliest controversies on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The corpus comprises the *ἐκθεσις πίστεως* printed among the works of Athanasius, with the *σύνταγμα διδασκαλίας*

πρὸς μονάζοντας which is appended to it, besides a valuable collection of apophthegms. In addition to these studies, Haase supplies a German translation of all the texts. — Fräulein *Heckrodt* attempts to show that the canons of Sardica may without violence be fitted into the ecclesiastical movements of the fourth century, so that there should be no suspicion of forgery. The Greek text is the original. The authoress expounds this text with great diligence. She has brought together and worked over a vast amount of material which hitherto had to be laboriously sought in widely scattered sources. Even such much-discussed questions as that of the position of the Roman bishop in the third and fourth centuries she manages to treat with a certain degree of originality. — *Schwartz* offers a section of an unpublished work on the ecclesiastical policy of the Eastern Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries. He succeeds in shedding light, sometimes new and always interesting, on questions both of the history of doctrine and of church polity. This study can be read with pleasure as well as profit, for the author has a rare faculty for presenting valuable material in attractive form. One matter of detail may be mentioned. The opinion which as the result of Hort's researches (*Two Dissertations*, 1882) has become universal among scholars, that the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed was not adopted at the synod of 381, but originated later, is rejected by Schwartz.

ROMAN CHURCH. Professor *Kirsch* of Freiburg, Switzerland, has undertaken a comprehensive study of the group of so-called title-churches (Tituli), which have an important bearing on the church life of Rome in antiquity. He aims to determine the character of these Tituli, to ascertain their origin and historical development, and to define the position they occupied in the ecclesiastical organization of the Roman church in early times. There were twenty-five such churches, of which all but two (Titulus S. Cyriaci and Titulus S. Matthaei) survive as cardinal churches to this day. Their origin is to be traced to the third century. Eighteen of them were already in existence before the great persecution. Most of the Tituli were originally private houses, with the name of the owner indicated by means

of an inscription over the entrance. In the middle of the fourth century these houses, which up to that time had not been much altered began to be replaced by basilicas. Only in the sixth century was the historical development of the Tituli completed. As may be imagined, our sources for a knowledge of their place in the ecclesiastical organization are scanty; but the author makes them yield valuable information nevertheless. — A welcome supplement to the researches of Kirsch is furnished by *Harnack*. The latter's principal concern, however, is with the origin of the Roman 'regions' and with the related subject of the diaconal and presbyterial organization of the Roman church in the third century. That Rome had a permanent central church and episcopal residence before the time of Constantine, he believes must be denied; though he thinks the bishop did maintain, in the vicinity of his church, an extensive chancellery with the requisite apartments.

Bruining breaks a lance for the Augustinianism of the Catholic Church. At the synod of Orange in 529 she accepted genuine Augustinianism, and held firmly to that position ever after, properly rejecting such extreme views as those of the monk Gottschalk and of the Jansenists. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.] — The much-discussed passage in Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. iii. 3, 1, has been subjected to renewed study by *Esser*, who comes to the conclusion that the principle 'what is Roman is catholic,' and indirectly also the theory of the infallibility of the Roman church, are already discoverable in Irenaeus. Against this daring conclusion there has appeared meanwhile a convincing article by *Koch*, ThStKr 94 (1921), 54-72; who admits, however, that *Esser's* translation of the celebrated passage is entirely correct linguistically. — *Koch* attacks the received view that the reference by Polycrates of Ephesus to the μεγάλα στοιχεία which remain in Asia, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 24, 2), was occasioned by Victor's appeal to Peter and Paul and the presence of their graves in Rome. In a second note, *Koch* maintains that the statement of Hippolytus (Philos. ix. 12, 4) concerning Calixtus can only be interpreted in the sense that Zephyrinus admitted Calixtus into the clergy and intrusted him with the management of the

κοιμητήριον. — Graf *Preysing* sees in the 'edicts' of Zephyrinus and Calixtus reported by Hippolytus (Ref. ix. 11, 12) two official utterances which indicate that even at that time the offices of the Roman see employed a distinctive court style.

In recent years the Jesuit scholar, *Peitz*, has attracted the attention of scholars by his attempts to overturn apparently well-established results in the field of documentary criticism. The importance of the positions he attacks makes watchfulness on the part of critics especially necessary, the more so that *Peitz* puts forward his assertions not only with much learning but also with great self-assurance, and that there is a tendency among his associates to hail him as a veritable reformer of the science of diplomatics and 'a star of the first magnitude in the historical heavens.' His first point of attack is furnished by the well-known researches of Paul Ewald in the NADG for 1879, which formed the basis of the edition of the letters of Gregory the Great in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. According to Ewald the foundation of our tradition is supplied by three manuscript collections, compiled at various times from the Lateran official register: 1. the Hadrianic register, that is, the collection of 686 (683) letters compiled at the behest of Pope Hadrian I; 2. the collection of 200 letters in the Cod. Colon. 92, saec. viii and other manuscripts; and 3. the so-called *Collectio Pauli* (probably *Diaconus*). These three series of selections formed the basis of his edition. *Peitz* now strives to maintain that the first named collection is a true and complete copy of the original register; from which it would follow that that collection alone should have been made the basis of Ewald's edition, and that the latter is therefore fundamentally defective. But this assumption of *Peitz* breaks down completely when confronted with the unequivocal testimony of the tradition, as has been convincingly shown by *Tangl*, one of our foremost authorities on diplomatics. Still bolder are *Peitz*'s conclusions regarding the *Liber Diurnus*, or Papal chancery-book. In opposition to its editor, Sickel, who, while distinguishing between an older strand and later additions, places the compilation of the formularies not earlier than the eighth century, *Peitz* not only claims for all the formulae a pre-Gregorian origin, but would push

them back into early Christian times, even into the second century. What the predication of so early a date involves, may be seen from the fact that Peitz thinks he can recognize in the earlier stratum of the bishop's confession of faith, contained in *Liber Diurnus* No. 73, the original form of the Apostles' Creed. (See above, p. 341 f., on Haussleiter.) Peitz also believes he can demonstrate the authenticity of the papal documents for Lorch-Passau and for the archbishopric of Hamburg. We shall have occasion to return to this subject in our survey of the literature on the history of the church in the Middle Ages. It is to be expected that many other pens will be set in motion by the revolutionary theses of Peitz. Nor should his '*Beitrag zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreits*' be overlooked, in which, while discussing the views of the present writer and other investigators, he seeks to settle more than one disputed point by a new method of approach.

Rauschen has brought together the most important passages bearing upon the earliest development of the idea of primacy in the episcopate. Those who possess Mirbt's '*Quellen*' will find nothing new in this publication. — *Silva-Tarouca*, whose articles are not yet concluded, deals first with the editions of Coustant, the brothers Ballerini, and Thiel, and then with the earliest collections of the decretals. He concludes that the decretals of the popes from Siricius to Coelestinus, which have come down to us in the collections of canons, go back to selective compilations which were pretty certainly complete about the middle of the fifth century. We must suppose them to have been copied from transcripts of the original decretals which were sent to the various ecclesiastical provinces by the addressees.

1. Discipline

Adam, Karl, Das sogenannte Bussedikt des Papstes Kallist. (VKSM 4, 5). 64 pp. München, Lentner, 1917. M. 1, 60. — *Boehmer, Heinrich*, Die Entstehung des Zoelibates. (Studien Hauck [vide supra p. 288], 6-24. — *Brander V.*, "Binden und Loesen" in der altsyrischen Kirche (Kath 95, 1, 1916, 220-232, 287-304). — *Companus, F. Ferr.*, O. F. M., De biecht in de eerste eeuwen der kerk. (Geloof en wetenschap 11, 5). 63 pp. Nijmegen, Malmberg, 1916. — *Esser, Gerhard*, Der Adressat der Schrift Tertullians "de pudicitia" und der Verfasser des römischen Bussedikts. 46 pp. Bonn,

Hanstein, 1914. M. 1; Die Behandlung der Haeresie in der Bussdisziplin der alten Kirche (ThGl 8, 1916, 472-483). — Kemper, J. W., Biecht en boete in de drie eerste eeuwen, naar aanleiding van een nieuw boek [d' Alès, L' édit de Calliste, Par. 1914]. (Studien 46, 1914, 49-69). — Koch, Hugo, Kallist und Tertullian. (SAH 1919, 22). ii, 98 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1920. M. 5, 40. — Preysing, Konrad Graf, Existenz und Inhalt des Bussedikts Kallists (ZkTh 43, 1919, 358-362).

There are some problems to which scholars constantly recur. One such is that which relates to the growth of the system of penance in the first centuries, and in particular to the evaluation of Tertullian's writings 'De paenitentia' and 'De pudicitia,' as well as to the alleged edict (*edictum peremptorium*) which is the object of attack in the latter treatise. These questions have been the subject of renewed and lively discussion in the period covered by the present survey. Professor Esser of Bonn, who by reason of his life-long studies in Tertullian (see above, p. 312, under BKV) has won the right to a most respectful hearing, holds that the 'De pudicitia' was addressed, not to the bishop of Rome, but to the catholic church of Carthage or else to its bishop. The bishop of Rome was, it is true, the author of the 'edict,' but he was not responsible for the controversy at Carthage; he merely took a hand in it after his aid had been invoked by the bishop of that church. The bishop of Rome in question, moreover, was not Calixtus, as has been generally assumed on the basis of the familiar passage in the Philosophumena of Hippolytus, but his predecessor Zephyrinus. In support of this view Esser seeks to show (as does also Graf Preysing) that the statement of Hippolytus to the effect that Calixtus was the first to deal leniently with sins against chastity does not refer to a special decree on the subject of penance. Also he thinks the 'De pudicitia' must be dated much earlier than is usual, that is, in the year 213; in which case of course it could not refer to Calixtus. These conclusions of Esser have secured the assent of so highly esteemed a co-worker as F. Diekamp, ThRev. 13, 454-456. Adam goes further. He believes that even the 'edict' originated with the bishop of Carthage; so that the connection with Rome must be wholly eliminated. As regards the 'edict' itself, both Esser and Adam are of the opinion that the toleration there expressed

towards sins of the flesh was not an innovation, but merely a confirmation of the common practice of the church in opposition to the strict requirements of the Montanists.

All these assertions are controverted by *Koch* in an essay which exhibits at their best the merits of that excellent scholar's critical method. He recognizes, of course, as have all previous investigators, that the 'De pænitentia' contains expressions which seem to favor the idea that it was the custom of the church even then to rehabilitate the most serious offenders on performance of due penance. But he shows that those passages must be controlled by others which unmistakably prove the opposite. And he points in this connection to some little-noticed passages in the 'De baptismo' (c. 5) and the 'Apologeticum' (c. 39), from which it appears plain that certain sins were punished with permanent exclusion from the fellowship of worship and the sacraments. So that the procedure of the bishop who uttered the 'edict' was in fact an innovation. He goes on to re-establish the connection between the Hippolytus passage and the statements of Tertullian, which is disputed by Esser and Adam; disposes of the objection drawn from the chronology of the 'De pudicitia,' by showing that the latter must have been written before the 'De monogamia' and the 'De ieiunio adversus psychicos,' hence necessarily during the episcopate of Calixtus, and so brings back into honor the view that Calixtus was the author of the 'edict.' Moreover, the opponent addressed in the 'De pudicitia' can hardly be any other than the bishop of Rome, to whom alone the derisive designations 'pontifex maximus' and 'episcopus episcoporum' (the latter misinterpreted by Adam) could apply. To be sure, Tertullian extends his condemnation to every other bishop who follows the example of the bishop of Rome, as well as to all 'psychics' who are of the same mind, against which latter, as its title indicates, his treatise is directed. Koch devotes a final section to the confutation of the efforts to employ this writing of Tertullian (as Esser in particular attempts to do) in support of the thesis that the legal primacy of the Roman bishops was already recognized at that time. I may note in this connection that German scholars were already acquainted with the

book of D'Alès, *L'édit de Calliste*, Paris 1914. — By means of a judicious combination of old and new materials, *Boehmer* aims to determine the motive which led the ancient church to require of those who ministered at its altars, not indeed celibacy, but continence in the marriage relation. The *officium coniugale* does not comport with service at the altar. Accordingly, where the eucharist was celebrated daily, as was already the case in the West before 300, there was a strong tendency toward continued continence. It was otherwise in the East, where the celebration took place only several times a week, and hence temporary abstention on the day preceding the offering was deemed sufficient. The ancient church had as yet not the least idea of introducing the celibacy of the priesthood; that was reserved for the Middle Ages. — The works of *Companus* and *Kemper* contain, as I am informed by Bakhuizen van den Brink, nothing of scientific interest.

g. Asceticism and Monasticism

TEXTS.

Crum, W. E. Der Papyrus codex saec. VI–VII der Phillippsbibliothek zu Cheltenham. Koptische theologische Schriften herausgegeben und übersetzt. Mit einem Beitrag von *Albert Ehrhard*. (Schr Ges Str 18). xviii, 171 pp. Mit zwei Tafeln in Lichtdruck. Strassburg, Trübner, 1915. M. 15. — *Hesseling, D. C.*, Bloemlesing uit het Pratum Spirituale van Johannes Moschus van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien. (Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores graeci et romani adnotationibus instructi curantibus P. J. Enk en D. Plooiij.) Utrecht, Ruys, 1916. fl. 2.

INVESTIGATIONS.

Albers, Bruno, Der Geist des hl. Benediktus. viii, 112 pp. Freiburg, Herder, 1917. M. 1, 20. — *Bickel, Ernst*, Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustinus. 38 pp. Leipzig, Teubner, 1916. M. 1, 50. — *Bousset, Wilhelm*, Komposition und Charakter der Historia Lausiaca (NGW 1917, 173–217). — *Casel, Odo*, Zur Vision des heil. Benedikt (StMB 38, 1917, 345–348). — *Degenhart, Friedrich*, Der heilige Nilus Sinaita. Sein Leben und seine Lehre vom Mönchtum. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 6.) xii, 188 pp. Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1915. M. 5; geb. M. 6, 50; Neue Beiträge zur Nilusforschung. v, 50 pp. Ebd., 1918. M. 1, 50. — *Herwegen, Ildefons*, Der heilige Benedikt. 2. Aufl. xii, 170 pp. Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1917. M. 7. — *Heussi, Karl*, Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen. (TU 42, 2). iv, 172 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917. M. 6, 50; Nilus der Asket und der Ueberfall der Moenche am Sinai (NJkIA 35, 1916, 107–221). — *Krüger, Gustav*, Asketika (ThR 20, 1917, 63–83). — *Müller, Engelbert*, Studien zu den

Biographien des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren. (Diss. München.) 66 pp. Aschaffenburg, Werlrun, 1914. — *Reitzenstein, Richard*, Des Athanasius Werk über das Leben des Antonius. (SAH 1914, 8). 68 pp. Heidelberg, Winter, 1914. M. 2, 40; *Historia monachorum und Historia Lausiaca*. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker. (FRLANT, Neue Folge, 7). vi, 266 pp. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1919. M. 10, 40. — *Salonius, A. H.*, Vitae Patrum. Kritische Untersuchungen über Text, Syntax und Wortschatz der spätlateinischen Vitae Patrum (Buch iii, v, vi, vii). (Skrifter utgivna av humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet; Lund. Acta Societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis. II). xi, 456 pp. Lund., C. W. K. Gleerup, 1920. M. 120.

TEXTS. The Philipps Library papyrus codex dating from the sixth or seventh century, now in the possession of Mr. T. Fitzroy Fenwick of Cheltenham, contains several interesting Coptic writings of a theological character which are best discussed at this point, since they originated in the circles of Pachomian monachism. They have been edited by *Crum* with his usual care, and he has also supplied a German translation. To *Ehrhard* we are indebted for an excellent historico-critical introduction to the texts. In the main they group themselves about four persons, three of whom, the archbishops Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, and Horsiesius, third abbot-general of the Pachomian monasteries in the southern Thebais, are well known from the ecclesiastical and monastical history of Egypt, while the fourth, Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus, appears here for the first time. The popular character of these texts makes them especially valuable; they afford a more direct and vivid insight into the religious life of the Pachomian monks than can be had from the learned theological literature. They fall into three parts: 1. the account of a journey of Horsiesius to Alexandria, an interesting episode from the life of this second successor of Pachomius, concerning whom our information is otherwise quite meagre; 2. the 'Questions and Answers,' in which Cyril of Alexandria plays the chief rôle, and which, according to Ehrhard, do not belong to the class of *ἐρωταποκρίσεις*, but grew out of an actual colloquy between the patriarch and his two deacons, Anthimus and Stephanus; and 3. a group of pseudepigrapha, put into the mouth of an otherwise unknown Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus by a Pachomian monk, who

made use of a pseudonym for the discussion of several disputed points of doctrine. Crum leaves the question open whether the texts were originally composed in Coptic or are translations from the Greek, while Ehrhard confidently decides in favor of the first alternative. — Professor *Hesseling* is known as one of the foremost investigators in the field of the Koine. The edition of extracts from the 'Pratum Spirituale' of Johannes Moschus which he has prepared for students of philology and theology, with its summary of the history of the Koine and brief grammatical notes, fully sustains his reputation. The introduction deals with the life of Johannes, and emphasizes the value of his book for a knowledge of the state of religion at the end of the sixth century. [Bakhuizen van den Brink.]

STUDIES. In his 'Hellenistische Wundererzählungen,' published in 1906, *Reitzenstein* had already attacked the literary problem of the oldest monastical histories. In 1912 appeared Holl's important study, 'Die schriftstellerische Form der Heiligenlegende' (NJkIA 29, 1912, 406-427). In that study Holl showed that the Vita Antonii of Athanasius was the prototype of the Greek lives of the saints, and found the characteristic difference between the Christian narratives and classical biography to consist in the fact that in the former the biographical element serves only as a means for the representation of the ideal. At the same time he pointed out that the model for the Vita Antonii must have been furnished by a lost βίος Πυθαγόρου. *Reitzenstein* has extended these observations. Upon further study, the astonishing fact was disclosed that not only were parts of the narrative in the Vita extracted quite mechanically and unintelligently from a life of Pythagoras, but even its ideal of the Christian ascetic was formed under the immediate influence of the Neopythagorean ideal of human perfection. The very conception of asceticism reflects that ideal, since asceticism aims not at the destruction of the body, but merely at its subjection to the spirit, and the restoration of man to his original state, his true nature. Thus Athanasius transferred to Christianity the philosophical ideal of the perfect wise man, standing above all earthly things. In so doing, *Reitzenstein* supposes he sought to portray an ideal that should contrast

with another conception of the value and dignity of the ascetic life already widely prevalent in the monastic life of his time (about the middle of the fourth century), namely, the conception of the monk as a Pneumatic or Gnostic, a superhuman being. The question then arises, how nearly we can get at this other conception. A thorough examination of certain technical terms, particularly of the word *μονάζειν*, showed that while monasticism as an historical institution was influenced by Neopythagoreanism, its fundamental ideas must have been formed in the main under the influence of Gnosticism. To confirm these observations, however, it seemed necessary to make a comprehensive study of the older monastical narratives, especially the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca*; to inquire into their literary character, determine the historical value of their statements, and to set forth the ideas and conceptions of their authors. But even then the circle of the sources to be investigated would have been too narrowly drawn. The monastical writers on ethics — an Evagrius Ponticus and a Diodochus of Photice — had also to be examined, with the correct recognition of the fact that for the proper evaluation of the monastical novel the ascetic-gnostic didactic writings must necessarily be taken into consideration. In this way a new book has been produced, concerning which one cannot help regretting that its readableness is in inverse proportion to its importance. Reitzenstein is fond of studying *coram publico*. He conducts his readers all along the path he himself has travelled, with all the detours which were unavoidable for him, to be sure, but which they might well have been spared.

The course of Reitzenstein's investigation may be summarized as follows: Unlike Lucius in his well-known book, 'Die Anfänge des Heiligenkultes,' he thinks of the 'legend' only as a literary product (chap. 1-4). Not the person, but the purpose, determines the plan of the narrative. The two great collections, the 'Historia Monachorum' and the 'Historia Lausiaca,' derive their value, not from the description of events, nor yet from their representation of the attendant circumstances, the milieu, but from the views of the authors which there find expression — the views of Rufinus (Reitzenstein

holds, with Preuschen, that the Latin form of the *Historia Monachorum* is the original) and of an unknown author (after the name of Palladius as author of the *Historia Lausiaca*, Reitzenstein puts a question mark); or, to be more exact, the views of those circles in which the narratives committed to writing by these authors arose as a kind of popular literature in the form of separate stories. Next (chap. 5) he examines the idea of the ascetic as superman, with regard to its origins and various ramifications. He shows the connection between the stories of monks and those of martyrs, and takes occasion to investigate anew the origin and significance of the title of 'martyr' (see above p. 300 f.), as well as the position and law of the Christian Pneumatics. The language of asceticism in the Stoics, Neopythagoreans, Philo, and Porphyry (with especial emphasis on the often neglected writing 'Ad Marcellam') is inquired into, and the 'decisive fact that most of the terminology of monasticism is borrowed from heathen philosophy' is placed in its proper light. In this way he shows that the influence of Pythagoreanism upon nascent monasticism was supplemented by that of the Hellenistic mysteries and of early Christian Gnosticism. The sixth chapter is devoted to Evagrius and Diadochus. Here especial attention is paid, on the one hand, to the examination of the conception of Gnosis in its double aspect as the higher and the lower Gnosis, and on the other, to the gradual rejection of the ascetics' claim to belong to a supramundane order of beings. The seventh and eighth chapters are occupied with the *Historia Lausiaca* (analysis of sources, question of revision); the ninth with the opposition between the episcopacy and the ascetic class (Massaliani, Encratites). His closing chapter the author devotes to a fresh and exhaustive discussion of the original significance of the early Christian terms 'Gnostic' and 'Pneumatic,' which, as our review has shown, are of prime importance for the whole investigation. The extremely polemical tone of this discussion will be regretted. In opposition to Harnack, Reitzenstein defends the definition of Gnosis which has been reached by recent researches of philologists and students of the history of religion. For further information on this subject the reader is referred

to the present writer's (*Krüger*) above-mentioned notice in the *ThR*, or better still to the publications of Reitzenstein and Harnack on the formula 'Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung'; the latter belong in the department of the New Testament and early Christianity, and hence cannot be reviewed in this place.

Reitzenstein, who teaches at Göttingen, dedicated his book to Wilhelm Bousset on the occasion of the latter's departure from Göttingen to take a chair at Giessen. *Bousset* himself had given a good deal of attention to the older monastic literature. His essay on the composition and character of the *Historia Lausiaca* starts with the observations of Reitzenstein, in particular with the fact, so significant for the literary criticism of the *Historia*, that the terms *γνώσις*, *γνωστικός*, *πνευματικός* are found exclusively in certain sections of the work, that is to say, in the second half and in the first four chapters of the first half. This signifies that those expressions are to be found only where there is reason to believe that we are dealing with the compiler of the *Historia Lausiaca* himself, and not with one of his written sources. Bousset strives to identify those earlier sources. He thinks he can recognize as such: 1. a collection of stories about the monks of the desert of Scete; 2. matter from the traditions concerning Pachomius; 3. a catalogue of Syrian saints, with brief characterizations; and 4. (perhaps) a collection of 'lives' of holy women. I venture to add, in this connection, that among the papers left by Professor Bousset there is a manuscript work, completely ready for the printer, on the history of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.⁵ Its publication would be a real gain for science, but no publisher could undertake it without very considerable contributions towards meeting the cost of printing. As Germany alone is unable to supply the necessary funds at the present time, it is perhaps permissible to draw the attention of non-German scholars to this unquestionable 'good work.' — In his sketch *Bickel* tries to show how the three currents of evangelical, monastic-gnostic, and philosophical asceticism are united in the ascetic ideal of the

⁵ In the "Festgabe" commemorating Harnack's seventieth birthday (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921) Bousset gives a brief summary (pp. 102-106) of the results of this extensive work.

three great theologians of the western church. To retrace the sources of this ideal he goes back, beyond the Alexandrians Clement and Origen, to Posidonius and the Socratic philosophy. At the same time he attempts to do justice to the literary individuality of each of the three theologians. For so short a treatise this is quite too large a task. But the skilful author manages to awaken lively interest in his subject nevertheless.

In his painstaking monograph on Nilus Sinaita, *Degenhart* did not attempt any critical treatment of the literary tradition, in which the true and the false are palpably intermingled. *Heussi* has undertaken to make good that omission. Unless he is mistaken, the fascinating story of the attack on the monks of Sinai, upon which the traditional life-story of Nilus has been built up, cannot hereafter be employed as an historical source, though it does not thereby lose its value as a picture of contemporary life. For our knowledge of Nilus we must therefore depend upon his own writings, especially on the collection of his letters. The investigation of that collection forms the kernel of *Heussi's* work. As in the case of Isidore of Pelusium, the collection consists of real letters, not rhetorical exercises in style or mere excerpts from the Church Fathers. Because of their impersonal character, which will surprise no one who is familiar with the literature of asceticism, the letters throw very little light on the conditions under which the author lived. But references to Sinai are entirely lacking, and *Heussi* believes the author must be sought rather in northwestern Asia Minor. The circle of his readers embraced the whole of Byzantine society from emperor to slave — monks, clergy, and laymen. In his second study, *Degenhart* seeks to maintain the historicity of the Sinai story with old and new arguments. We may expect a rejoinder from *Heussi*.⁶

Simeon the younger, the celebrated Stylite (521–596), had three biographers: Arcadius, archbishop of Constantia in Cyprus (died after 626), Johannes Petrinus (tenth century), and Nicephorus, surnamed *ὁ Οὐρανός* (about 1000). *Müller* furnishes first a critical text of the *Vita* by Petrinus from the

⁶ This has just been published. See Karl Heussi, *Das Nilusproblem*, 82 pp. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1921. M. 6. Heussi, as might be expected, declares himself unconvinced.

Munich manuscript, which had previously been only partially edited, and then proceeds to examine the mutual relation of the several biographies. He reaches the conclusion that the earliest biography by Arcadius has not been preserved, but that all three extant ones were derived from it. — Among the works relating to Saint Benedict, that of *Herwegen*, abbot of Maria Laach, deserves especial notice as a delicate and carefully drawn character-sketch, which, with all due reverence for tradition, is not devoid of critical method. With Benedict, however, we have reached the threshold of the Middle Ages, and so our survey must be suspended at this point, to be resumed in another place.

In the paucity of works on the history of late Latin, the thorough investigation which *Salonius* has devoted to the so-called *Vitae Patrum* (reprinted in Migne, Vols. 73 and 74, after Rosweyd) must be characterized as very useful. Of the ten books of the *Vitae*, Salonius has selected Books 3, 5, 6, and 7, because they stand in closer relation to one another both in content and in language. Salonius proves at large that Book 3 passes erroneously under the name of Rufinus of Aquileia, while there is no reason to doubt that the author of Book 5 was the Roman deacon and later Pope Pelagius I (555–560); of Book 6, the subdeacon John, later Pope John III (560–563); and of Book 7, the Spanish monk, Paschasius, about the middle of the sixth century. The Lives are in all cases translations from the Greek, and the discovery of the Greek originals would be of great importance for the reconstruction of the Latin text. As the matter now stands, it can often not be decided whether an error is to be attributed to the editors, the copyists, or the translator. In this respect Salonius is very cautious. The especial attention of students of the language may be called to the rich material which he offers them.

NOTES

A CONJECTURE ON MATTHEW XI, 12

The very multiplicity of the attempts which have been made to solve the exegetical problem presented by the difficult Logion of St. Matthew 11, 12 is in itself a strong indication that no one of the proffered interpretations can claim for itself a pre-eminent position; and inasmuch as all the thought that has been expended upon the Saying has not succeeded in discovering in it a meaning that by its inherent probability compels us to accept it as the true interpretation, it is inevitable that we should wonder whether some error can have crept into the text.

The manuscripts and versions, it is true, are singularly unanimous in their support of the traditional text; nevertheless I venture to submit a conjecture which has, as I think, the merit of giving to the Logion a much more intelligible meaning than any that has hitherto been proposed.

The evidence of the papyri and kindred sources agrees with the testimony of the literary sources in showing that it is permissible to take *βιάζεται* either as middle or as passive. Whichever voice is adopted the clause in which the word occurs plainly speaks of violent opposition between the Kingdom and some opposing force, and the second clause, *καὶ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν*, taken in conjunction with the preceding words, can scarcely bear any other meaning than that the Kingdom is being worsted in the conflict. Herein lies the real difficulty of the Logion, and most of the current interpretations are attempts to expound the words without looking this obvious difficulty in the face. We cannot of course think that Jesus would speak of the Kingdom of Heaven as being worsted in any encounter, and the purpose of this Note is to suggest that the kingdom spoken of in the Logion as being hard pressed is not the Kingdom of Heaven at all.

The Gospel records leave us in no doubt that our Lord shared the conception current among His contemporaries that over against the Kingdom of God, in constant and violent opposition to it, stood a Kingdom of Evil. In the Beelzeboul discourse he speaks of it as the Kingdom of Satan: *καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;* (Matt. 12, 26).

Now is it possible that in the Logion which we are discussing Jesus is speaking of the Kingdom of Satan? If we could substitute τοῦ

Σατανᾶ for τῶν οὐρανῶν all the obscurity would at once disappear; we could then take βιάζεσθαι as passive and find in the Logion the statement that ever since the days of John's ministry the Kingdom of Satan was being hard pressed, and that those who were storming it were getting the upper hand. But why and how did τῶν οὐρανῶν replace τοῦ Σατανᾶ? Is it possible to suggest any reasonable explanation of the substitution of the one for the other? It seems hopeless to discover any reason why in the Greek the words τῶν οὐρανῶν should have supplanted a more original τοῦ Σατανᾶ. But could the substitution have been effected before the words of our Lord had been translated into Greek — while they were still being reported and written in their original Aramaic? In Aramaic the Kingdom of Heaven would be מַלְכוּתָא דְּשְׁמַיָּא, while the expression corresponding to the Kingdom of Satan would be מַלְכוּתָא דְּשַׁטָּנָא; and the two expressions are sufficiently alike graphically to make confusion easily possible.

That the initial letter of the Hebrew word for kingdom is *shin* while that of the word for Satan is *sin* is no proof that in Aramaic the former would be spelt with ש and the latter invariably with ס. It is true that the Hebrew ש is more usually represented in Aramaic by ס, but in every period of Aramaic the interchange of ש and ס is common. In the particular case of the word Satan the Targums and Talmudic literature show both forms שַׁטָּנָא and סַטָּנָא in common use. The latter is rather more frequently used, but the former is quite usual.¹

It will be noticed that in modern Square Hebrew the letters which are *not* identical in the two words which, as we suggest, were confused (namely the letters ט and ס) are not very dissimilar; but the possibility has to be borne in mind that they may not have been so much alike, and that consequently confusion would be less probable, in the script employed when our Lord's sayings were first written in Aramaic. Our knowledge, however, of the precise form in which the Logia were current in his day and later is so meagre that it is not safe to be dogmatic. It is highly probable that the old Square Hebrew (see Column v, page 71 of Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I) was in use in the lifetime of Jesus,² and in that script it was by no means impossible for the error suggested in this Note to have arisen.

As to the Aramaic underlying the words βιάζεσθαι and βιασθαι, it would not be difficult to suggest expressions which would be in har-

¹ For some of these facts I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor S. H. Hooke.

² See Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. I, p. 74a (Taylor), and Vol. IV, p. 949a (Kenyon).

mony with what we conceive to have been the original meaning of the Logion. For example, Dalman's rendering of the two words, which makes **DN** its starting-point, would suit our emendation of the text quite as well as it suits Dalman's own interpretation.³

When we remind ourselves of the frequency with which the phrase 'the Kingdom of Heaven' occurred in the reports of the Master's discourses, we realize how easy it would be for some early scribe to mistake a chance occurrence of words in some measure similar for just another instance of the great phrase that so frequently recurred.

It is significant, as affording some corroboration of our hypothesis, that in Matt. 12, 29 Jesus uses the verb ἀπράζω of plundering the goods of the Strong Man — the very verb employed in our Logion, as we interpret it, to describe the successful onset of the new forces of righteousness upon the Kingdom of Satan.

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THE TEXT OF LUKE II, 22

This verse contains a textual problem which has perplexed editors of the New Testament since the days of Erasmus and the Complutensian edition. The question is, What pronoun should be read after καθαρισμόν? — αὐτῶν, or αὐτοῦ, or αὐτῆς?

Αὐτῶν is attested by **ABLWΓΔΠ** etc., by nearly all the minuscules, by the Peshitta, the Harclean, and the Palestinian Syriac, and by three minor ancient versions (Ethiopic, Armenian, and Gothic). The Arabic Diatessaron also has the plural pronoun, agreeing with the Peshitta at this point. Origen found αὐτῶν in his text of the Gospel, and, so far as is known, he was acquainted with no other reading in this place. He quotes Luke 2, 22 in his Fourteenth Homily on Luke, which deals with the Circumcision and Purification, and he discusses the difficulty involved in the plural αὐτῶν without mentioning any variant reading. If he had known of such, he would certainly have made some reference to it. The Homiliae in Lucam were written at Caesarea, after Origen's withdrawal to that city from Alexandria in the year 231. We may therefore assume that αὐτῶν formed part of Luke 2, 22 in the text current at Caesarea and Alexandria in the early

³ *The Words of Jesus* (English Translation), pp. 141, 142.

part of the third century, and that there were no rival claimants for the place. It was also the Antiochian, or 'Syrian,' reading, as its predominance in the minuscule manuscripts proves.

Αὐτῶν is sometimes explained as referring to the Jews.^{1*} But this is contextually objectionable, because the subject understood of ἀνήγαγον is the parents of Jesus. Moreover, this interpretation becomes much more difficult, not to say impossible, if one believes, as the present writer does, that the first two chapters of Luke (except the preface) are based on a Semitic original. Some think the plural pronoun is used of Mary and Jesus;² whilst others, with much better reason in view of the context, refer αὐτῶν to Joseph and Mary.³ But both of these explanations are fraught with the difficulty that the Mosaic Law prescribed purification only for the mother after childbirth. No ceremonial impurity attached to the father or to the child.

The feminine pronoun αὐτῆς is found in no Greek manuscript of the New Testament.⁴ Its attestation is not only of inferior quality; it is also extremely scanty, being limited to a citation in a work wrongly ascribed to Athanasius,⁵ to a catena on the Gospel,⁶ and to Erpenius's edition of the Arabic published in 1616.⁷ Αὐτῆς is obviously a learned correction either of the reading αὐτῶν or of the variant αὐτοῦ, which is discussed below. It was made by some one who knew that the woman only according to the Jewish Law needed purification after the birth of a child.

On the other hand Codex Bezae and at least eight minuscules have αὐτοῦ after καθαρισμοῦ.⁸ The Sahidic version and the Amsterdam edition of the Armenian also have 'his cleansing' here.⁹ *Eius* of the Old Latin¹⁰ and the Vulgate, as well as the pronominal suffix in the Sinaitic Syriac,¹¹ are ambiguous; they may be interpreted either as masculine or as feminine. But inasmuch as αὐτοῦ is an early 'Western' reading, being found in Codex Bezae and the Sahidic version, whereas αὐτῆς is very slightly attested and is doubtless only a learned correction of αὐτῶν or αὐτοῦ, it seems altogether probable that αὐτοῦ rather than αὐτῆς underlies the Old Latin and the Sinaitic Syriac. For the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions were made from manuscripts of the 'Western' type. Moreover, there is no evidence that the reading αὐτῆς was in existence when either of these versions was made. It is quite possible, however, that many readers of the Old Latin and Sinaitic Syriac understood the mother of Christ to be meant. Αὐτοῦ can only refer to Jesus, whose circumcision and naming are recounted in verse 21. But from the point of view of the Mosaic

* See notes at the end of the article.

Law it is erroneous to speak of the purification of the child. Nevertheless, Griesbach regarded *αὐτοῦ* as a *speciosa lectio*, and Zahn thinks that it may be the right reading in Luke 2, 22.¹²

A few authorities have no pronoun at all after *καθαρισμοῦ*.¹³ The omission undoubtedly arose from a feeling that the Evangelist could not have written either *αὐτῶν* or *αὐτοῦ* in this place. This reading, however, has no more claim to be regarded as correct than the feminine pronoun *αὐτῆς*.

The Complutensian editors,¹⁴ followed by Beza and the Elzevir editions, adopted *αὐτῆς*;¹⁵ but Erasmus and Stephanus printed *αὐτῶν* in their New Testaments.¹⁶ The Antwerp and Paris Polyglots adhere to the Elzevir tradition, whereas the London Polyglot reproduces the text of Stephanus. *Αὐτῶν* is read by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, Baljon, and von Soden. No editor has ever adopted *αὐτοῦ*, and none since Alter has printed *αὐτῆς*.

The present writer believes that the first two chapters of Luke (except the preface) are based on a Semitic source. The Greek variants in Luke 2, 22 can be readily explained if one assumes, with Bousset, Gressmann, Plummer, and Moffatt, that the underlying document was written in Aramaic; and this assumption seems reasonable at least so far as the narrative parts of the chapters are concerned.¹⁷

The source in Luke 2, 22, like the Targum of Onkelos on Lev. 12, 4 and 6, probably had *יומי רכותה*. The suffix in *רכותה* was intended to be read as feminine, meaning 'her purification.' Luke, or whoever translated the source into Greek, having read in the preceding verse about the circumcision and naming of Jesus, took it as masculine, 'his purification,' and translated it by *καθαρισμοῦ αὐτοῦ*. This was the original text of Luke 2, 22. But before the time of Origen it was perceived that *αὐτοῦ* could not be right, and it was changed to *αὐτῶν*, which was suggested by the verb *ἀνέγαγον* and seemed to improve the sense. In course of time *αὐτῶν* became the dominant reading, though *αὐτοῦ* survived in texts which preserved the 'Western' tradition. But neither *αὐτοῦ* nor *αὐτῶν* was universally satisfactory, since the Mosaic Law demanded purification of the woman after childbirth and of her only. Accordingly *αὐτῆς* appeared as a learned correction, but its range was extremely limited until the appearance of the Complutensian edition in 1522. The adoption of *αὐτῆς* into the text of several early printed editions of the New Testament is due in part to the Vulgate *eius*, which was understood as a feminine pronoun.

NOTES

1. So Mill (*Novum Testamentum*, ed. Kuster, Prol. §§ 676 and 1438); van Hengel (Annotations, p. 199); Edersheim (Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, 8th ed., i, p. 195, n. 1).

2. So Origen; de Wette; Winer (Grammar, tr. Thayer, p. 147); Hahn.

3. So Meyer, Godet, Alford, Bernhard Weiss, Schanz, Plummer, E. Kloss-termann.

4. Codex 76, a Vienna manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is commonly cited as a witness for *αὐτῆς*. This, however, is an error; for Gregory, who examined the codex in 1887, reports that it reads *αὐτῶν* in Luke 2, 22 (cf. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, III, 484). Codex 76 is one of the manuscripts consulted by Alter. He printed *αὐτῆς* in Luke 2, 22 without recording the reading of this codex. Griesbach inferred from Alter's silence that *αὐτῆς* was found in 76, and in order to indicate that the citation was based on inference he enclosed the number 76 in parentheses. It has been pointed out above that this manuscript really has *αὐτῶν*; and Alter failed to indicate this fact through carelessness. His edition is substantially a reprint of 218, a thirteenth century codex in the Imperial Library in Vienna. Professor Karl Beth, of Vienna, has kindly informed me that it reads *αὐτῶν* in Luke 2, 22. Alter, a Roman Catholic scholar, no doubt adopted *αὐτῆς* from the Complutensian-Elzevir tradition, or possibly from the Vulgate *eius*. Scholz, with characteristic inaccuracy, omitted Griesbach's parentheses about 76, and thenceforth *αὐτῆς* passed into the critical tradition as the true reading of the manuscript.

5. Athanasius (Benedictine ed., Paris, 1698), ii, 418 f.

6. Cf. Cramer, *Catena*, ii, p. 22. Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, ii, 17 is cited by Tischendorf as an authority for *eius*. The passage runs thus: *dies purgationis matris eius* (Benedictine ed., Paris, 1679-1701, iii, col. 38).

7. The Roman edition of the Arabic has no pronoun at this point.

8. Codd. 21, 47, 56, 61, 118, 209, 220, 254.

9. Two Sahidic manuscripts, however, read 'their,' in agreement with *Ⲛⲁⲃ* etc. The Amsterdam edition of the Armenian version (1666) is in some places conformed to the Latin Vulgate (cf. Conybeare in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, i, 154). Accordingly 'his cleansing' in Luke 2, 22 may be due to *purgationis eius* of the Vulgate. Zohrab's critical edition of the New Testament (1789) has 'their cleansing.'

10. The only Latin authorities known to read *eorum* are q and δ.

11. The Curetonian Syriac is defective at this point.

12. Cf. Zahn, *Kommentar*, p. 151, note.

13. Cod. 435, Scrivener's x and y, Amphilochius (Migne P. G. XXXIX, 48), the Latin translation of Irenaeus (Migne P. G. VII, 877 f.), the Bohairic version (though six manuscripts have 'their'), and the Roman edition of the Arabic.

14. What manuscripts the Complutensian editors used in preparing their edition of the New Testament is not known. It is, however, altogether improbable that they had any Greek authority for *αὐτῆς* in Luke 2, 22. They doubtless introduced the word into their text on the strength of the Vulgate *eius* (understood as a feminine pronoun), just as they adopted 1 John 5, 7

and 8 from the current Latin version. In support of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ Mill cites the *Lectiones Velestianae*. On these readings, which were really not Greek but Latin, see Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum*, I, pp. 59 ff.

15. 'Her purification' of the A. V. represents this tradition. The R. V. on the other hand reads 'their purification' in accordance with the great uncial manuscripts. Luther wrote 'ihrer Reinigung,' which is ambiguous; but Gerbelius's edition of the New Testament (1521, an Erasmus text), which Luther is said to have used, has $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon$. A similar ambiguity is found in the West Saxon and Northumbrian versions.

16. According to Mill, Erasmus was acquainted with one manuscript that read $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

17. The hymns on the other hand are Hebraic in character, and may have been composed in Hebrew. Cf. Torrey, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, presented to C. H. Toy, pp. 293 f. Professor Torrey thinks that the prose setting as well as the hymns themselves were written in Hebrew, and in support of this view he cites the awkward phrase $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu \text{'Iou}\delta\alpha$ in Luke 1, 39. This he regards as an attempt to translate the Hebrew $\text{אֶל מְדִינַת יְהוּדָה}$ into Greek. "For the Aramaic מְדִינַת כִּיּוּד would hardly have been rendered by $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu \text{'Iou}\delta\alpha$. The word יהוּד could not well have been misunderstood; moreover, it does not look like the name of a town, nor would it have been transliterated by $\text{Iou}\delta\alpha$ " (*op. cit.*, p. 292). יהוּד is found in the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel, but יהוּדָה occurs a number of times in the Targum on the Prophets as the name of the Southern Kingdom. $\epsilon\lambda\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu \text{'Iou}\delta\alpha$ may therefore represent the Aramaic $\text{לְמְדִינַת יְהוּדָה}$ or $\text{לְמְדִינַת דִּי יְהוּדָה}$. Similarly, Torrey thinks that $\text{προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν}$ in Luke 1, 7 is a translation of $\text{בְּאַיִם בִּימֵיהֶם}$. But the original may quite as well have been $\text{עַל־לֵן בִּימֵיהֶן הוּו}$. On a *priori* grounds it is more likely that a prose writing which circulated among the Jewish Christians of Palestine should be written in the vernacular Aramaic than in the sacred Hebrew, which was to most of them a *lingua ignota*. Certainly the first part of Acts is based on Aramaic, not Hebrew, sources. Cf. Torrey, *The Date and Composition of Acts*, *passim*.

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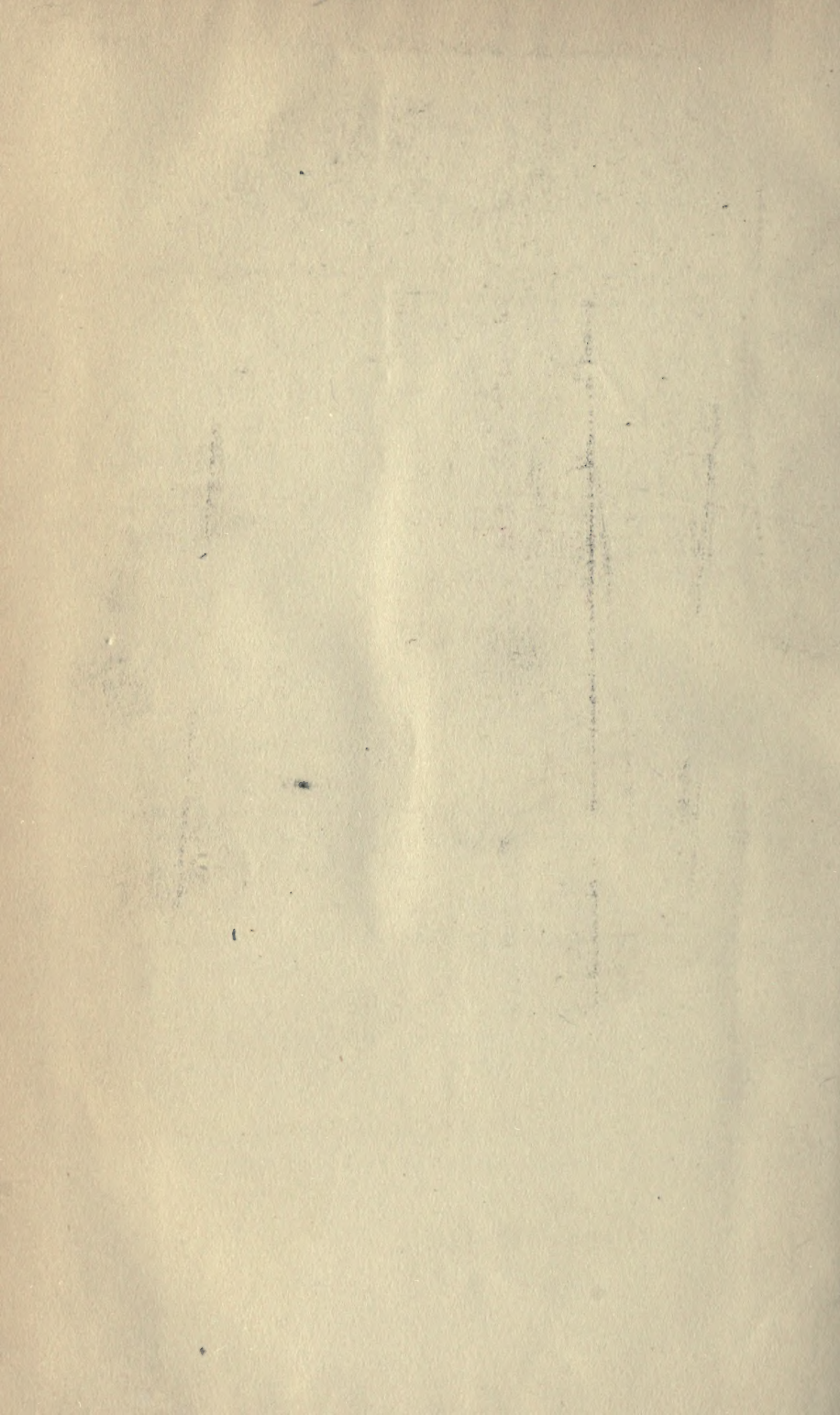
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